

to go home and have something. Had no our Prime Minister invited Mr. Bhutto he would have gone to his door. The] are a very ungrateful people. Mr. Bhutto is very ungrateful. By bringing him to Simla conference, she did a good thing she saved him from the prospective below of Tikka Khan who wants to finish him

Now, they are again harping on the 93,000 prisoners-of-war without realising that our beloved four lakh Bengalees who are there, are rotting. Sir, even a man who does not know arithmetic will say that four lakhs is indeed more than 93,000. So, Sir, I would like to tell the Government, that I have faith in the wisdom and foresight of my friend our foreign minister. He spoke with Mr. Bhutto for hours when Pandit Nehru was our Prime Minister and it produced nothing because he did not want to produce anything. I must say very frankly—no foreign minister can be compared to our Foreign Minister in capacity. If he wants to produce, he can; if he does not want, then it is zero.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not disputed that if the Foreign Minister wants to produce, he can produce. But what we are asking is whether he will be able to produce anything with the Americans; that is all.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD

SINHA: So, Sir, by advising Sardar Swaran Singh we are carrying coal to New Castle. He is a well-informed person. He will go to the lane of Mr. Sisco, but he will be careful about giving any advantages to him.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I would say that I greatly respect the emotion of the hon. friend who, besides being an old freedom fighter, is also a personal friend of mine. But I would like to assure him that just as he is growing old in years, I am also growing old in years and we have passed that age when our hearts could easily move in any particular direction. Our hearts do not melt easily now. And I would like to end my reciting a couplet, as he did.

अच्छा है दिल के पास रहे बासवाने अकल,  
लेकिन कभी कभी इसे तन्हा भी छोड़ दे।

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

The House then adjourned for lunch at six 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— contd.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is a Budget of stalemate. The country has been in a rut for some years, and the promise contained in these Budget proposals is one of further deterioration to the general economy of this country. Sir, I touch upon only two aspects of what has happened in the immediate years past. We anticipated a growth rate of 5 per cent and we have come to 1.5 per cent. We anticipated an industrial growth rate of 12 per cent and we came to 7 per cent. The estimates were rather very modest and even these modest targets could not be fulfilled. Going through the Finance Minister's Speech the indications clearly are that in the coming year there will be a fall in industrial production and an increase in the prices of consumer goods. Consequently one has only to take the conclusions that there will be increase in unemployment for both the educated and uneducated classes. Sir, a self-reliant industrialisation process is the sole panacea for our economic ills. Yet the Economic Survey that usually precedes the budget giving indications of the economy in the coming years states in paragraph 274, pages 84-85, as follows:

There is some uncertainty about the likely trend of industrial production in 1973-74.

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan]

Then it details those uncertainties and concludes:

Thus, with proper management of demand, adequate availability of critical inputs and the right psychological atmosphere in which entrepreneurs can plan future industrial activity with a reasonable degree of confidence, the economy is capable of attaining a growth rate of 7-8 per cent industrial production in 1973-74.

Sir, what does it mean? According to me, this clearly means that our economic progress, particularly in the coming year, will depend inter alia on creating a climate of confident investment in the country by the private entrepreneurs. And what does it mean further? It means that the thesis of J.R.D. Tata stands accepted in this paragraph, namely, there should be joint sectors and funds should be advanced by public financial institutions to the private sector which will be, by and large, controlling this joint sector. Today the conclusion reached by the Finance Minister on the aspect of industrial progress in this country for the coming year will make J.R.D. Tata the happiest man in the country; Sir, this is a question raisins; budget so far as industrialisation—the key solution for our economic ills—is concerned and the price that the hon. Finance Minister has asked the country to pay for the panacea of its economic ills is to induce the private sector to try build up a just society.

Sir, we have had enough of the mixed economy and from the mixed economy we are now clearly going into joint sector—joint sector which will be controlled by the private sector in this country and which will be financed by the public financial institutions in the country.

The budget proposals do not contain any incentive or clear proposals for raising the per capita income of this country. After the second world war, from out of the ashes of the Second world war, Japan and Germany came forth and they attained a

phenomenal growth so far as their economy is concerned. With a very strong balance of payments reserve twenty-five years back, with vast natural resources, with grants worth Rs. 2,388 crores received from the World Bank so far, with all these, Sir, in the matter of average per capita income, amongst the nations of the world India's place is 102! This indeed is a very shameful thing. In the United States while the per capita income is Rs. 35,700, in Japan—Rs. 14,000 and in China—with a more distributive economy—Rs. 1,200, we have attained only the level of Rs. 825 and even with this Rs. 825. Sir, 60 per cent of the population, according to the Governmental statistics, earns less than 50 paise per day per head. What jubilation can we have, Sir, so far as the industrialisation of this country is concerned, so far as the economy of this country is concerned? And, Sir, where is the social justice that the honourable Finance Minister has indicated in the concluding paragraph of the Budget speech? Sir, even with regard to the figures, we are proceeding on a very deceptive basis. The averages struck are all deceptive. The "Approach to the Fifth Plan" document gives the projected income of the second lowest decile as Rs. 15 and it again states that in 1980-81, when measured at 1960-61 prices, the income of the second lowest decile per year would be Rs. 180! Then, Sir, what is the condition of the last decile? The national average of income has really been deteriorating monetarily every year as years go by. Disparities are increasing and there is lower consumption every year by the poorer sections of the population and there is greater consumption of goods by the richer sections.

Sir, the budget estimates are themselves unrealistic. For example, it has often been stated and it is now repeatedly stated that in a growing economy we have got to resort to deficit financing and the deficit financing is only of the order of Rs. 85 crores so far as the Budget is concerned. Sir, keeping in mind the extent of the deficit financing during the last two years, one might say that the deficit financing of

Rs. 85 crores is the lowest. May I ask, Sir: Is it realistic? Does it take into account the Third Pay Commission Report that is being awaited and which would naturally have to be implemented either from the beginning of the next financial year or even retrospectively earlier? I can reasonably estimate, Sir, if the Pay Commission's Report and its impact are taken into account, one might land himself, insofar as the Budget figures are concerned, in deficit financing of the usual order of Rs. 250 to Rs. 300 crores. I, therefore, submit, Sir, that the figure of Rs. 85 crores, stated as the amount of deficit financing, is absolutely unrealistic.

Sir, in the matter of food production and food imports, there was an attempt particularly during the last two years to show that they have tided over the difficulties, the green revolution has permanently come and no more would this country go in for food imports. But what happened? During the last year, that is, the year before the current year, according to our estimates we produced 1.7 per cent less. There is a further decline of 2 per cent in agricultural production this year. In 1969 we imported only half-a-million tonnes of food worth Rs. 55 crores. Yet, what did the Food Minister tell this House this morning? He said that it is proposed to import one and a Half million tons of food and that the estimates by the United States that we are likely to import 5 million tonnes is wrong. Sir, taking into account the conditions of general drought throughout this country the food imports in the coming year are likely to be more than the food imports in this year and this, in turn, will lead to, on a much larger scale, bringing in further erosion of our foreign exchange resources.

Sir, for blackmailing purposes the Nixon Administration, when this country was giving vital assistance to the Bangla Desh people, sent its 7th Fleet into the Bay of Bengal. But this country's Government has no shame to go in again for food deals with the United States and ask for

more and more food—on PL—480 and other basis—to be imported to this country. The goal of self-reliant economy is yet far to be reached and we are now going in for foreign collaboration for anything and everything, with a purpose or without a purpose. Foreign collaboration, Sir, has become the fashion of the day not only so far as private sector in this country is concerned for their own purposes but even with regard to public sector enterprises in this country.

Sir, the Budget does not promise any stoppage of the ascendancy in the inflationary spiral that has adversely affected the economy of this country. According to the figures given out by the Reserve Bank of India, in 1971 the total white money supply was Rs. 7,341 crores. In 1971 the total black money in circulation was Rs. 3,000 crores. Sir, during the period from 1965 to 1971 there have been police raids conducted for the purpose of unearthing black money, and the total number of such police raids was of the order of 1,200 and the total extent of black money unearthed out of these police raids was just a petty amount of Rs. 7 crores.

Sir, the most important aspect, so far as the common man in this country is concerned, is the plague of price increase that has been there continuously and continually after Independence. We tried to arrest but whatever measures we took to arrest the same did not yield the desired result. Sir, during the current year, particularly in the beginning of the current year, there has been an unprecedented increase in the prices of consumer goods. The price index of foodgrains in 1961 was 100, in 1969-70, 214; and the increase in the price of consumer goods in the current year is of the order of 20 per cent. So far as the common man is concerned, so far as the foodgrain purchases are concerned we have got to see that an average family spends more than 70 per cent of its income on food necessities alone.

[Shri K. Chandrasekharan]

In the Budget, speech, various taxation measures have been adumbrated. But the effect of the taxation policy of the Government, particularly of the Central Government, in this year's Budget is that conditions will be created which are congenial to price increase and unhealthy trends so far as price stabilization in this country is concerned.

Sir, the price of petrol and the charges for rail travel and freight have been increased. This will certainly affect the prices of other goods in the country. I know that you have rung the bell. I will not take much more time. I would only refer to one or two things. The first thing is that we have not been able to achieve the growth rate fixed for the Fourth Five Year Plan and we have fixed a very modest growth rate for the next Plan. The indications are that we are not going to achieve that growth rate even though during the last about 20 years, the growth rate in some of the African countries and the East-European countries has been of the order of 20 per cent and in China it has been almost double than that targeted in this country.

Sir, I conclude by stating that the Third Pay Commission's report is being awaited by the Central Government employees with the greatest anxiety. A quick consideration and implementation of that report is absolutely necessary. I make bold to warn this Government that the Defence Services in this country have been very badly and shabbily treated in the implementation of the previous Pay Commissions' reports. The Third Pay Commission's report and the implementation thereof must give an encouragement to the Defence Service of this country so far as the personnel who are already working and also the youth of this country who are to come into the Defence Services in future are concerned.

Sir, the slogan of Garibi Hatao has been the biggest political bluff that this country has been after independence. I only say

that you can bluff all people for some time, some people for all time, but not all the people for all time. The political barometer of this country has been the State of Kerala and the State of Kerala, in the two by-elections that were held recently, has given a verdict against the alliance of the Communist Party of India and the ruling Congress party and both are discredited parties in my State today and they will be discredited parties in the country tomorrow. Thank you.

SHRI M. ANANDAM (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I have seen the note of pessimism in my friend, Mr. Chandrasekharan, when he talked on the budget proposals. Though I am not a pessimist in that way, I would say that I am not happy about the budget. The budget speech of the Finance Minister starts with a pious statement :

"The budget is not merely an exercise in balancing revenue and expenditure. Its primary role today is to be a major instrument for the realisation of our basic social and economic objectives. This Government is firmly committed to accelerated economic growth in a framework of greater social justice and selfreliance."

How, it is for us to see how far the budget proposals announced by the hon. Minister for Finance have reflected his aspirations contained in this statement. The Economic Survey Report which has been circulated to the Members of Parliament has given a very dismal picture of the economic growth in our country. During each of the last two years, the growth has been about 2 per cent. The same report says that in the year to come, we may achieve a target of 5 per cent provided we are able to maintain the targets on food production. This is the fate of our economy and it is on this basis that we are now discussing the budget proposals.

Before I venture to say something on the budget proposals, it may be necessary for me to bring to the notice of this

Houae that the Government has not been maintaining the fiscal discipline which is necessary in formulating budgets. I do not wish to go into the figures of the last various years; I would confine myself to the current year—1972-73—to show how fiscal discipline has failed in the case of our country.

We all know that last year's economy has been a decelerating economy. We have been experiencing a very serious drought and very near-famine conditions. In spite of these things it is strange to find that our revenue receipts have gone up by nearly Rs. 500 crores. There is a buoyancy in the revenue receipts. It is again a paradox that in spite of this Rs. 500 crores of buoyancy in the receipts, the budget has ended with a deficit of Rs. 500 crores. It is because we expect that our expenditure will go up by nearly Rs. 1,017 crores. If I have to express these figures in percentages, while the revenue has gone up by 11 per cent, the expenditure has gone up by nearly 15 per cent. And we find that the increase in expenditure is mainly on non-Plan, non-developmental purposes. Mr. Deputy Chairman, just think of a poor taxpayer and what effect it has on him when he finds that the taxes collected from him are frittered away in non-developmental and non-Plan expenditure.

With this background of experience of 1972-73, let us examine the budget proposals of 1973-74. I would confine myself only to certain vital areas of expenditure and place before you the drastic cut made in the allotments to those areas. The allocation for agricultural programmes has been reduced from Rs. 278 crores to Rs. 250 crores; industry and minerals, from Rs. 545 crores to Rs. 510 crores; transport and communications, from Rs. 465 crores to Rs. 429 crores. The only sector where a higher allocation has been made is in respect of power, which is Rs. 115 crores during this year as against Rs. 88 crores during last year. While fiscal allocations have been drastically cut like this, it is needless for me to say that

the physical targets or physical attempts are much less than what the fiscal targets are. With the spiralling prices and with nearly 10 to 15 per cent cut in fiscal targets, my apprehension is that the physical targets will go much below the 30 per cent level. And with all these cuts we have a deficit of Rs. 85 crores.

Mr. Chandrasekharan has ably pointed out that with the wage packet that we may announce after the Third Pay Commission gives its Reports, the figure of deficit may go up by nearly Rs. 250 to Rs. 270 crores. But I feel it is not so; it may be even more than that. If you take the food subsidy of last year, which has been about Rs. 115 crores, my feeling is that this year it may be nearly Rs. 200 crores. And if you take other items of expenditure which have got to be incurred, because of the rise in prices we may touch this year a deficit of Rs. 450 to Rs. 500 crores. This is the type of economic and fiscal discipline we have and in this type of discipline we are now discussing the budget. I am only sorry that the budget discussion has become just a ritual for the Members of Parliament to discuss various points in this House. Also when I look to this cut in the Plan expenditure, I am reminded of the present Planning Minister's statement some time back when he regretted or when he castigated the predecessors for the plan holiday that they have announced. He said that the Government should be very active to see that we develop our country, we plan in a very systematic manner but the figures proposed in the Budget do not show any hope that his objectives are properly implemented.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, after nearly 21 years of planning, we are still enquiring into the causes of the abject poverty and inadequate growth in this country. I know the blame is normally thrown on certain stock causes, namely natural calamities, population growth, lack of foreign aid, bureaucrats' inefficiency, corruption etc. Though these may be contributory causes

[Shri M. Anandam.] for the lack of adequate growth, I throw the entire blame or entire fault on the framers of the policy of our Government.

I do not want to touch every aspect in the planning. I would only confine to one thing of planning which touches industry. During the last two decades, the consumption pattern of goods and its production has been of items which affluent people alone can buy and consume. The Government policy appear to be to encourage only production or manufacture of goods which we commonly call luxurious goods, which are only available for 10 per cent of the population. It is no doubt laudable if the Government feels that one day or the other these luxury goods like refrigerators, air-conditioners, laminated furniture and other things would be available to the common man but that is not what exactly we should plan. In the case of industry at least I can say that the nation has absolutely no choice with regard to the production of goods.

It is the market demand which has been responsible for these private entrepreneurs to take to production of these luxurious goods. Though in this kind of political democracy every person has one vote, in the case of these luxurious goods. I must say, every consumer has proportionately as many number of votes as he has the wealth, and he has been dictating to this country the type of goods the industry should manufacture. This principle of market choosing the production of goods is, I may say, anti-thesis to economic democracy. This type of strategy, I am afraid, negates the whole basis of building up an egalitarian structure of our country and as long as this strategy continues, mass poverty will remain with us.

One difficulty which is experienced by the Government in this matter is that there are limited resources with them. I know that with the taxes that they collect, with the market borrowings and with the huge deposits that they have been collecting, they have not been able to shape the

policy so as to see that the goods are produced for mass consumption. That is exactly why deficit financing has been resorted to. My feeling is that deficit financing in the case of a developing economy is an absolute must. But what are the limitations to this deficit financing? Should we content ourselves by resorting to deficit financing for the purpose of non-developmental expenditure? Has the Government ever considered whether by resorting to deficit financing for the purpose of producing essential commodities and mass consumption goods the price spiral will come down? It may be a paradox to say this but I would like to place before you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, that the first law of economics, the law of supply and demand, says that as the supply goes up commensurate with the demand the prices tend to come down. The moment you produce more goods and try to meet the demands of the people instead of the prices going up the prices will definitely fall down. There is no doubt that money supply will be more but at the same time you must know that this money supply will not go into the hands of the poor people who would like to purchase these mass consumption goods but it will go into the hands of the richer fellows who would buy luxury goods and it does not matter even if they pay more than what is due. Therefore I would suggest that we should resort to deficit financing for the purpose of development and mainly for the purpose of production of consumer goods which have got mass consumption.

Another aspect of the fiscal policy of the Government which needs reconsideration is the various tax incentives given by the Government to industries. I am against tax incentives that are now given to various industries and it is for two reasons. Before I give my reasons I want to know from the Government whether they have at any time made an assessment as to the annual loss of revenue on account of these tax incentives to find out whether this loss of revenue has been

adequately compensated by firstly industrial growth in the country and secondly by any additional employment that it has provided. Unless an assessment of this type is made (Time bell rings) Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would request you to kindly give me another five or six minutes; at least let me complete this aspect before I close.

I have a feeling well-founded that the incentives by themselves are not responsible for the starting of an industry. Incentives are usually given to help the new industry to retain a part of its profits and plough it back for further development. But these incentives are given in the first few years of the starting of an industry and during the first few years we know that the industry does not make much profit to take advantage of these incentives. The full effect of the incentives is not enjoyed by these industrial undertakings. But I am of the opinion that every industry should not be eligible for these incentives. It is only those industries which produce essential commodities and consumer goods for mass consumption that should be entitled to these incentives. And secondly incentives should be given to those industries which have a plan for expansion. In order to regulate and control the prices of commodities, as I said earlier, there is need for greater production. Greater production will reduce the cost of production and will make the goods cheaper for the common man. Therefore I say control is not the answer for checking the rise in price; it is only by greater production that we can control prices and whatever incentives we give must be given only in respect of industries which plough back their profits for expansion.

I would conclude by saying that the only proposal which has been liked by many people is the one to aggregate the non-agricultural income with agricultural income, for income-tax purposes. Even as a member of the Legislature I have been making a mention of it on various occasions. On the very first occasion when I came to Parliament I said that if we

are to build up an egalitarian society, it is necessary that the agricultural and non-agricultural incomes must be clubbed together for the purpose of taxation. I know the limitations of the Government in clubbing together the two incomes. It is really gratifying to note that the Finance Minister proposes to take agricultural income along with non-agricultural income for the purpose of taxation, but there is one difficulty that may be experienced by those States which have got the agricultural income-tax. I have made certain calculations and for want of time I will not be able to place all the facts before the House. I find that if we take the aggregate of these two incomes and also take into consideration the agricultural income-tax, it may in certain slabs, work out that the entire non-agricultural income will be taken away as tax. This is really serious and probably not a welcome feature so far as this particular proposal is concerned. I would, therefore, suggest that the Government should come out with a proposal for an amendment and see that the total tax effect by this type of clubbing of agricultural and non-agricultural incomes is not more than the non-agricultural income of any particular assessee.

Thank you.

SHRI A. K. REFAYE (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Budget proposals for the year 1973-74 are quite disheartening. The common man is burdened with more taxes; that too he is fleeced, himself not knowing it. Already the middle-class people are in a tight corner. They do not know how to make both ends meet. Prices are rising day by day. In the last three months it has risen enormously. This Government is not able to hold the prices of essential commodities. The monthly salaried people, who form the bulk of our middle-class, are at their v.its end after seeing the rise in prices. At this juncture the Government also have decided to add something more to their burden by way of taxes. This is indeed the most unkindest cut of all. Out of

[Shri A. K. Refaye]. Rs. 18 crores are expected from direct taxes. The remaining Rs. 274 crores are going to be extracted from the common man for whom this Government is shedding crocodile tears. Steel and steel products are taxed. Nowadays the average middle-class families use metal and ever-silver utensils because of their durability and longevity. Now these people are going to pay more for their household goods. Nylon is also taxed. Today nylon is not a luxury item. In the long range point of view, it is economical. The sons of even class IV Government servants are using nylon shirts. It has become a common man's wear. The tax on these items is uncalled for. So also the taxes on soap, shaving cream, etc. The Finance Minister should not have laid his hand on these items. Even now I request him to reconsider his decision and leave the poor man's luxuries untouched.

Sir, drought and floods have become a common feature nowadays in our country. In the midst of plenty we see scarcity of water both for drinking purposes and for irrigation. We have many mighty rivers, perennial rivers, which can feed the entire country. These rivers should be properly linked. The Ganga-Cauvery project is much talked about. By the time 25 years have passed. Even in this year's Budget nothing is mentioned about that scheme. Considerable amount should be allotted for the execution of this project. When this giant scheme is accomplished, then it will be a true symbol of our national integration. If one part of the country is not willing to spare the surplus waters to the much-needed parts of this country, what is the use of shouting slogans? This will be nothing but deceiving the people. So, this government which is well entrenched in the seat of power must take up such projects which will really integrate all parts of the land economically and socially. Political integration alone is not sufficient.

A new Finance Commission is looking into the problem of Centre-State relations in regard to finance. The States are in an unenviable position. The major share

of the taxes go to the Centre and the States are left in a pitiable condition. The States have only a limited scope and they cannot lay their hands on any item as the Centre. So, the Centre must be much more generous in allocating funds to the States and should not behave in a miserly way. Nowadays, the States are treated as nothing more than glorified municipalities. The States have exhausted their tax resources. More power should be given to them and they may be allowed to function in an autonomous way as recommended by the Rajamannar Committee.

Socialism is a good thing and we are all for socialism. We have nationalised banking, insurance, coal mines and the Government is going to take over foodgrains trade shortly. But so far, our experience in this regard is not encouraging. Maladministration, inordinate delay in taking decisions and rise in prices are some of the phenomena that we have come across in the nationalised fields. So, in taking over foodgrains trade, the Government must be cautious. The proper machinery for the take over should be set up first and then the nationalisation must follow. Otherwise, the people will be put through so many hardships and the wrath of the common man will be focussed towards the Government.

Tuticorin Port, in Tamil Nadu State is coming up fastly and it will be in the fitness of things that the Sethusamudram Scheme also is taken up at this juncture. Then only the benefit of the Tuticorin Port will be felt. Both are allied schemes. If one is taken up and the other is left out, it is not going to benefit the country as it should. So, I would request the Government to implement the Sethusamudram Scheme without any further delay. At the same time, I request this Government to give sanction to the petrochemical project in the Tuticorin region for which the State Government is pressing the Centre for a long time.

Sir, now prices have risen and the expenditure has gone beyond recognition. In these circumstances, the minimum limit



of income-tax exemption should be raised to Rs. 10,000 from the present limit of Rs. 5,000. If the Finance Minister considers the suggestion favourably, it will be of very great relief to the middle income groups.

According to the new tax proposals, agricultural incomes are going to be clubbed with other incomes for assessment of income-tax purposes. I am afraid that this will affect the agriculturists badly. They will be compelled to pay more taxes. They may lose incentive and in the end, production in agriculture is going to suffer. In many States, the agricultural income-tax is in operation and if the Centre also pokes its nose in it, it will be a bad day for the agriculturists. The best thing for the Centre will be to leave those States where agricultural income tax is in operation and think of bringing forward Central legislation for those States in which these taxes are not levied. This will be fair as well as equitable.

**श्री भइया राम मुण्डा (बिहार) :** उपसभापति महोदय, इस सदन में पिछले दो दिनों से माननीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत किये गये 1973-74 ई० के बजट पर चर्चा चल रही है और अब तक कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बजट पर बोलते हुये देश की कई समस्याओं की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है, साथ ही उन समस्याओं के निराकरण के लिये अपने विचार और सुझाव सरकार को दिये हैं।

बजट हर साल ही बनता है और इस सदन में प्रस्तुत किया जाता है और उस पर चर्चा चलती है, उस बजट में जो ख़ुशियाँ हैं या जो ख़ामियाँ हैं उन पर चर्चा होती है और सरकार को बतलाया जाता है कि देश में कौन सा काम बहुत ज़रूरी है, उसको सरकार को पहले करना चाहिये। बजट सरकार के लिये एक आइना है। जैसे लोग आइने में अपने चेहरे को देखते हैं, चाहे चेहरा खूबसूरत हो या बदसूरत हो, चेहरे में कोई दाग हो या कोई गड़बड़ी हो तो उसको देखते हैं और पूछ-पाछ कर के उसे लोग ठीक करते हैं।

बजट भी ठीक उसी तरह है और उस तरह से सरकार अपना रास्ता साफ़ करती है ताकि कहीं काम करने में कोई गड़बड़ न हो। सरकार का काम ठीक तरह से चले, इसके लिये वह रास्ता निर्धारित करती है। मैंने इस बजट को देखा और पाया कि पिछले साल 1972-73 में सरकार ने बजट में जितने रुपये की व्यवस्था की थी उसके मुकाबले में 1973-74 साल के बजट में सरकार ने 220 करोड़ रुपये अधिक की व्यवस्था की है। अभी हमारे देश में जो काम चल रहे हैं, वह रुपया उनमें गति लाने के लिए है या सरकार जो नये काम शुरू करना चाहती है, उसमें खर्च करने के लिए है।

आज जो सबसे बड़ी चीज़ सारे देश में हो रही है वह यह है कि कई राज्यों में सूखा पड़ा हुआ है और इसके कारण लाखों जनता परेशान है। उन लोगों को खाना देने के लिए, पानी देने के लिए और उन लोगों को तरह-तरह के काम देने के लिए कार्य जारी है। दुर्भाग्य से हमारे देश में हर साल सूखा पड़ता है और इस पर हमारा कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। इस साल भी कई राज्यों में सूखा पड़ा हुआ है और इस तरह से यह क्रम जारी रहेगा। ऐसी हालत में जो बजट है उसका मुख्य लक्ष्य यह है कि हमारे देश में जो गरीबी है, उसको हम कैसे दूर करें यह जो हमारी गरीबी है, वह सदियों से है। आजादी मिलने के बीस पच्चीस सालों के बाद भी हम इस गरीबी को दूर नहीं कर सके, जिसके कारण हमारे देश की करोड़ों जनता परेशान है। अब सरकार इस कोशिश में है कि आगे हम इस गरीबी को कैसे जल्द से जल्द दूर करें। गरीबी दूर करना है, पर कहने से गरीबी दूर नहीं हो सकेगी, इसके लिए तो हमें काम करना होगा और योजनाएं बनानी होंगी और उन्हें ठीक तरह से कार्यान्वित करनी होगी। जो रकम इन योजनाओं के लिए निर्धारित की जाती है, उस रकम का ठीक से उपयोग होना चाहिये और सब को मिल कर—सरकार को भी और जनता को भी—इस कार्य को अच्छी तरह से पूरा करना चाहिये। जब हम इस तरह से कार्य करेंगे तब ही हम

[श्री भइया राम मुण्डा]

देश से गरीबी हटा सकेंगे। आजादी प्राप्त किये हुए हमें बीस, पच्चीस साल हो गये हैं, हम इस गरीबी को दूर नहीं कर सके और इसका कारण यह है कि हम लोगों ने ठीक तरह से काम नहीं किया। हमारे देश में यद्यपि बड़े-बड़े कारखाने खुल गये हैं, सड़कें बन गई हैं, रेलें बिछ गई हैं और हमारे जो शत्रु हैं, जिन्होंने कई बार हमारे मुल्क पर हमला किया, उन्हें पिछले साल हमने बुरी तरह से परास्त किया। उस युद्ध में हमारे नौजवानों ने जिस तरह बहादुरी दिखाई और शत्रु का सामना किया, उससे सारी दुनिया चकित हो गई। अब यह सब काम चल रहा है, लेकिन हमारे सामने अभी गरीबी दूर करने का काम है, जिसको हमें दूर करना है। सरकार भी इसी गरीबी को दूर करने की बात सोच रही है।

मैं इस समय कुछ कामों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट कराना चाहता हूँ। यद्यपि विकास के काम हो रहे हैं, फिर भी हमारे देश में बहुत से पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं, पिछड़े हुए जिले हैं जिनकी सूची सरकार ने तैयार की है, उन सब क्षेत्रों का विकास करना है। उन पिछड़े हुए जिलों के लोग शिक्षा में पिछड़े हुए हैं, आर्थिक मामले में पिछड़े हुए हैं। अब तक उन जिलों के विकास का काम राज्य सरकारों के हाथ में था, लेकिन राज्य सरकारों की ओर से वह काम नहीं किया जा सका, उन क्षेत्रों की उपेक्षा की गई है और इस कारण वहाँ के लोग पिछड़े रह गए हैं। इसी तरह से देश में बहुत से आदिवासी क्षेत्र हैं, सरकार ने अनुसूचित क्षेत्र घोषित किए हैं, श्रेड्यूल्ड एरिया घोषित किए हैं उनका भी विकास नहीं हो पाया है। न वहाँ सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है, न बिजली की व्यवस्था है और न शिक्षा की व्यवस्था है। इसलिए इन क्षेत्रों में जो लोग रहते हैं, खास कर आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं उनकी हालत जैसी पहले थी वैसी ही बनी हुई है। यही कारण है कि कुछ लोगों के दिल में भावना उठी है कि हमको लोग उठने नहीं दे रहे हैं, हमारा शोषण कर रहे हैं। तमाम राज्यों में यह भी आवाज उठ रही है कि हमको अलग कर दिया जाय, हम अलग से अपना घरबार संभालेंगे, जैसे अमीर हो या गरीब

हो, लोग अपने घरबार सम्भालते हैं, उसी तरह से हम को भी अलग कर दिया जाय ताकि हम अपने तरीके से, गरीबी से ही सही अपना घरबार संभाल सकें। यह तमाम क्षेत्रों में चल रहा है। आज आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना की जो बात हो रही है, वह भी इसी कारण है। और भी कई जगह यह बात है, जैसे बिहार में झारखंड का नारा चल रहा है। करीब 400—500 आदिमी हमारे बिहार से दिल्ली आये और नारा लगाते हुए उन्होंने प्रधान मंत्री के यहाँ और गृह मंत्री के यहाँ जाकर मैमोरेंडम दिया। यह बात चल रही है। अभी तो इस बात का विरोध किया जा रहा है, लेकिन हमारे, जो आदिवासी क्षेत्र हैं राज्य सरकारों की ओर से उनकी उपेक्षा की जा रही है। ऐसी हालत में कब तक इसको आप रोक सकते हैं। इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि जो ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं, जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र हैं, चाहे वह श्रेड्यूल्ड एरिया हो या न हो, उनके विकास का काम भारत सरकार स्वयं अपने हाथ में ले; क्योंकि देखा गया है कि राज्य सरकारों की ओर से किसी तरह का काम नहीं हो रहा है। आदिवासी क्षेत्रों, श्रेड्यूल्ड एरिया और आदिवासी तथा हरिजन का विकास भारत सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है। अगर राज्य सरकारें कुछ नहीं करती तो भारत सरकार को स्वयं उसे अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो वे हमेशा के लिये उपेक्षित रहेंगे। अगर उस क्षेत्र के लोग गरीब रहें, पिछड़े हुए रहें तो यह सरकार के लिए शोभा नहीं देता। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि जितने बैकवर्ड एरिया हैं हमारे देश में उन सबके विकास का काम भारत सरकार अपने हाथ में ले। राज्य सरकारों को विकास कामों के लिये जो अनुदान दिया जाता है उसमें से पिछड़े क्षेत्रों का हिस्सा भारत सरकार अपने पास रखे और स्वयं खर्च करे।

दूसरी बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ शिक्षा के बारे में। शहर में शिक्षा का प्रबन्ध सरकार भी करती है और शहर के लोग भी करते हैं, इसलिए वे शिक्षा में आगे बढ़ते चले जा रहे हैं। देहाती क्षेत्र में, खास कर जंगल, पहाड़ में, शिक्षा का कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं है और इसीलिए पढ़ने लिखने में लोग

पिछड़े रह गए हैं, खास कर देहाती क्षेत्रों में लड़कियां बिलकुल नहीं पढ़ रही हैं। लड़कों के लिए जरूर कुछ इंतजाम है, लड़के पढ़ रहे हैं, लेकिन लड़कियां बिलकुल नहीं पढ़ रही हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि लड़कियों के लिए स्कूल की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। देहात में, गांव में ऐसा समाज बन रहा है शिक्षा न मिलने के कारण—मर्द या लड़के पढ़ रहे हैं और लड़कियां नहीं पढ़ रही हैं—जैसे कि कोई एक बैलगाड़ी हो जिसका एक चक्का बहुत ऊंचा हो और दूसरे एक छोटा हो, तो वह चले कैसे, ठीक वही—स्थिति वहां है। तो सरकार 3 P.M. को ध्यान देना चाहिए कि देहाती एरिया में वह स्वयं तो स्कूल खोले, वह सरकार को ही खोलना पड़ेगा, जंगल में और देहाती क्षेत्रों में सरकार को कुछ करना पड़ेगा, तभी वहां स्कूल चल सकते हैं और वहां के लोग पढ़ सकते हैं।

दूसरी चीज मैं अपने क्षेत्र के बारे में कहना चाहता हूं, जिसकी यहां किसी ने चर्चा नहीं की है। वह ऐसी बात है कि हमारे बिहार और बंगाल के बीच में एक क्षेत्र है, वहां कई सालों से एक बीमारी है कुष्ठ रोग की। वह कुष्ठ का ही इलाका है और उस इलाके के लोगों के हर घर में कोई न कोई इससे पीड़ित है। मैं आजकल रांची में रहता हूं। वहां कुष्ठ एरिया से इतने लोग रांची में आये हुए हैं और रांची में जहां हैवी इंजीनियरिंग कारपोरेशन है, हैवी मशीन बिल्डिंग प्लांट है, फाउंड्री फोर्ज है और भी कई तरह की नई-नई फैक्ट्री चल रही है, सारे देश के लोग वहां आकर काम कर रहे हैं। छुट्टी के दिनों में शाम को टहलने लोग रांची आते हैं, रशिया और चेकोस्लोवाकिया के इंजीनियर लोग वहां आये हुए हैं, वे जब टहलने जाते हैं, तो कोड़ी लोग जिनके हाथ-पैर टूट गये हैं, उंगलियां सड़ गई हैं, ऐसे लोग उनके पीछे-पीछे दौड़ कर आते हैं, भीख मांगते हैं और जब तक वे नहीं देते तब तक धेरे रहते हैं। उसको देख कर इतना खराब लगता है कि कहा नहीं जा सकता। मेरा सरकार से कहना है कि एक तो वह इस बीमारी को जो उस एरिया में फैली हुई है वह कैसे खत्म हो, उसकी ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान

देना चाहिए और दूसरे जो इस तरह से भीख मांगते हैं, ऐसे लोगों के रहने का इंतजाम सरकार को करना चाहिए और उनकी चिकित्सा के लिए व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

इसके अनतिरिक्त मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जंगल एक राष्ट्रीय चीज है। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि जब से हमें आजादी मिली, तब से जंगल बरबाद हो रहा है। जंगल की सुरक्षा नहीं हो रही है, न ही नये जंगल लगाये जा रहे हैं। जंगल का वर्षा से सम्बन्ध है। जिस क्षेत्र में जंगलों की भरमार रहती है, वहां वर्षा भी अधिक होती है। हम अपने यहां यह देख रहे हैं कि जब से जंगल कटने शुरू हुए वर्षा भी कम होती जा रही है और पहाड़ी क्षेत्र में वर्षा के पानी पर ही सारी कृषि निर्भर करती है, वहां कोई नहर भी नहीं ले जा सकते हैं, ट्यूबवैल भी नहीं लग सकते हैं, वर्षा पर ही खेती निर्भर होती है। आज जंगल ही खत्म हो रहा है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि जंगल राष्ट्रीय संपत्ति है और राज्य सरकार उन जंगलों की ठीक से सुरक्षा नहीं कर पा रही है और नये जंगल भी नहीं लगाये जाते और इससे सरकार को बहुत भारी नुकसान हो रहा है। इसलिए भारत सरकार को जंगलों की व्यवस्था अपने हाथ में लेनी चाहिए ताकि जंगल बने रहें और नये जंगल भी लगाये जायें जिससे देश में पानी बरसे और लोग खेती का काम कर सकें।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं।

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Mysore): Sir, I want to bring to the attention of this House and bring home to the Government some of the realities of the conditions in our country, as the yearly budgets have to be framed to make more and more people of the country self-reliant i.e. in a sense, make them rule themselves, enjoying freedom from economic slavery.

It is a tragedy for the people of Hindustan to suffer continuously from invasions and rule of the alien Moghuls—British,

[Shri K. S. Malle Gowda] French, Portuguese—for over 500 years, and then continue to suffer even after independence at the hands of our own people. There was buoyant spirit everywhere, spurt in economic activities, self-confidence in every heart till the end of Nehru era, as there was a realistic and patriotic approach to our national problems, and the party politics subserved only national interests.

It is a tragedy for the poor masses of this country that the Congress leadership which derived its power to rule this country by telling truth to the people about their condition in pre-independence days led by one of the greatest votaries of truth—Mahatmaji—now do not choose to tell truth to the people, to tell them the hard facts of life of this nation and tell them that through hard work only, each one in this country can better his or her lot individually, and also better the condition of the country as a whole. So long as any political party in power in our country in its present situation relies most on power, money collected from the industrialists and business interests and the powerful Government controlled mass-media and not on truth to secure the votes of the illiterate and ignorant masses, it continues to deceive a large part of the people and contributes not to the rise of the nation, but to its fall.

What is the situation in this country after 26 years of rule by the Congress at the Centre in this new age of fantastic technological development?

In our Gross National Product, in other words, in our per capita income, we are lowest in the world next to Burma. Even in Pakistan, UAR, Ghana and other developing countries the per capita income is more than our own. Our per capita income is about Rs. 500 now. Compare it with that of Japan which is about Rs. 8,000. The per capita income of one hundred Indians equals that of one American. Twenty crores of Indians are below the poverty line.

With this background should we follow realistic, scientific and rational economic policies that can bring forth the creative spirit in the citizen and create the necessary investment atmosphere in the country and produce food, fabric, medicines and the consumer goods in plenty to be within the reach of the poor, or follow doubtful, ideological policies and confront the nation with crises of scarcity, short-supply, uncertainties, soaring prices, despondency and desperation?

Socialism succeeds with more production and better distribution and not in poverty.

Gandhiji, the truth lover, the truth seeker, came to the conclusion and said that 'India's salvation lies in its cottages'. But today how unfortunate and how sad that the rulers of this country are riding rough-shod on the destinies of the rural people who constitute 80 per cent of our population. If you study and analyse carefully, you will find that policies and programmes of many of the political parties in this country are urban-orientated and urban-directed. If 80 per cent of the people of India live in the villages, most of the politicians who are arbiters of their destiny are sheltered in cities, enjoy the privileges of the cities, get urban incomes which do not come under the purview of ceiling and, therefore, they vociferously ordain low incomes and contemptible standard of life and very low level of socio-economic opportunities with impunity to others, that is, the rural people.

In a free democracy and in an enlightened age, it is very foolish of the ruling party to hope that they will be returned to political power again and again and enjoy privileged position in the cities by destroying the middle-class in rural India and keeping the rural people in poverty, perpetual wants, and economic slavery and keeping them over dependent on little mercies from the Government or their political agents for their living.

Otherwise how can we account for the adoption of double standards in socialism

in the same country under one Government?

Does the blood of a villager differ from the blood of an urban man? Do the thinking, feelings, sense and sensibilities of a villager differ from those of an urban man for adoption of the double standards mentioned above?

The double standards applied in the conception of socialism in our country account for a single Member of Parliament to draw over Rs. 2,000 per month including the daily allowance while a farmer's family of five people in an Indian village is allowed the opportunity to earn a maximum sum of Rs. 800 per month from their own profession and from their own land. I would like to draw the attention of the House to some realities and truths about the most unhappily placed Indian village.

Sir, Mr. Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Trust, USA and Member, University Grants Commission, Government of India, has stated in his memorandum prepared for the work of the University Commission in 1949 that "Over a great part of India the village is obsolete, not fit for human habitation". He has also said :

"This is the general conviction of persons born in villages who have gone away for education. Rarely does a student from a village graduate from a University and return to a village. In going about India we have made it a point to ask many people who came from villages why they did not return. Stripping their replies of indirection and sentiment, the answer is nearly everywhere the same: That the village is not fit for human habitation. After visiting villages in various parts of India we can see the reason for this opinion. Of the six hundred thousand villages in India, there are probably many thousands to which this statement does not apply. In some localities villages are reasonably fair places of residence. But in the main it seems to be true. For a

century and a half there has been a steady stream of the more intelligent, the better educated, the more well-to-do and the more ambitious, away from the villages. They were people who acted on the belief that for them the village is unfit, though they may not have put that conviction into words."

Sir, Mr. Arthur E. Morgan further states and gives four chief causes for the flight from the village and for its decline:

"The first of these is the habitual robbery and the despoiling of the village by those in power. The exploitation of the village has continued for so long and has been so universal that the Government and the rest of the society have become parasitic on the village. They have sucked its life blood in taxes, rent and interest on debts, and have made very little return. The villager, who supplies the nation with food and fabric, is himself stripped of everything but a mud hut, a worn garment, a mat to sleep on and simple tools for his work. Such exploitation has become almost the foundation of national wealth and culture."

Thus, in India, when we attained independence, there were already clearly distinguishable urban and rural zones, one the exploiter and the other exploited and treated contemptuously and ignored by the rulers, as stated by the Chairman, Tennessee Valley Trust. There was a wide socio-economic gap between the urban India and rural India. A vast majority of the villages of India were obsolete and were unfit for human habitation.

For nearly 15 years there was real spurt in the rural socio-economic activities and it looked as if the rural economy would pick up strength and rural India would be resurrected after all to bring modern houses, tractors and machine age to the villages and that the very wide socio-economic gap between the urban and rural societies would be narrowed down considerably, as a result of higher production

[Shri K. S. Malle Gowda] and higher savings though improved agricultural practices and higher investment in agriculture. But now again the rural resurrection is being halted and the rural resurrection is made almost quite impossible. And especially during the last three years, in the name of progressive policies, the Acts of Parliament and of the State Legislatures and the yearly budgets are hitting the rural economy hard, breaking up rural homes and the rural farms and in the process wiping out the rural middle class leaving little scope for rural savings and new investment in agriculture. Though the Government piously talk of removing the regional imbalances and the social imbalances, their yearly budgets and their economic policies are inexorably widening further the socio-economic gap between the urban and the rural societies and the exploitation of the villages described by the Tennessee Valley Chairman continues in a democratic system in a suitable way. Good part of the small wealth produced by 37 crores of the farming community is siphoned off to the cities mainly by way of interest on rising debts and by the underselling of rural produce. I give a challenge to the Government of India with its well-manned, statistical bureau to disprove my statement that today the Indian farmer is more heavily indebted than when we attained independence.

If the gross national agricultural product is about Rs. 17,000 crores, his debt computed at 80 per cent of his gross annual income amounts to nearly Rs. 13,600 crores and the interest he pays soon after he harvests his crop amounts to not less than Rs. 2,000 crores per annum. How does the Government help the Indian farmer to pile up the huge debts on his doubly bent back? Is not the Government forcing the Indian farmer to sell some of his produces below the cost of production and at unremunerative prices? Instead of giving price support to him, the Government helps in fleecing and skinning him.

Has the Government of India found out the cost of production of rice, wheat, etc. grown in different parts of the country

while the levy price of rice and wheat is fixed irrationally, arbitrarily at the Delhi offices and the Delhi Congress office? Is it any problem for the mighty Government to find out the cost of production of a quintal of rice and wheat? Does the Government which dashes to fix the price of rice and wheat at unremunerative prices, without the cost of production sheet before it, fix the prices of his inputs and his consumer goods so that he is not exploited? No. It cares to handle or manhandle, and give kisses of death only to that unfortunate man called the Ryot or Krishika.

The Central Ministers quote Japan when they talk of ceiling on land-holding. Why don't they study the other aspects of the Japanese agriculture, namely, that the Japanese Government purchases rice, paying the farmers 20 per cent higher rate? If the Indian budget provides for purchasing only the cereals, i.e. rice, wheat, ragi and maize, giving 20 per cent higher rate as in Japan, the Government of India will have to give to the peasants of India about Rs. 1,200 crores every year. The ruling party hides this and other truths which do not suit them from the villagers of India when they seek their votes.

I would like to bring to the notice of this House a few more truths and realities in the rural economic situation. Our rural income, which is about 50 per cent of our national income and which totals about Rs. 17,000 crores today, is shared by nearly 80 per cent of the people, i.e. by 44 crores of people, while nearly the same amount of non-agricultural income, i.e. Rs. 17,000 crores is shared by only 20 per cent of our population living in cities and towns. While taxing the rural sector, this important fact should be taken note of by the Finance Ministry.

The rough and ready indicator of the progress of a developing country in this new age of technology and science is progressive reduction in the percentage of people depending on land.

I want to bring to the kind attention of this House that 4 persons out of a hundred in England, 6 persons in a hundred in USA and 24 persons in a hundred in Japan, are dependant on land for their bread and prosperity. The percentage of population dependent on land in India, which was 70 per cent in 1947, continues to remain constant during the last 25 years. The Planning Commission should be scrapped if it does not succeed in modernising the nation by reducing the pressure on land, and modernising the villages and modernising the rural society.

Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kali Mukherjee.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I thank the hon. Finance Minister for the Budget proposals that he has placed. He has rightly pointed out some principles behind it. The Budget is no longer a record of the nation's annual house-keeping. It is now regarded as a "major instrument for the realisation of our basic social and economic objectives". Also, the Government is committed to accelerate economic growth in a framework of greater social justice and self-reliance.

The hon. Minister optimistically stated in the last sentence of his speech:

"The Budget of 1973-74 represents another major effort on the part of the Government to get the country moving towards the goal of an expanding self-reliant economy based on social justice."

Sir, I am in full agreement with the concept as expressed by the hon. Finance Minister. He has defined the objectives in the current budget as containing inflationary pressure, increasing rate of savings, investment, higher exports and restraint on imports rapid increase in employment opportunities and promotion of basic minimum opportunities. These are, of course, admirable aims. He has also spelt out the fiscal measures and all of these are token

measures. Naturally, they would be very much marginal. This year's plan outlay has been increased by Rs. 345 crores. There is provision for easier interest rates to small borrowers for productive purposes. He has set apart Rs. 100 crores for new employment generation and Rs. 125 crores for welfare measures. I am sorry to state that they are not going to change the status quo which he wants to change according to his concept. The increased plan outlay will be nothing more than equivalent to the rise in prices and unemployment and the welfare problems will remain as a nornamental decoration. It may be noted that in 1971, 45 lakhs were unemployed in urban areas as recorded in the Employment Exchanges. This figure increased to 56.88 lakhs in 1972 including 26 lakhs educated unemployed. Of this, West Bengal alone accounts for 10 lakhs of unemployed. The Finance Minister's effort to bridge the under-estimated deficit of Rs. 335 crores in budget proposals for 1973-74 has revealed inadequacy of the existing fiscal structure as an instrument for further socio-economic change. May I mention, Sir, that the hon. Minister is operating within a structure of mercantile-capitalism in India which essentially depends upon private profit as the motive force for economic activity? With the Government committed to the concept of mixed economy, the Finance Minister is not in a position to challenge it in his budgetary exercise. The Fifth Plan places before the country the twin objectives of reducing disparities and achieving self-reliance. But the budget proposals do not even make a pretence to reduce the disparities either in incomes or in consumption. It does not make any attempt to tackle the menace of black money which has reduced all the efforts for economic planning and fiscal discipline to a mockery. That is why, the FICCI and other Chambers of Commerce including "Statesman" have praised the budget. They are very happy to find that the corporate sector has been relieved of taxes at the cost of the people and the monopolists have the right to concentrate more power with disastrous consequences.

[Shri Kali Mukherjee] The budget unfortunately did not indicate any firm policy that may be adopted against the monopoly houses and the black money and wealth that they generate to vitiate the growth-oriented economy and social justice to which the Government is committed. It may be noted that in this 'Economic Review' of 1972-73, it is stated that a few large companies with Rs. 200 crores capital have net assets of Rs. 4,840 crores as on 30th November, 1972. They account for 50 per cent of the assets of the total companies in the country. It has also been found that they manipulate to secure lion's share of the financial assistance from the public financial institutions and the nationalised banks, much more than the public sector enterprises. The corporate sectors are being given incentives by tax relief whereas the monopoly houses have increased 10 per cent of their wealth and assets during the last few years. This is a clear contradiction to our ideals of social justice that the Government is committed to. What happens to the Government policy of checking concentration of economic and political power which rests in the hands of the monopolists? The Finance Minister is surely aware of the axiom of economic history that monopoly will continue to grow in size if they are allowed to remain and they will continue to exert their power, whatever be the restraints put on them. They corrupt the administration and the political atmosphere of the country and retard growth.

I must thank the Finance Minister for one thing: he has tried to make an attempt to reduce the deficit financing and to bring a curb in the States in their deficit budgets. But that alone will not help the States to have normal relations. The States are not happy over the Centre's monopoly control of financing, disregarding the views and feelings of the people of the States. India should function, in reality, as a Federal Republic. The States must be consulted in all financial matters—which is normally done but not always done—and their consent should be secured. I know the position

of West Bengal in this regard as a member of the State Planning Board. West Bengal was neglected ever since independence. The State suffered the worst due to the division of India with its six million refugees in a State of 42 million people in 1947. Bengal built up on a ruined edifice with scant help from Delhi. The duties, taxes and the foreign exchange that is earned by Bengal, by and large, goes to the Central exchequer every year and it is a colossal amount. How much, may I know, is offered to West Bengal to save it from ruination? It is much less than 20 per cent. I do not like to go into the details of it. Only jute and plantations earn Rs. 350 crores—without other excise duties every year, for example.

India is one and a big nation. The behaviour pattern of the States should be guided accordingly. I hope you will agree that the behaviour of the Centre should be no less national in character than the States. Uneven socio-economic development of the country has given the right and left reaction an opportunity to disrupt the nation and the nationalities. It is the monopolists and their black money which is flowing like a stream of water to help the reactionary elements inside the country to disrupt the progress of the nation as a whole. That must be taken note of by the House and the Finance Minister himself.

Keeping all these in view, may I request the hon. Finance Minister to take effective steps against the huge currency of black money, deal with the States with equity and justice and help promote the economic conditions of the vulnerable sections of society who live below the poverty line—there are 20 crores or more of them now—the vast neglected section of the toiling people?

I will draw your attention to another factor which is very heartening: Industrial production has risen by more than 7% and, I believe, it is double the amount that used to be last year. The public sector is in the commanding height—no doubt about



it. But most of the public sector units are not coming up to the expectations. It is a sorry state of affairs that while the private sector is motivated by individual greed and personal gains, the public sector is halting in its productive capacity with its managerial inefficiency due to bureaucratic mismanagement. Higher production can only be ensured by workers' participation in the administration, whatever be the nature of the industries. There must be a capital-labour regulations. A comprehensive law is needed in this country, it is lacking since long. A number of times it has been promised in the House that a law was coming—for the last five years—but unfortunately there has been no comprehensive law brought up so far. Man-days lost during the last five years show the negligence of the Government to the toiling people.

The organised labour have the bargaining power and they are less than six million out of the total 20 millions who are organised into trade unions. But what about the agricultural labour who are oppressed and who are living below the poverty line? No machinery has been set up Uptill now to look after them. Therefore, I would urge upon you and request you through the House that the question of the rural sector—the vulnerable sector—particularly the sector where the Santhals and Adivasis are living has got to be looked into as it should have been looked after during the period after independence, during the last 25-26 years. The position as I find in a number of places in the eastern region is that there are no arrangements for proper education and drinking water in the villages. They are surviving just below the living standard, just like animals.

I certainly agree with the number of concepts that have been enunciated in the Budget. I certainly agree with the ideals and ideologies that have been expressed through the Budget but the procedures adopted therein need much more changes, much more to the benefit of those people who are living below poverty line and not for the rich people.

**श्री राम सहाय (मध्य प्रदेश) :** उप-सभापति महोदय, बजट के सम्बन्ध में सत्ता पार्टी की ओर से और विरोधी पार्टियों की ओर से, सब ओर से ज्यादातर एक ही प्रकार की आलोचना की गई और मैं समझता हूँ कि दोनों ने ही बहुत ही सख्त आलोचना की है। सिर्फ फर्क इतना ही रहा है कि जो सत्ताधारी पार्टी के लोग हैं, उन्होंने प्रारम्भ में या अन्त में यह कहा कि हम उसका समर्थन करते हैं और विरोधी पार्टी वालों ने यह कहा कि हम उसका विरोध करते हैं।

बजट के सम्बन्ध में बहुत से आंकड़े देकर हमारे बहुत से मित्रों ने बहुत सी बातें गाबित करने की कोशिश की है और हाउस के सामने पूरा व्योरा जैसा कि चाहिए वैसा रख दिया गया है। लेकिन मैं आपसे यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि टैक्सेज जो हैं वह सदैव से चले आ रहे हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रशासन चलेगा तो वह भी चलते रहेंगे। उसके चलाने में, उनको लगाने में किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं है।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) in the Chair]

लेकिन बजट में आपत्ति जो होती है वह जिस तरह से उसको खर्च किया जाता है उस पर है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि अभी कल ही मेरे एक मित्र ने यह बात कही कि मिनिस्टर्स पर तीन-तीन, चार-चार लाख रुपया खर्च होता है और करोड़ों रुपयों का मुत्तमान पब्लिक सैक्टर में हो रहा है। तो मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि हमको इस ओर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि हम कहां किस प्रकार की कमी ला सकते हैं।

टैक्सेज के बारे में एक अमेरिकन फार्डिंग फादर फ्रेकलिन जो एक फिलॉसफर भी थे, स्टेट्समैन भी थे, उन्होंने कहा है:

“In this world nothing is certain but death and taxes.”

यह बात उन्होंने आज से दो सौ वर्ष पूर्व कही थी। तो इस तरह से हम टैक्सों से बचना तो नहीं चाहते और न बच सकते हैं और न कभी बचे हैं, लेकिन उन टैक्सेज का उपयोग किस तरह से हो, उपयोग किस तरह से हो, यह बात हमें अपने ध्यान में रखनी चाहिए। हम जो वेल्यूज आफ लाइफ और मारैल्स आफ लाइफ हैं, उनसे बहुत

[श्री राम सहाय]

दूर चले जा रहे हैं। अराजकता, अनैतिकता, भ्रष्टाचार से इस तरह से बढ़ रहे हैं कि जिसकी कोई इतिहास नहीं और फिर हमारे यहां शासन का हठ भी है। हमारे यहां एक कहावत है—बाल-हट, बिया हट और राज हट—इस तरह की बात कही गई है और जब एक जगह ही तीनों का समावेश हो तो फिर ईश्वर ही मालिक है। मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि हमें इन सब बातों को बहुत गहराई से सोचने की जरूरत है। हम बजट पर किसी भी प्रकार का विश्लेषण करें, हमको यह अवश्य देखना पड़ेगा कि हमारा रहन-सहन क्या है। हमने राजा महाराजाओं को खत्म किया, लेकिन और कितने राजे सेंटर में और स्टेट्स में पैदा हो गए, यह बात देखने की है। फिर उनका रहन-सहन में समझता हूं कि राजाओं से कहीं अधिक बढ़ कर है और फिजूल खर्ची भी उससे ज्यादा है। तो मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि हम इस बात को देखें और अपनी पुरानी संस्कृति को देखें जब कि सत्य के लिए राजा हरिश्चन्द्र एक मेहतर के यहां बिके थे और रामचन्द्र जी को बनवास जाना पड़ा था। इसके साथ-साथ गांधी जी ने जिस तरह से लाइफ व्यतीत की है, जिनको हम याद करके फल समझते हैं और जिनका नाम लेकर हर एक कार्यवाही में, चाहे वह ठीक हो या न हो, उनकी चर्चा करते हैं, तो हम देखें कि उनकी जिन्दगी किस प्रकार की थी और आज हम अपनी जिन्दगी किस प्रकार से व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। जब तक हम इस बात पर ध्यान नहीं देंगे, तब तक हम अपने देश की स्थिति को अच्छी नहीं बना सकते और न हम उस रास्ते पर चल सकते हैं जिससे हम अपने देश को अच्छा बना सकें। बात यह है कि आज हम सच्चाई को भी मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। स्वामी विवेकानन्द जी ने कहा था कि :

Everything can be sacrificed for truth but truth cannot be sacrificed for anything.

लेकिन आज हम देखते हैं कि सच्चाई का बलिदान हर एक लमहा हर एक चीज पर हो रहा है। तो मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि हमारे जो सिद्धांत हैं, हमारे जो उमूल हैं, हमारी जो अच्छाइयां हैं

उनसे ही हम परे चले जायेंगे तो हमारे देश का किस तरह से उद्धार होने वाला है।

आज हमारे नौजवानों की क्या स्थिति है, उनमें कितना असंतोष है, इस बारे में हम कभी विचार नहीं करते, हम कभी ध्यान नहीं देते और जिस तरह से जो चीज चल रही है, उसको उसी तरह से चलने देना चाहते हैं। इस तरह से क्या हम अपना कुछ सुधार कर सकेंगे। मिस्टर रुजवेल्ट ने कहा था :

We cannot always build the future for your youth but we can build our youth for the future.

अगर हम इस मसले को भी बिल्कुल नेगलेक्ट कर देते हैं, बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं देते हैं तो हम अपने नौजवानों को किस तरह से भविष्य के लिए तयार कर सकते हैं। मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि जब हम इस प्रकार से अपने मामूली-मामूली सिद्धांतों को छोड़ते जायेंगे तो किस तरह से हमारा काम चलेगा। गांधी जी ने हमसे कहा था कि :

Confession of error is like a broom that sweeps away the dirt and leaves the surface cleaner than before.

गलती का कबूल करना उस झाड़ू के समान है, जिस से हमारा दिल पहले से ज्यादा शुद्ध होना है। तो मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि हमारी जितनी मारल वैल्यूज हैं, उन सबसे परे हटने चले जा रहे हैं। एक विचार कर लेते हैं, वह चाहे अच्छा हो या बुरा हो और उसी पर चलने लगते हैं। वैसे अच्छी बात पर दृढ़ रहना तो अच्छा है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि फूड ग्रेन के मसले पर आप विचार कर रहे हैं और वह कांग्रेस की पालिसी रही है, इसका राष्ट्रीयकरण होना चाहिए। लेकिन हमको अपनी स्थिति पर विचार करना चाहिए कि हम उसके करने योग्य हैं या नहीं। आज हमारे यहां इतना करप्शन फैला है कि इसी फूड ग्रेन के मसले पर सत्ता दल के श्री मालवीय ने यह बात कही थी कि टाप से करप्शन शुरू होता है। मैं नहीं जानता कि टाप से उनका क्या मतलब है। क्या टाप से उनका मतलब सर्वोच्च टाप से है या किसी और टाप से है।

लेकिन उन्होंने यह कहा कि वह टाप से शुरू होता है। और इतना ही नहीं, यह भी कहा सेंटर में भी है और स्टेट में भी है और फिर उन्होंने दोहराया कि वह टाप से विगिन होता है। तो हम भी यही कहते हैं जो आप की सला पार्टी के लोग कहते हैं। वही हमारा भी कहना है कि आप इस करणन के बारे में विचार करें। एक हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब थे और उन्होंने कोशिश की थी। उन्होंने कहा था कि हम साल, दो साल में करणन को खत्म कर देंगे, लेकिन वह बेचारे स्वतः ही साल दो साल में खत्म हो गये और करणन दिन ब दिन बढ़ता ही चला गया। तो जहाँ देश की ऐसी स्थिति है, वहाँ हमें विचार करना पड़ेगा कि हमें क्या करना चाहिए।

फूड ग्रेन का जो हम राष्ट्रीयकरण कर रहे हैं, यह ठीक है और इसे जरूर करना चाहिए, लेकिन पहले हमें इस बारे में विचार करना चाहिए कि इससे बेरोजगारी कितनी बढ़ेगी, इससे बेकारी कितनी बढ़ेगी, इससे इन्कम टैक्स का कितना नुकसान होगा, सेल्स टैक्स का, वैल्यू टैक्स का कितना नुकसान होगा और आगे चल कर गेहूँ की काश्त लोग करेंगे भी अथवा उसे खत्म कर देंगे और वैसे भी आज गेहूँ की काश्त लोग कम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आगे जा कर और ज्यादा कम कर देंगे। तो मेरा निवेदन है कि इन सब बातों पर भी गंभीरतापूर्वक जब तक हम विचार नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा।

हमें असल में इस समय इरिगेशन और पावर की तरफ देखने की बहुत ज्यादा आवश्यकता है। हम शहरों में बड़ी-बड़ी इमारतें बना रहे हैं। सरकार प्लेनियम बिल्डिंग बना रही है कई-कई स्टोरीज की और उनमें जो पैसा हम खर्च कर रहे हैं उसे बचा कर अगर हम उसको इरिगेशन और पावर के काम में लगायें तो जैसी हरी क्रांति शुरू हुई थी, वह और आगे बढ़ सकती है, लेकिन उन और हमारा ध्यान नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ मध्य प्रदेश में, मेरे डिस्ट्रिक्ट में एक बेतवा वली स्कीम है, जिसमें तीन, चार नदियों बेतवा ब्रस सचरा बांध को बांध कर बांध बनाने की स्कीम

वह स्कीम तैयार हुई, लेकिन आज भी उस का थोड़ा सा हिस्सा ही शुरू करने की बात की जा रही है और अभी तक वह पूरी प्रारम्भ नहीं हुई। नमंदा विवाद जैसा का तैसा चल रहा है। काफी अरसा उसको हो गया और आज वह मामला प्रधान मंत्री जी के सुपुर्द कर दिया गया है, लेकिन उसका निर्णय भी अभी तक नहीं हुआ है। तो मैं यह अग्रें करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक हम इन बातों पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार नहीं करेंगे और देश में उत्पादन बढ़ाने की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे और लोगों में जो असंतोष व्याप्त है, उसको दूर करने का प्रयत्न अब तक नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम उन्नति किसी प्रकार भी नहीं कर सकते हैं।

मैं एक बात और अग्रें करना चाहूंगा कि ट्रेन में जब मैं सफर करता हूँ, तो अक्सर मुझे मिलिटरी के आदमियों से भेंट होती रहती है। उनमें अच्छे रैंक के आदमियों से भी भेंट होती है और जो छोटी रैंक के आदमी हैं, उनसे भी भेंट होती है। मैं आपसे सही निवेदन करता हूँ कि उनमें इतना असंतोष पाया जाता है कि जिसे कहा नहीं जा सकता। वे ऐसा महसूस करने हैं कि उनकी सर्विसेज में जो दिक्कतें हैं, उनकी ओर बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता और उनको बिल्कुल नेगलेक्ट किया जाता है। एक मिसाल उन्होंने मेरे सामने रखी, उन्होंने कहा कि हम जब पहाड़ों पर ठंड में रहते हैं तो उसके लिए हम को ठंड का एलाउंस मिलता है और वह एलाउंस छोटे मिसालों से लेकर ऊपर की रैंक तक के अफसर को हैसियत के हिसाब से बहुत चला जाता है। उसका मतलब यह हुआ कि ठंड वह भी बिकती है यानी किसी को वह ज्यादा लगती है और किसी को कम लगती है। तो इस तरह से एलाउंस भी एक मिसालों को कम मिलता है और एक अफसर को ज्यादा मिलता है। इस तरह के असंतोष को दूर करने की ओर हमारा ध्यान जाना चाहिए। उनको तनखवाहें ज्यादा मिलें या न मिलें, लेकिन जहाँ इस तरह की कामन दिक्कतों की बात है, उनकी ओर तो हमें अवश्य ही ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। हम को यह देखना चाहिए कि उनमें समानता रहे।

[श्री राम सहाय]

हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन किस प्रकार का समाजवाद ? जहाँ ऐसी मामूली बातों में भी समाजवाद का ध्यान नहीं रखें तो फिर किस तरह से काम चल सकेगा। अभी अकाल राहत कार्य के सम्बन्ध में कुछ आंकड़े दिये गये थे, वह हमारे सामने आये वाइस-चेयरमैन साहब, आप मुलाहिजा फर्माइये कि एक रुपये से लेकर दो रुपये तक की मजदूरी का आंकड़ा हमने देखा। मैंने देखा कि मध्य प्रदेश में, महाराष्ट्र में, बैस्ट बंगाल में दो रुपये, डेढ़ रुपये, रुपये एक रुपये और हाई रुपये की मजदूरी देते हैं। अब आप गौर फर्माइये कि जहाँ अकाल से पीड़ित लोग हैं, उनको राहत पहुँचाने के लिए जब सरकार ने काम शुरू किया हुआ है, तो कम से कम उनको इतना पैसा तो मिले कि वह जिसमें अपना खाना पीना कर सकें। हम उनको इस तरह की मजदूरी दें तो आप गौर फर्माइये कि यह हमारा समाजवाद का नारा कितना निरर्थक सा होगा। यह कार्य सरकार की ओर से हो रहा है, तो सरकारी कार्यों में जितनी मजदूरी मिलती है, उससे ज्यादा नहीं मिले तो कम से कम जितनी मजदूरी साधारणतया मिलती है, उतनी तो मिलनी ही चाहिए, लेकिन इस ओर मेरे ख्याल से बिल्कुल भी ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि जब तक हम इन सब बातों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे, तब तक देश का उद्धार नहीं होने जा रहा है। खास करके इस बारे में कई बार चिन्ता व्यक्त की जा चुकी है, लेकिन शासन इस ओर जैसा चाहिए, वैसा ध्यान नहीं देता है। तो मेरा ऐसा नम्र निवेदन है कि शासन को इस बारे में खास तौर पर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

मैं तो यह अर्ज करूँगा कि मितव्ययता जो है वह एक ऐसी चीज है जिससे कि हम गरीबों को अरुण फायदा पहुँचा सकते हैं बशर्ते कि हम अपने जीवन को साधारण बनायें और साधारण अपना रहन-सहन रखें। इस बात का भी ध्यान रखें कि जो हमारे गरीब लोग हैं, उनका रहन-सहन किस तरह पर है और उनको किस तरह की सहुलियतों की जरूरत है और उसको ध्यान में रखते हुए अगर हम अपने आराम और आसाइश की बात करेंगे तो निश्चय ही जो समाजवाद की बात है, उस पर हम किसी हद तक चल सकेंगे और गरीब लोगों की भी साथ

लेकर के उनके रहन-सहन को कुछ ऊँचा उठा सकेंगे और उनको कुछ फायदा पहुँचा सकेंगे, लेकिन इस बारे में बराबर चर्चा करते हुए भी, कई बार इस प्रकार के प्रश्न सामने आते हुए भी हम देखते हैं कि शासन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित नहीं होता है। तो मेरा यह अर्ज करना है कि इस बारे में हमें काफी ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY) : Your time is up.

श्री राम सहाय : I see; तो मैं अपने भाषण को समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Mysore) : Sir, I approach this Budget with mixed feelings. There are some welcome features as against some which are not at all conducive to the further economic growth of the country and some which, in my opinion, are positively contributory to the spiralling inflation in the country. Sir, if you look at the performance in the previous year, the first statement of the Economic Survey is—

"There is no doubt that the overall rate of economic growth in 1971-72 and 1972-73 has been unsatisfactory."

I am not going into details; many hon. Members on both sides of the House have clearly indicated the position. With regard to agricultural production, I would again quote from the Economic Survey—

"Agricultural production which rose by 7.3 per cent in 1970-71 declined by 1.7 per cent in 1971-72. Increased output of raw cotton and raw jute was more than by a fall in the production of foodgrains, oilseeds and sugarcane."

This is the performance in the agricultural field. Sir, I do admit that we had a very difficult year last year with the drought situation prevailing, and to a certain extent this is quite understandable that there is a shortfall in agricultural production. But if we go into the industrial production, there has been some improvement.

"Industrial production went up by 6.6 per cent in 1969-70 and by 2.5 per cent in 1970-71. In 1971-72 the growth rate was 4.5 per cent. Industrial production increased sharply during the first five months of 1972-73;"

The index which is quoted for April-August 1972 shows an increase of 7 per cent. Over the level reached in the corresponding period of 1971. This is a substantial increase I do admit. But, Sir, even if the industrial production has risen in the last year this may not enthuse us very much because the Fourth Plan is clear that the growth rate was only 4.5 per cent. In the first three years and went up to 7 per cent only last year, against a targetted growth of 8-10 per cent. With only one year to complete the Plan the industrial performance in my view may not be big enough to balance the lapses of the previous several years.

Again, in the core sector of steel and fertiliser there has been heavy shortfall necessitating heavy imports in fertiliser and steel which will be a further heavy drain on our meagre foreign exchange. So, Sir, taking this into consideration it will be very unreal and unwise for us to expect that industrial production will be raised to the extent necessary to arrest inflation and spiralling of prices.

Sir, I do admit that Mr. Chavan and the Finance Minister have tried to keep the deficit in 1973-74 to one of the lowest in several previous years. It is a commendable effort. Also they have made considerable effort at resources mobilisation providing for substantial rise in the Plan allocation. Also, Sir, they have put forth something for financing the Fifth Plan which is really commendable.

The Central deficit for 1972-73 is likely to be over Rs. 550 crores for the previous year in spite of taking into consideration the unexpected additional receipts of nearly Rs. 450 crores. So, Sir, the deficit for 1973-74 at current rates of taxation would be about Rs. 335 crores; and a commendable attempt has been made to bridge the

2 RSS/73—9

gap and bring this down. But this additional taxation of Rs. 292 crores is quite considerable. Out of that about Rs. 250 crores is proposed to be in the Central sphere. That, again, is a very substantial figure, and I am sure net tax burden in spite of the withdrawal of the Bangla Desh refugee relief taxation, which amounts to nearly Rs. 70 crores, is quite substantial to be taken into consideration. I am sure this will result in inflationary tendencies. Direct taxes, of course, have been somehow kept at Rs. 18 crores out of which the Central share is going to be about Rs. 14 crore. The excise duties which amount to Rs. 118 crores, of which Rs. 80 crores will be in the Central Share, are also quite heavy and impose a burden on the common consumption items. The customs duties will be another Rs. 150 crores. In all the net taxation will be Rs. 250 crores leaving a deficit of Rs. 85 crores. If this deficit had been left at Rs. 85 crores we would have been quite happy about it. But, unfortunately, the circumstances are quite different.

This deficit of Rs. 85 crores is not likely, in my view, to remain where it is. As the Minister himself has admitted, the Pay Commission's recommendations will be the first additional burden which might put it up by another Rs. 150 crores. Apart from this, if we look at the 1973-74 Budgets of many of the States—I think 10 or 11 States have come out with their Budgets—they have all come out with deficit Budgets. On a rough calculation of the Budgets of these 10 or 11 States, it will work out to about Rs. 245 crores. Except Tamil Nadu which has shown a very small surplus of Rs. 49 lakhs, all the other States have shown a deficit. And all of them have retained the Bangladesh levies. The total tax effort from them has been to the tune of only Rs. 55 crores which falls far short of even their commitments in regard to mobilisation of resources for the Plan period. So, it is quite a dismal picture. I am saying this to point out that additional drawings will have to be made by them from the Centre, resulting in further inflation in

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda] the country. Deprived of the overdraft facilities—of course, some alternative arrangement was made for them to borrow or by v/ay of grants-in-aid and so on—the States will have to bridge their budgetary gaps by borrowing from the Centre in regard to Central assistance for drought relief, also they have to resort to public borrowings, which will also result in a heavier burden to the common people. All these will certainly add to the already prevailing inflationary tendencies in the country and impose further economic burdens.

Further, Sir, unfortunately the State Budgets show substantial growth only in non-development expenditure. The development expenditure had almost remained stationary. For example, most of the States have got commitments for revision of pay and D.A., and increase in the administrative expenditure. The U.P. Budget, for instance, shows a provision of nearly 70 crores for this purpose. This, along with the Pay Commission's report which will have a chain reaction, will certainly be a further burden on the Central Government's resources. Sir, now that the Sixth Finance Commission is sitting, most of the States have not come out with their actual figures of expenditure; still, I feel sure Mr. Ganesh will have to find additional funds for the States after the Sixth Finance Commission's Report comes out. So, this is the point which they have commendably tried to bring down (to Rs. 85 crores will naturally be several times more than that. This is one factor which I wanted to place before my friend, Mr. Ganesh. ,

Sir, the bulk of additional taxation, in the form of excise and customs duties, has fallen on items like petrol, cigarettes, steel and many other items which are necessary for the economic growth in the country. We cannot say that petrol will be used only by the affluent sections. Whatever statement we may make, it is sure to put up the cost of transport and it will be a burden on the common man. There are scooters, there are auto-rickshaws and so

many other vehicles, and this will also result in additional consumption of diesel oil which is cheaper but which is hard to get in the country. So I am not very happy with the continuous increase in duty on items like petrol. The duty on steel and other items which are necessary for construction and development in the country, has also gone up, and this is sure to put up the cost of industrial construction and development considerably.

Then about fertilizers there have been 4 per cent. already heavy shortfalls in production

and we have to import more and more. There is going to be import duty and there is also excise duty on fertilizers. There may be an increase in the fertilizer purchase tax and so on. All this increase will certainly put up the cost of agricultural products. I would have been very happy if Mr. Chavan or Mr. Ganesh had considered reducing at least the duties which have been on it, 10 to 15 per cent i.e. 5 per cent imposed last year and 10 per cent earlier, so that it could bring down the cost of agricultural input. I do appreciate that they have provided nearly Rs. 130 crores in 1972-73 Plan for additional fertilizer factories and improvements to the existing factories. That is a commendable effort. I would request that some effort should be made to bring down the cost of these items which are the major input in agricultural sector.

Then there are auxiliary duties on imports of materials like machine parts, spare parts for vehicles, etc. which are also to the extent of nearly Rs. 40 crores. This is sure to have a chain reaction on the maintenance of machinery, whether it is for transport or for industries or for agriculture in this country. And this factor will surely contribute in bringing in inflationary tendencies in the agricultural sector. I cannot understand to what extent the measures which have been brought in now will achieve the tasks set forth in Part A of the honourable Finance Minister's Speech, namely, containment of inflationary pressures, increase in savings and investments and also greater

viability on exports and balance of payments front and higher employment. Of course, I do congratulate the Government. They have provided some Rs. 100 crores for unemployment. Even though it is a very small figure, at least an effort is being made. Even though an effort is being made against inflation by keeping the deficit to Rs. 85 crores, today they have resorted to a massive dose of indirect taxation and the cost push effect of this will certainly be felt both in agricultural and in industrial sector. This is sure to happen. Unfortunately, not much has been done for savings except some concessions for life insurance and provident fund. They are only token gestures. And the only other gesture that I can see is that they have not increased the income-tax rates in general. I would have liked in this context if they had made some provision or at least some concessions—when they have made some provision for provident fund and life insurance—with regard to reliefs which are given for investment in banks, shares etc. Now, it would have been better if the tax-free limit of Rs. 3000 on interest and dividends had been raised to at least Rs. 5000 and that would have given considerable relief to the middle class people. On "balance of payments front" I have a few suggestions to make. The combination of higher import duties and exports and auxiliary duties and the lower value of the rupee in the international market will definitely add to the project costs and will add to the cost push and the high cost economy of our industrial production. This warning was contained in the Economic Survey Report as well and not much consideration seems to have been given to it as they were interested only in raising revenues and bringing down the deficits.

Import duty of 10 per cent of the value of all imports will act as a restraint on imports and will encourage import substitution. That I could understand. But what has the budget done for the exports? This is one question I would like to ask Shri Ganesh. According to me not much has been done to the exports at all. Even the export duty on our traditional exports like

jute, coffee and tea has been kept there even though the exporters of these items have been asking for its removal. The cost of production of these items has gone higher and higher because the prices of inputs, whether we import them or manufacture indigenously here, have gone up. The cost of production is so high that I am afraid, if we do not control it, we are going to lose our competitive position in the international market. There has been enormous increase in the production of tea and coffee in the last few years. But export capacity and our competitiveness have been curtailed mainly because our cost of production is steadily going up. Some effort should be made to see that we get the necessary inputs at reasonable cost so that we have a better competitive capacity in international market. Otherwise all this effort at savings and import substitution will not at all help the traditional exports to compete in the international market. I would request Shri Ganesh to look into this particularly because several representations have been made in this regard.

One other point I would like to mention with regard to direct taxes is about the Raj Committee's recommendation and the partial merger, for the rate purposes, of the agricultural income and the non-agricultural income. I am not against this. As has been stated many times, there is a case for this. But if we take into consideration many of the States, particularly the southern States of Kerala, Mysore and Madras, there is agricultural income tax the rates of which are quite high. In fact the exemption limits there also are exactly on the line of the Central Income Tax Act, Rs. 5,000. In Kerala, for instance, it goes even up to 75 per cent for corporate sector whereas in the Central Income Tax Act, it never goes beyond 55 per cent. In the first instance, I would like Shri Ganesh to clarify how they are going to assess agricultural income in order to club it with the non-agricultural income to derive the total income. In a State like Gujarat, people might be growing tobacco and other agricultural commodities. There is no agricultural income tax there. How are the

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]  
going to determine the rate because the total figure will have to be calculated? I do understand the idea with which this was brought.

a person has about Rs. 4 lakhs of non-agricultural income, he will show Rs. 2 lakhs out of it as agricultural income which is not taxable and to that extent the tax revenue is lost to the Government. To prevent this, this new scheme is being introduced. But the difficulty here is this. Suppose I have Rs. 1 lakh of agricultural income, on which the tax incidence in Madras or Mysore will be about Rs. 38,000. I have another Rs. 25,000 as non-agricultural income on which I am paying say about Rs. 3,000 central income tax. If you club these two, after deducting Rs. 5,000 which is exempted, the amount to which the new rate is applicable is for Rs. 1,20,000 which means that most of my non-agricultural income of Rs. 25,000 will be taken away as tax. I am putting forward this point because as an agriculturist one has to husband all the resources for years and put the savings in a bank—say in a nationalised bank—to get 7 per cent interest on investment to give this Rs. 25,000 non-agricultural income. If that is clubbed with one's agricultural income, the whole purpose of giving facilities and incentives for saving is lost.

This is a matter which I would like my friend, Shri Ganesh, to consider, because this immediately affects the Southern States where they have plantations, where the agricultural income is taxable and where the rate of Agricultural income Tax over one lakh of rupees varies from 60 per cent to 75 per cent. I would be very happy if the Finance Minister can give some consideration to it so that some relief will be provided to such of the people who are already paying heavy agricultural income tax compared to those who do not pay.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: (Uttar Pradesh) I am of the impression that it will have to be deducted first before they calculate.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA : It is not that way. As I can understand from the explanatory note, both agricultural and non agricultural incomes will be clubbed together and the first five thousand rupees will be a nil-tax slab in the non-agricultural income and the balance taxable at rates applicable to clubbed income. There is no specific provision to exempt the agricultural income-tax already paid. I am against this. I am only saying that such a provision will give a relief to those who are already paying the agricultural income-tax and will also be an incentive to those other States who want to go in for the agricultural income-tax.

My other point is with regard to the provision made of Rs. 130 crores for food subsidies. - Sir, with regard to the taking over of the wholesale foodgrains trade, I am not against that Sir, because the Government profess they are bringing forward this proposal to see that the producer gets a good price, the consumer gets a steady supply and that there will be certainty of supplies to all areas. If this is what Government is aiming at certainly there is no objection. But, Sir, what I am saying is that at present we are ill-equipped to take up such a huge commercial undertaking. Suppose in the urban areas you have to feed 80 per cent to 100 per cent of the population from the stocks, in a normal year, then in rural areas in a year in which there is a poor crop, at least 75 per cent of rural population also will have to be supplied from the surplus areas. So, for this, Sir, the procurement and distribution machinery is not available and this is my objection. If it is a city and if there is a shortage then there will be demonstrations and Government can rush supplies. But, in rural areas the poor villagers will have to go to the tehsildar to complain and they will have to walk nearly ten to fifteen miles to do this. These practical difficulties are there. This taking over can be done more smoothly in a year when surplus supplies would be available throughout the country, not in a year in



which there is such a shortage of foodgrains and this will surely create great difficulties for consumers and lead to administrative corruption.

With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech on the Budget.

SHRI DHARAMCHAND JAIN (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I must congratulate the Finance Minister for having presented a balanced Budget. The honourable Minister has not taken care to give any incentive for setting up new industries in the backward areas. As the Minister is aware, the development of backward areas has not received due consideration from his Ministry. As a matter of fact, he should give incentives to the new industries to be set up in these backward areas where mostly the backward people and the tribal people stay so that they are given employment and benefit also to a greater extent comes to them and the State exchequer.

The second thing is the tax benefits to the industries to be set up by the adivasis and the Scheduled Caste people so that the monopoly and the big money houses are checked to a great extent.

Another point, Sir, is about the so-called black money running in the market. If the Finance Minister really wants the black money to come out, he should give some sort of incentives for setting up industries in the backward areas so that the industries can come up there and probably he would have to give some concession by not asking them from where the money came for investment. It may not be to the tune of some crores, but it may be a few lakhs or something like that.

The other point I want to mention is that the maximum Income-Tax should not exceed 65 per cent.

If this is brought, black money will not be there.

The Income-tax Rules and Wealth-tax Rules are very much complicated. They

2 RSS/73—10

should be simplified for the convenience of administration and assesses.

There has been no proposal about the price freeze. The Government should consider about the price freeze so that they can also think about implementing the wage freeze idea.

The taxation officers treat the assesses, when they go to them, just like cheats and they behave like zamindars or Maharajas. This is the general approach of the taxation officers all over India. This is nothing new. When a layman goes to them for some advice, they just say: Go and wait. The man has to wait for two or three hours. And where do they sit? Just near the chhaprasi, who may be getting ten rupees or a hundred rupees. This is the state of affairs in almost all such offices all over India. I have personal experience of many States I visited. I have seen this going on. And in spite of the fact that things are brought to the notice of the administration and Commissioners, they just don't care; they have no time to take care of such things because they are all busy otherwise. That is what is what going on.

The Government should also think about taking over certain important industries just like Tobacco industry or Motor industry, specially the trucks unit. As you may be aware, Sir, the Tatas have increased the price of their trucks during the last two years at Rs. 29,000. From where do they get the approval? Nobody knows. But they have increased their price. That is the position...

SHRI PREM MANOHAR (Uttar Pradesh): But they have maintained their policy...

SHRI DHARAMCHAND JAIN : At what cost.'

SHRI PREM MANOHAR : They have contributed to your funds also...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Contributed lakhs of rupees to their election funds...

SHRI DHARAMCHAND JAIN : May be to you...

SHRI PREM MANOHAR : They have contributed to your funds...

SHRI DHARAMCHAND JAIN . You are now one of the richest men nowadays.

Then, about tyre companies also, the price of tyres in the open market is about Rs. 3000 as against the ruling price of Rs. 1900 or Rs. 2000. The manufacturers are doing this in collusion with the tyre-dealers.

Nationalization of the cement industry is also very important.

Then, the Finance Minister has completely ignored the liquor industry. I don't know whether he wants more and more people to drink more and more liquor, so that the liquor industry may benefit. The Finance Ministry should do some re-thinking on this.

Another thing. The various public sector undertakings have a different structure of pay and allowances. This actually creates an imbalance between the employees of different undertakings—because of disparity. This should be rationalized.

Public sector undertakings must run like business houses, and not as Government departments, so that the big losses which they are incurring can be minimised. I don't think it can be stopped; but it can be minimized. The incentive is not there for them, because they get their salaries on the 1st of every month. It is nobody's business whether the thing runs efficiently or not.

Then, rise in the duty on petrol and stainless steel is not at all justified. Actually, by this all classes of people have been affected. Specially, stainless steel is mostly used by the common people nowadays—utensils and other things. Duty on stainless steel should be reduced.

The Finance Ministry should put a ceiling on dividends to be declared by companies, so that the profit beyond a certain limit, after the ceiling, can be invested for the purpose of expansion in that industry.

The Finance Ministry should also think about reducing the administrative expenditure at all levels. The administrative expenditure at all levels is increasing. As a matter of fact, if I am not wrong, the State of Bihar is having 107 per cent administrative expenditure. I have no idea about the other States.

As you know, Sir, this demand for separate States is coming up every now and then. The other day also, there was a demonstration before the Prime Minister. I also met the Prime Minister today. This cannot be stopped because the imbalances are great. The Adivasis and Other poor people are suffering. The big city people do not have any idea of how they live. I went to a block where 35 people died after eating the leaves. I asked the Civil Surgeon. He said they were not starvation deaths. I asked him how he could describe starvation deaths. They had nothing to eat

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI . Where was it?

SHRI DHARAMCHAND JAIN : It was in the district of Singbhum in the State of Bihar. I have brought it to the notice of the Government.

Education system also needs consideration of the Government, especially in the backward areas. Mostly the boys are getting education up to 2nd or 4th class. The girls are not getting any facilities. The disparity is growing between the boys and girls. I do not know what is going to happen in course of time.

My hon. friends from both sides of the House have taken care of the other points and I need not go into them. So, with this I conclude.

SHRI V. V. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as my previous speaker said, some 11 States have laid their budgets showing deficits and it is only Tamil Nadu which has laid a surplus budget. Even though the surplus is small, what is surprising is that none of the 11 States ruled by Congress in the country could present even that small surplus Budget, and we have to see that there are certain features which deserve mention in this august House.

I would have straightaway welcomed the deficit budget of this Government if the final deficit is really confined to 85 crores. Every year we see that the estimated deficit is exceeded. This is what we have seen in the current year and this is what is going to happen in the next year also. The Government says that it is going to accept the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission. If they are accepted, then there will be another deficit of nearly 200 crores. Where will we go for these 200 crores ? It will be added to the estimated deficit of 85 crores. Therefore, the total deficit will be 285 crores.

There are no positive measures to see how the inflation is going to be tackled. I will welcome this budget if there are any positive measures or signs to tackle the black money. According to the Wanchoo Committee, 7,000 crores of rupees worth of black money is in circulation and it is running as a parallel budget. There is no proposal in the budget for tackling this black money. The Government has not accepted the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee and they are hesitating to accept its recommendations. Not only that, if the Opposition parties criticise the Government, they are found at fault. I would submit to the Treasury Bench that they have a unique opportunity, especially after the 1970-71 elections. The masses gave you a massive mandate and the Prime Minister has got a very rare opportunity that any political leader can have in any country. Even after that people have said in unequivocal terms and have given the green signal to you to go ahead with the

progressive measures ; you have not implemented the progressive measures. But you are trying to find fault with the opposition parties. None of the opposition parties stood in your way of bringing in progressive legislations or their implementation. We were all with you when you brought about the nationalisation of banks and the 25th to 29th amendments to the Constitution. But, what happened actually?

Even after the nationalisation of banks we see that 75 private banks monopoly houses control 53 per cent of the assets of the non-banking private sector. Even the LIC is giving more loans only to the monopoly houses ; even the State and Central financial institutions are giving more assistance to the private sector—whereas Commission after Commission has said that the private sector was not job-oriented nor production-oriented but only works on the principle of producing more profits with minimum production. Also, these private projects are not investing much money in the capital investments. Even then you have failed to prevent the public finance institutions from giving increased aid to the private sector. What was the condition on the eve of the bank nationalisation in 1969 continues even today. And when we ask as to what is the remedy for all these maladies you say that you are planning.

We have already completed three Plans and we are in the last year of the fourth Plan and at the Approach of the Fifth Plan. And what does our Planning Minister say ? Even after the exit of Mr. Subramaniam, the previous Planning Minister, the present Planning Minister is not able to assure the people and infuse much courage and confidence in them that we can face the difficult days ahead. The approach to the Fifth Plan says : "It may take another 30 to 50 years for the poorer sections of people to reach the minimum consumption level." It may take even centuries. Perhaps we will not be able to see that; perhaps our sons or even our sons' sons may have to live to see it and say whether it is a truth or not, whether the promises have been fulfilled. It is not a scientific planning, you simply say that you are planning and

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan] when you say "We are planning I am reminded of the incident when the child cries its mother shows the moon or the father shows some toy fruit. You have failed to implement the Plan. You have failed to have proper scientific Plans in this country because, even after four successive Plans, even after 20 years of planning. The problem of unemployment is not solved.

The estimate of five million odd unemployed at the end of the fourth 5-year Plan has now increased to 37 millions and some 25 or 28 million people live below the poverty line. They are not able to get a square meal a day in this country. And even in this budget you say that you have allotted Rs. 100 crores to solve unemployment. It works out to about Rs. 150 each per month for five lakhs of people per year. Where is 37 million and where is 5 lakhs? It is not actually job creation or solving the problem. It is just giving doles to the unemployed,

The previous speaker said that many States or almost all the States which are run by the party in the Treasury Benches are submitting deficit budgets. Why? It is high time this Government considers how measures can be taken to prevent deficit budgets. When we are facing 10 per cent inflation we must present surplus budgets but we are going on presenting deficit budgets at the Centre and in almost all the States

I will just mention what the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Dr. Karunanidhi has said before the Sixth Finance Commission; what he said when he presented the Budget of Tamil Nadu deserves mention. He has recommended to the Sixth Finance Commission that :

"The debt burden of the States should be reduced; the base of divisible taxes should be enlarged 'Corporation Tax' which is primarily an income tax should be brought into the divisible pool; the percentage of excise shared by the States should be increased to 50 per cent."

He has recommended it for all the States—not for his own State alone. Steps must

be taken to implement those recommendations. Whichever party may be sitting in the Treasury Benches, whoever may be ruling, in various States in the interests of the nation as a whole we must make the States economically viable and see that they stand on their own legs but not lean much on the Centre. If the States are so terribly weak financially then the Centre must go to assist such States. In respect of the assistance to the States, in respect of Tamil Nadu I want to submit that the population of Tamil Nadu is 75% of the total country's population, but the loan given to Tamil Nadu is dwindling from Plan to Plan. I will bring to the notice of this House that in the First Plan the State Government of Tamil Nadu was getting 10.8 per cent. It became 9 per cent in the Second Plan and it came down further in the Third Plan to 7.4 per cent. Finally it has dwindled down to 4.4 per cent in the Fourth Plan. In the whole of the Fourth Plan it is only the Salem Steel Plant that has been sanctioned for Tamil Nadu. Out of a total investment for the year 1972-73 of Rs. 686 crores, Tamil Nadu is to get only Rs. 20 crores. It is a step-motherly treatment. I request the Government to give serious consideration for sanctioning more public projects in Tamil Nadu,

There is a proposal in the Budget to get an additional amount of Rs. 293 by way of new taxation. Out of this amount, all the States put together will get only Rs. 42 crores. The rest of the amount Rs. 250 crores goes to the Centre. The Centre stands to be benefited by this new taxation.

Then, there is no mention either in the Economic Survey or in the Finance Minister's speech about the price rise or how to limit inflation in this country. Often, the policy of the Government is professed to be to help the poor people, farmers and weavers but in respect of weavers I want to submit that the Tamil Nadu Government is pressing the Central Government to reserve production of dhoties, sarees, lowels, bed-sheets and bedspreads exclusively for handloom industry and also to

simplify the rules so as to make this reservation easily enforceable. But it is to be regretted that the Government of India have not taken so far any action on this.

Another thing that I would like to bring to your notice is that it is only Tamil Nadu where we have been actually implementing the real socialist resolutions, socialist policies. It is the only State where we are going to make the tillers the owners of the land. We are going to create Tenants and Farmers Corporation to help the tillers to own the land. We are going to construct some 80,000 houses for Harijans. We are very much going ahead with the socialist legislations and the Central Government must come forward to help Tamil Nadu by not only aid but also in sanctioning the projects. For example, we have been repeatedly asking for Sethusamudram project to be sanctioned. My colleague, Mr. Rofaye, was also pressing for this. There is a great defence and coastal trade potential. Therefore, at least the Sethusamudram project can be included in the Fifth Plan. The other day, I was told that Mr. Rao, the Minister for Irrigation and Power, told that unless this Sethusamudram project is implemented, the Government could not think of setting up any thermal plant in Tuticorin. This is because, there are not facilities for ships to carry coal there. Even for defence and other purposes, the Sethusamudram project has to be implemented immediately. Also near Tuticorin, the Industrial Refinery and the Petrol-Chemical Complex Refractories at Salem etc. have to be sanctioned by the Centre.

Sometimes, it is said that the Opposition parties are not cooperating and are less patriotic. I request : Do not underestimate the determinations of the people. People are ready, they are prepared to do or die for the economic progress of the country, not that the Opposition Parties are not willing to contribute the might in the interest of the country. They are certain to do it, we are certain to do it. But what is not certain is if the Government will be able to give correct lead in

overcoming the hardships. This we can judge only by the results, by the performance of the Government. Even after getting the massive mandate, you have failed to wipe out poverty, you have failed to provide employment for millions of people, you have failed to cut down inflation and you have failed to stop the rising prices in this country. It is said that the total damages due to cyclone floods etc. amount to Rs. 631 crores in 1971. The Government says this drought, flood, cyclone and other things are natural phenomena. The total damage is of the order of Rs. 631 crores in 1971; I think this has not happened in any country in the world. But the point is what steps has the Government taken to curb floods and deal with such calamities. You have not taken any steps to deepen the rivers, and put up embankments etc. In olden days the Kings in Tamil Nadu and other places have created new rivers; they have put up embankments. This will not only create employment opportunities but will also help to increase agricultural production. There is drought in 14 States. I am told Sir, out of nearly 1356 million acre feet of annual water flow in the country we have tapped less than 6 per cent. Even if we put through all the irrigation projects at present our economic utilisation of all rivers would not exceed more than 15 per cent. So we must have more irrigation projects, major and minor, flood control projects and deep tubewells if we want to increase production. Members have referred to the problem of fertiliser. We have been asking the Central Government to give us fertilisers. We wanted 2.74 lakh tonnes of fertiliser in terms of nitrogen but we have been given only 1.33 lakh tonnes. If Punjab and Haryana produce more wheat and give it to other States it is Tamil Nadu which produces more rice and gives it to other sister States. It is high time to think of setting up more fertiliser factories and making chemical fertilisers available to the people at cheap rates. The prices of fertilisers and also of pump sets must be reduced,

[Shri V. V. Swaminathan] With reference to the Third Pay Commission I would like to say that it is going to affect all the States which have already submitted deficit Budgets. It is for the Central Government to call all the Chief Ministers and consult them before they implement the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission. [I do not find any reason why there should be this vast difference between the pay and allowances of the Central Government employees and of the State Government employees. Both are living in the same State and in the same place but one gets more pay and allowances than the other and that is the cause of a lot of irritation between the two categories of workers. It is high time, as a socialist policy, to consider a uniform pay scale applicable to all. If the recommendations of the Third Pay Commission are to be implemented by the other States then the Central Government must come forward with financial help for the States.]

I want to invite the attention of the Finance Minister to one thing. How is it that the LIC, the nationalised banks and the public financial institutions go on helping the monopoly houses? Why do you hesitate to take over the monopoly houses? Instead of presenting a deficit Budget you can as well take over the monopoly houses and you can convert all the loans given to these monopoly houses into equity. You are not doing it. You are unable to help the poor to make both ends meet because you have not taken any steps to deconcentrate the economic concentration so that the people can get the benefit. Some seventy-five monopoly houses are controlling more than 50 per cent of the wealth of the country. You are not deliberately doing it, you are not implementing the recommendations of Dutt Committee—Wanchoo Committee and you are finding fault only with the Opposition that they are not co-operating in implementing such legislation. This is alibi. So, Sir, as I have already said, our people are not lacking in patriotism. In times of crisis, when there was a confrontation by Pakistan against India, we, the people, rose and the nation rose and magnificently responded.

We even helped in Bangladesh's liberation, but we are unable to achieve victory in the war against poverty, because the people have lost faith in the Plans as practised by the present Government. The Government must set an example. The Government must adopt measures of austerity. Even in ancient India there were only 56 kings, but we are now having nearly sixty or sixty-one Chota kings as Ministers. They are not reducing the number. Even when there was a reshuffle and there was an increase in the number of Ministers, they have dropped one Minister from Tamil Nadu. They have not appointed a Minister in place of the one who was dropped from the Cabinet. I would request that the strength of the Cabinet must be reduced. They must go on implementing the progressive policies and take over the monopoly houses. They must practise everything for the welfare of the country. As I have already said, the Prime Minister has had an unprecedented mandate which even her father did not receive after independence. She has a rare opportunity to reform the country. Even she said the other day that as a Messiah she had some dreams and unless those dreams were fulfilled she would not step down. We want that she should not become 'a god that failed us'. Only she must fulfil the aspirations of the Nation and ambitions of the poor people.

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I intended to take part in this discussion not because I have any expert views on the Budget to contribute to this House, but because I thought this might be an appropriate occasion to discuss a few issues which do not normally get a hearing in a debate of this nature but are nevertheless, in my view, important. The subject that has dominated the lives of most people in this country during the last year has been food. Largely because of the drought and because of some of the side effects of the war in Bangladesh the food situation reached a point of crisis during the last year and we are still not safely out of it. It has been an educative experience for the country because it has shown

us how vulnerable we still are to sudden changes in climatic conditions. Although we have made enormous progress in the last ten or fifteen years in the production of food and in finding new methods of producing food, we found that all these efforts are still inadequate if nature does not behave normally. Therefore, I feel that no amount of money is truly adequate in a Budget for research on new methods of producing food and exploring the availability of new types of foods. What comes to my mind immediately is the fact that we still have not produced a revolution in the vast oceans around our country comparable to the green revolution we have had on land. The Soviet scientist Prof. Pokrovsky, who is the head of the food institute of the Academy of Medicine in the USSR, recently wrote an article in a newspaper in which he called for developing a Blue Revolution, that is to say, a revolution in the sea. He was suggesting that it is time now to begin large scale scientific breeding of the most productive species of fish and sea-creatures and to establish under-sea farming grounds. I am only mentioning this idea as one of many possibilities which science has opened up to the world and which the under-developed nations more than others ought to take up in a serious manner. There are a few other practical things which we, in this country, should attend to immediately to improve the food situation. The Prime Minister recently spoke of the need to change the food habits of the people, implying, I suppose, that people should learn to eat a larger variety of food. As a people, we are prone to more food-prejudices than any other people in the world, and the most important effort in the matter of changing the food habit should be in removing the taboos concerning food. Very often food habits could be changed by making certain types of foods more easily available in certain areas. For instance, I have noticed in Delhi and other northern Indian towns much more fish being eaten today than 20 years ago. This is because fish is more easily available here, being flown from the west coasts and Calcutta in planes, but if there are fas

train services with cold storage equipment, much more fish can be made available more cheaply in the interior regions of the country.

But there are certain prejudices which are more difficult to remove in our country. Prejudice against beef is one such, which is going to be very hard to change, though I notice from personal experience that quite a few of my Brahmin friends have taken to eating beef. I am not suggesting that anyone in this country should be compelled to eat anything that he does not want to eat, but at the same time I find it an intolerable interference in the liberty of an individual when he is not allowed to eat certain types of foods which he wants to eat. If sufficient public opinion is aroused on this subject without creating violence or unpleasantness it will be possible, I think, in the long run, to remove some of these prejudices, which this country can least afford to have under the present conditions.

I read the other day in a Bangalore newspaper that the Chief Minister of Mysore in a public speech at Bangalore recommended the eating of beef. In the drought areas of Mysore, like Gulbarga, I was told during a recent visit to the State that the villagers were selling their cattle for a handful of grain or for as little as two or three rupees. The Chief Minister of Mysore, may have been thinking of such cases when he spoke about eating beef as one way of meeting our food scarcity.

There is another person I can mention in this connection. That is my friend 'Ir. Gora of Vijayawada, who runs an athiest centre and organises periodical beef and pork parties which are attended by many Brahmins as well as Harijans. Sir, I am not a religious person, and I hope I am not offending anybody's sentiments. But I think it is essential that those who are concerned with public opinion should discuss openly and frankly these delicate subjects which are bound up with religious beliefs and regulations. We can call ourselves a true secular State only if we can

[Shri Abu Abraham! discuss such matters rationally, without arousing passions.

There is also the question of wastage. It has been said recently by certain experts who have studied our food problem that if only we had avoided wastage we should not have to be importing food from abroad at this time. At a recent meeting of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, it was stated that India lost 9.3 million tonnes of foodgrains because of storage in moist conditions; 3.5 million tonnes eaten by rats and birds and 2.3 million tonnes destroyed by insects.

The question of pests also, unfortunately for us in India, often involves region. There is, for instance a well-known temple in Rajasthan where rats are regularly fed. And there are other wasteful practices in various other temples in this country.

When I asked a question the other day in this House on the subject of rats, the Minister of State for Food, Mr. Shinde, objected that it was not connected with the main question which was about storage. Now, how can any storage be efficient in a country where pests are actually bred? Sooner or later, the enlightened public in

this country, and the Government, will have to tackle this problem. There is no reason why we should not start doing it now. There are other types of wastages like wastage of water due to leaks and defective joints, it was reported recently that the wastage of filtered drinking water comes to between 20—40 million gallons of daily consumption in the various States. The water wastage in 11 major States in India is estimated to be 162 million gallons against a daily supply of 651 million gallons. In Delhi it is estimated that 42 million gallons of water is wasted daily, that is, a quarter of the total water supply of 170 million gallons a day. Especially in a year of drought this is a colossal amount. If these figures are right and if this is the pattern of wastage, the Government ought to treat these problems as those demanding high priority.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICECHAIRMAN (SHRI S. S. MAKISWA MY): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-one minutes past four of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 15th March, 1973.