

SUSHILA ROHATGI: Sir I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Delhi Administration Notification No. F. 4 (30)/70-Fin. (G.) dated the 31st March, 1972 publishing the Delhi Sales Tax (IV Amendmend) Rules, 1972, together with a statement giving reasons for the delay in laying the notification on the Table under sub-section (4) of section 26 of the Bengal Finance (Sales Tax) Act, 1941. a; in force in the Union Territory of Delhi. [Placed in Library. See No. Lt.-3052/72]

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND INSURANCE), NOTIFICATIONS

SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI : sir, I also beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) each of the following Notifications of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance), under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962:-

(i) Notification G. S. R. No. 529, dated the 26th April, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon.

(ii) Notification G. S. R. No. 270 (E), dated the 1st May, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. Lt-2079/72 for (i) and (ii)]

(b) A copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue and Insurance) Notification, G. S. R. No. 530, dated the 29th April, 1972, together with an Explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. Lt-2080/72]

[MR. DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

THE FINANCE BILL, 1972—*contd.*

SHRI T. A. PAI (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, while I would like to support the Finance Bill, I feel that the Finance Minister in this country is very often the victim of what happens around. While he may exercise all possible control over the expenditure, over the revenue, he has not got the absolute control on account of the

events that take place all around in our economy. And therefore, very often the Budget, instead of giving a direction to the economy, is being guided by what happens to the economy. I would like to talk today briefly on three major points. One is about the public sector which is expected to make positive contribution to the resources of the economy. The public sector in this country has to reach the commanding heights and it is inevitable that it must expand. There is no question about it. It is not the question whether the private sector is a little more efficient; it is a different point altogether. Nobody can say that the efficiency of the public sector should not improve. Those who are working in the public sector have to realise their commitment to the country. <-The free expansion of the public sector, the profitability of the public sector, the positive contribution of the public sector, is the only means of removing poverty in this country. But the losses that we make on account of inefficiency, lower production not being able to contribute as we envisage as a major source of income for the Government, are also at the expense of the poorest people in this country and it hits them more than anybody else. Today the honourable Minister for Aviation also pointed out that there were some losses in the IAC and whenever the Indian Airlines makes losses, let us remind ourselves that it is the man who walks on the street of India who subsidises the man who flies? Is this the type of socialism that we are attempting? Seventy-five per cent of the people who travel by the Indian Airlines are mostly people who travel at the expense of the Government itself. Even after this, if the losses are incurred and we are not ashamed of these losses or those who are working for the Corporation are not ashamed of these losses, what does it mean? The losses are going to be made good by the Finance Minister through other means of taxation, and it is the poorest man in this country, therefore who is called upon to pay a higher excise on kerosene or on matchboxes or on the essentials of life.

Only one section of the society is always protected by giving increased Dearness Allowance whenever the cost of living rises. But it is again at the expense of the poorest man in this country who has no compensation whatsoever for this kind of rise. Inevi-

tably therefore, it is only one section of our socialistic economy that gets protection. Organised sector always gets a greater assistance from the State than the disorganised sector which claims millions of poor people in the country. A man drawing a salary of Rs. 1,000 may like to have a higher salary. There should be no objection to it. But if he does not contribute Rs. 1,000 in terms of services, he is stealing from the poorest man in this country because ultimately that has got to be made good by the taxes paid. So, I feel that those who are working in the public sector ought to have commitment to the country and it is no use justifying our inefficiency in any sector and more so in the public sector. Let all steps that we are contemplating to take be taken as quickly as possible rather than we involve ourselves in all kinds of seminars, discussions and reports.

Again, what is the difference between public sector and private sector? I have seen work in both. It is the children of Mother India that work in either sector. One is not superior to the other. But in the private sector decisions have to be taken, whenever problems arise and therefore private sector seems to be going forward a little faster. But in the public sector no decision seems to be necessary at all. And in fact a psychology is developing that if you take some decision, you are likely to make mistakes. But if you do not take decisions, you are quite safe. That psychology of work that operates in the public sector is responsible for considerable inefficiency in the public sector.

The Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committees which have gone into the working of most of the public sector units have been satisfied highlighting some mistakes here and there, some misappropriations here and there. But we have not evaluated the loss due to lack of decisions, indecisions and postponement of decisions or how exactly some of these things have affected our economy adversely. The other day I was talking to an officer of NEPA. NEPA is capable of producing a little more of newsprint and their expansion programme is on the way. But their whole building construction is held up because they do not have steel. The result of that is we rather prefer to import newsprint from other coun-

tries rather than trying to see that this building programme is completed. When you look at any public sector project, you come to realise the effect of lack of decisions. It escalates the costs from time to time and ultimately these costs are being financed by all institutions and the Government itself. Most of you know that if decisions are taken the costs can be reduced and perhaps our efficiency can also be improved. Here again, I would like the Government to lay down clear objectives and goods for every public sector unit and entrust the responsibility to those who are working in it to achieve them. I believe that people who are drawing highest salaries must have sense of security only on the basis of their performance. Otherwise, that sense of security should be removed and it is no use protecting them by law. When there is considerable insecurity for millions of people in the country, why should there be security only for one section of population, whether they work or not?

Secondly, I want to emphasize that this country has not laid enough of importance to the habit of savings by the people. It is taken for granted—some people save when rise of inflation is such—that the returns of savings are always out-stepped by the rise in inflation year after year. Saving is not considered patriotic duty in this country and the man who saves is rather punished. Therefore, expenditure becomes more attractive than savings. All the organisations that we have like the banking system, the Life Insurance Corporation, the Provident Fund system, etc., do not take into account this one factor because they feel that because of their cost of administration being high, there it is not necessary to make savings attractive.

It is the fault of the people of this country that our costs of administration are so high that we are not able to pay him a sufficient compensation? And, in that case, he would not have the incentive to save at all. Many of the functions of the subsidizing that we are entrusting to those financial institutions, in my opinion, can be entrusted to a separate corporation which can be called the Subsidy Corporation which may go into the various fields, various areas, of activities and decide what amount of subsidy should be given at what particular time and the saver in this country should

(Shri T. A. Pai)

not be responsible for this. Take the case of the LIC. Today, to mobilise Rs. 100 crores of rupees through life insurance it costs the country Rs. 2-3 crores per year and I have not seen any possibility of reducing this cost except by trying to devise schemes which would be less expensive than what they are today.

In the case of banks, when they were in the private sector, the Inter-Bank Agreement was agreed upon, because they said that if all the banks agreed not to pay a higher rate of interest where will the depositor go. After the nationalisation, the argument is still more valid. When 85% of the banking system is in the public sector, what will the depositor do? The answer is simple: The depositor will go out of the banking system. While we nationalised the banks, let us remember, we did not nationalise the bank deposits, but we only nationalised the banking apparatus and if the deposits are to grow, it is only by geographical extension of banking to cover areas where banking facilities were not available by covering all sections of the society which did not come under the banking system in the past, by the very improvement in the quality of service in banking, so that more and more people who were not bank-minded would now be attracted to come to the banks. I think this geographical extension has gone in a very fast way. But, Sir, I am afraid, importance has not been given to the other aspects as well. Again, Sir, when some of our schemes introduced to attract savings of the community are tax-free, let us remember that those who pay taxes in this country are an insignificant number and for the majority of the people, tax-free benefits do not mean anything in practice. So, it is necessary that we should continuously have a look at this problem because the savings rate has gone down to 8%, and to say that it has slightly improved has no meaning unless it is stepped up to 15%, at least, because, ultimately, if the people of this country are not prepared to reduce their expenditure and save, save for the future, for the building up of the country, deficit financing will have to be resorted to and deficit financing is no answer at all. It is no answer at all because deficit financing eats away all the benefits of saving.

Sir, extravagant expenditure goes on and today, while we talk of austerity, when it comes to practice, austerity seems to have no meaning for the society. Very often I have wondered how black money and socialism can exist together. Now, Sir, what exactly is black money? It is very difficult to say. But, after all, black money is the money which is the result of money remaining untaxed. To me this is the definition, because there is no other clear concept of black money. There is nothing black and while in the sense that if a particular person goes to and spends in a restaurant it becomes 'white' and if that fellow does not take that into account it becomes black. So, the character of the money in each case undergoes so much of change every day. To me, a clearer definition would be that it is the money which does not pay taxes, may be because our laws are such. Take the case of agricultural income, for instance. To say that agricultural income differs from other kinds of income it self does not seem to have any meaning in the present context. According to the Rural Credit Survey of 1962, the amount of money lent to the farmers was of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores. Out of this, Rs. 300 crores came from the organised sector, Rs. 1,300 crores from the agriculturist money-lenders, a new class which came into existence, Rs. 300 crores from the money lenders, and Rs. 180 crores from the commission agents. Now, on this Rs. 1,300 crores. I am afraid, these people must be earning at least 20% to 30%, nearly Rs. 300 crores would be the earning of the farmers and it is not agricultural income, but what under the present system is masquerading as agricultural income, because one sector of the economy has been completely exempted and thus escapes taxes.

Agriculture requires heavy investment, and no sector of our economy will be in a position to provide the money for this, except agriculture itself. Take, for instance, the marketing operations. Even the marketing operations are still very primitive. The result of it is that today all the money that the Food Corporation pumps into the farming sector is not mobilised into the system. The Food Corporation should itself create an agency for mobilising these resources, even from the rural side, and the Food Corporation must be encouraged to finance its operation itself rather than

depend upon the banking system. Otherwise there would be only one link between the Food Corporation and the farmers. And that is of a buyer. One of the objective of the Food Corporation should be to build up farmers also by making them deal with it exclusively. In the absence of it, more money going into the farming sector is used for short-term gains, because today it is much more profitable to finance any commodity for two months or three months in the rural areas and it gives a big return of 20 to 25 per cent. And that avoids tax completely. I think it is a question of rationalization of our tax system as quickly as possible. It is not merely those who are in the highest tax bracket that avoid tax. Even a person who carries on business as a small-scale industrialist, if he makes a profit of Rs. 1 lakh, has to pay tax of Rs. 60,000. Our system today only provides for those who are born lucky, who have inherited wealth and who continue to hold it. That wealth comes under the Finance Minister's axe from year to year and gets reduced. But you must also cover people from below to rise up to that level. I would rather, therefore, wish very much that instead of only talking of urban ceiling and rural ceiling, we have a total ceiling on both urban and rural, without making a distinction, and those who are below this also are given incentives to build up to a particular level.

It is not only the high taxation. But we must also examine the causes why black money has to be created. It is not enough if black money is removed. It is more the creation of black money that we should be concerned with. It again means that the high price economy will have to be seriously tackled and prices will have to be brought down.

The majority of the people with small incomes in this country would like to be honest. It is only because they are not able to make both ends meet that they tend to be corrupt. You cannot corrupt a man if the whisky bottle is sold at Rs. 5. It is possible that he may be corrupted if it is Rs. 180.

Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Yadav.

श्री जगदम्बो प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) :
श्रीमन्, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मंत्री जी हमेशा कुछ न कुछ परिवर्तन की बात करते हैं और कुछ आश्वासन भी देते हैं। मैं एक कविता पढ़ रहा था और वह बड़ी सटीक बैठ रही थी। उस को कवि ने आजादी की 13वीं, 14वीं वर्ष गाँठ पर लिखा था, लेकिन आज भी वह सत्य लगती है।

‘क्या बदला जब मानवता की पीर बही,
तसवीर बही है,
मेरी गीतों की सीता का दर्द बही,
तकदीर बही है,
अभी गगन में ही मंडराते आशाओं के
छलिया बादल,
मरते हुए पपीहे से तो, अभी दूर है स्वाति
का जल,
बदल गया है कुछ लोगों का जीवन,
लेकिन आंसू पीने वालों का परिवार
वही है।’

श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक बदल हुई होगी, कुछ कांग्रेसी बन्धुओं में बदल हुई होगी, इसलिए कि जो आजादी के पहले फटे चीथड़े में रहते थे, उस हालत में थे, आज वे लखपति और करोड़पति होने की स्थिति में आ गये हैं। अगर सचमुच में जांच कराई जाए इन कांग्रेसी मंत्रियों की जैसा कि हमने बिहार में आधे दर्जन मंत्रियों की जांच करा कर देखा कि कितने रुपये उन्होंने कहाँ-कहाँ और कितनी-कितनी चीजें बनायी हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि बदलने की बात जहाँ तक है यादव सत्ता में बैठे कुछ मठाधीशों का तो बदल हुआ हो लेकिन गरीबों की स्थिति जहाँ की तहाँ बनी हुई है।

श्रीमन्, कुछ प्रश्न सामने खड़े हैं कि अरबों, खरबों रुपया खर्च हुआ है, लेकिन देश की आर्थिक स्थिति क्या बनी है, आन्तरिक अवस्था कैसी है, विदेशी प्रभाव और शिकंजे से हम निकल सके हैं या नहीं, देश से विपमता और शोषण का अन्त हुआ है या नहीं, छुआछूत, पिछड़ापन, धेकारी मिटी कि नहीं, देश के

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

प्रशासन में सुधार हुआ या नहीं, न्याय और आगे बढ़ने के लिए जो समानता की बात कही गई थी, वह समानता और समान अवसर लोगों को मिला या नहीं। श्रीमन्, कुछ प्रश्न चौकाने वाले भी हैं। आज भारतवर्ष का सचमुच में आधार स्तम्भ कोई अगर है तो वह किसान है और आज किसानों के मन में भयंकर दुविधा उत्पन्न की जा रही है। हरित-क्रान्ति की बात कही गई। किसानों ने परिश्रम किया और समय ने साथ दिया और जहाँ-जहाँ सिचाई के साधन उपलब्ध हो सके, वहाँ-वहाँ हरित-क्रान्ति कुछ आई लेकिन जैसे ही किसान ने जमीन में पूँजी लगाना प्रारम्भ किया उसी समय से जमीन पर से उसकी मलिकयत समाप्त करने की बात चली। जहाँ तक कि भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी की बात है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी जहाँ-जहाँ राज्यों में की गई है वहाँ-वहाँ उसका कार्यान्वित हो लेकिन भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी करते हुए हम किसानों की आय का भी हिसाब करें, कम से कम एक परिवार की, पाँच, छः लोगों के परिवार के जीविकोपार्जन करने के लिए, सही सलामत रहने के लिए कम से कम एक हजार रुपये की उनकी आय हो। किसान सचमुच में जो देहातों में रहते हैं उनकी स्थिति, अन्न उत्पादन की वृद्धि के कारण, कुछ सुधारने के आसार नजर आए थे, किन्तु, श्रीमन्, आज देश में जो एक नई हवा बहती जा रही है भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी की और कम से कम हदबन्दी करने की उससे दुविधा उत्पन्न होती जा रही है; क्योंकि कहां तक वह आर्थिक हदबन्दी होगी इस पर विचार नहीं किया गया है। श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में अभी तक सरकार की स्थिति साफ नहीं है, लेकिन किसानों में दुविधा डालने की स्थिति साफ नजर आने लगी है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि सरकार जैसे कि कम्युनिस्टों के प्रभाव में जारी है। उनकी स्थिति तो साफ हो सकती है कि वह चाहते हैं कि किसानों की जमीन धीरे-धीरे कम करते जाएं और उसे अनइकानामिक बना कर

उसे क्लेक्टिव फार्मिंग की ओर ले जाएं और वह सरकारी खेती की बात कर सकते हैं, लेकिन अगर किसान अपनी खेती में अपनी जीविका को उचित रूप से चलाना चाहे तो उसके लिये व्यवस्था इस रास्ते से नहीं हो सकती है, इस-लिए निश्चित मिट्टी के ऊपर और निश्चित तथ्यों के ऊपर ही इस विषय में विचार करना चाहिये।

मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और उनका ध्यान इस ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पर भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी की बात करते हैं, वहाँ पर उनका आर्थिक व्यवस्था की स्थिति का भी अध्ययन करें। श्रीमन्, इस भूमि सीमा हदबन्दी को न म दिया गया है भूमि-सुधार का, लेकिन भूमि-सुधार का अर्थ घर पर बैठे हुए लोगों ने क्या ले लिया है? भूमि-सुधार का अर्थ है जमीन को मिचिन करना, उसके लिए अच्छे बीज को उपलब्ध कराना, अच्छे साधन को उपलब्ध कराना। श्रीमन्, इसी सम्बन्ध में मैं वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान दिलऊंगा कि उन्होंने बैंक नेशनलाइजेशन के बाद किसानों को मदद देने की बात कही है और हमने उस समय भी उन्हें याद दिलाया था कि जिस छोटे किसान की बात हम करते हैं, उस छोटे किसान को अगर ट्रैक्टर चाहिये या पावर-टिलर चाहिए या मलकूप चाहिए या अपनी जमीन के विकास के लिए और कोई साधन चाहिए, तो ये बैंक या डेवलपमेंट कोऑपरेटिव बैंक जो ऋण किसानों को देते हैं, वह ऋण सिक्क्योरिटी के आधार पर देते हैं। अगर उन्हें 10,000 रुपये की चीज लेनी है तो 20,000 रुपये की सिक्क्योरिटी देनी होती है और इसलिए जब ट्रैक्टर या टिलर या बोमिंग या पम्पिंग सेट या फर्टिलाइजर बगैरह लेना पड़ेगा तो 20—25 हजार रुपये लेने की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी और इसके लिए उसको सिक्क्योरिटी कम से कम 50,000 रुपये की देनी पड़ेगी। वह सिक्क्योरिटी देने में असमर्थ है। श्रीमन्, मंत्री महोदय ने 3 बार कहा मैं इसकी व्यवस्था करता हूँ। दूसरी बार उन्होंने कहा था मैंने व्यवस्था का उल्लेख

कर दिया है। तीसरी बार उन्होंने कहा अब मैं जमीन पर जा रहा हूँ, यानी इस बात पर सोचना पड़ेगा कि किसान की जमीन को सिक्योरिटी बनाने की स्थिति पैदा हो। मैं स्वयं किसान भी हूँ और मैं सोचता हूँ कि मंत्री महोदय को बहुत कम देहातों में जाने का मौका होता होगा और बड़े-बड़े कारखानों में या बड़ी-बड़ी सभाओं में जाने का मौका ज्यादा होता होगा। छोटे किसानों से मिलने का अवसर शायद उनको कम ही मिलता होगा। आज छोटे किसानों की स्थिति बड़ी भयावह है। छोटा किसान भी जीवित रहना चाहता है, वह भी प्रगति करना चाहता है, उसके दिल में भी उल्लास है कि मैं भी प्रगति करूँ और जो-जो हमारी सरकार के नारे सुनने को मिलते हैं उससे और भी उसके मन में दिलासा उठती है, मनोकामना बढ़ती है। लेकिन बैंक में जाकर सिक्योरिटी देने की स्थिति वह नहीं चाहता। तो आप सिक्योरिटी देने की व्यवस्था में कितना आगे बढ़ पाएँ ?

श्रीमन्, इसी तरह से किसान जो अनाज पैदा करता है उसकी भी ठीक-ठीक कीमत उसको नहीं मिलती है। ऐसे लोग प्राइस को ठीक करने के लिए रखे जाते हैं, जिनको जमीन की उपज करने में क्या खर्चा पड़ता है, उससे कोई वास्ता नहीं पड़ता, यहाँ तक कि वे जो कृषि विद्यालय होते हैं, उनके भी आंकलन को देखना नहीं चाहते। श्री.न्. मैं इस जगह पर कहना चाहूँगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में पचास—पचपन करोड़ एकड़ के लगभग जमीन है। अगर सचमुच में हिन्दुस्तान का कायाकल्प किया जा सकता है तो कायाकल्प का आधार जमीन बन सकता है और यदि जमीन को सचमुच में सिंचित किया जाए तो साल भर फल देने की व्यवस्था हो जाएगी। अगर एक एकड़ जमीन है तो वह दो आदमियों को काम दे सकती है। आज हमारे एक मित्र हजारीबाग में हैं जिन्होंने बिना किसी तरह का केमिकल फर्टिलाइजर यूज करके दिखा दिया कि कैसे खेत में अधिकतम उपज भी जा सकती है और किस प्रकार लोगों को काम मिल सकता है। उनका कहना यह है

कि फेमिली प्लानिंग सरकार चलाती है, लेकिन हम कहते हैं अगर पचास—पचपन करोड़ एकड़ जमीन में सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर दी जाए तो यहाँ तक हो जाए कि आदमी नहीं मिलेगा उसमें काम करने के लिए। हमारे वैज्ञानिकों के कथनानुसार अगर गंगा और कावेरी तक नहर बन सकती है और गंगा से कावेरी तक सिंचित जमीन होगी, तो उतनी सारी जमीन को उपजाऊ करने के लिए और उस पर काश्त करने के लिए जितने लोगों की, मजदूरों की, काश्तकारों की, किसानों की आवश्यकता होगी उसको देखते हुए हमें आदमियों की बहुत कमी मालूम पड़ेगी। इसलिए वे कहते हैं कि फेमिली प्लानिंग को बदल कर उसकी बजाएँ सरकार जमीन को सिंचित करने की व्यवस्था कर दे और फिर उसको ऐसे साधन दे दे कि जिसके कारण किसान सचमुच में अपनी स्थिति को सुधार सके और साथ ही साथ इस देश का कायाकल्प हो सके। तो अगर सचमुच में मंत्री महोदय ने कोई योजना की कल्पना मन में की है और उस कल्पना को साकार करने की बात सोचते हैं, तो उनको कुछ जरूरी बातों की तरफ ध्यान देना होगा।

श्रीमन्, आजादी के पहले जिसके पास दो बड़े उद्योग थे, आज उनके बीस बड़े उद्योग हो गए हैं, पहले जिनके पास 5 करोड़ की पूंजी थी आज 60—70 करोड़ या 100 करोड़ की पूंजी हो गई है। इस एकाधिकार और पूंजीवाद बढ़ाने के बाद भी सरकार गरीबी हटाने का नारा किस आधार पर करती है, यह समझ में नहीं आता। उसी तरह जहाँ पर सरकार राष्ट्रीयकरण की बात करती है, सरकार यह भी दख चुकी है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण करने के बाद जो राष्ट्रीयकृत औद्योगिक क्षेत्र हैं वे घाटे में हैं और घाटे में ही नहीं चलते, बल्कि भोपाल का जो बड़ा बिजली का संयंत्र है, उसमें जितनी पूंजी लगी थी 75 करोड़ की, वह घाटा होते होते पूंजी बराबर हो चुकी है। सरकार और संसद में लोग बड़े ही सक्रिय होकर सुधार की बात करते हैं, लेकिन सुधार अभी तक आया

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

नहीं। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ श्रीमन्, कि ये जो सारा घाटा पड़ता है, इस सारे घाटे की पूर्ति सब प्रकार से गरीबों को टैक्स के रूप में करनी पड़ती है। यह भी निर्विवाद तथ्य है कि भारत की तरह हेवियेस्ट टैक्स देश दुनिया में और कहीं नहीं है। तो उन गरीबों को टैक्स से उबारने का कौन सा इंतजाम सरकार ने किया है? श्रीमन्, आज अपने देश में भयानक और भीषण स्थिति किसी चीज की है तो वह बेकारी की है। आज अपने देश में जो सर्वशक्ति नौजवान हैं, जिसके बल पर देश का उत्पादन हो सकता है, देश की सुरक्षा सुरक्षित रह सकती है, जो देश का गौरव बढ़ा सकते हैं, आज वे नौजवान हजारों और लाखों की तादाद में बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। सरकार हमेशा आश्वासन देती आई है कि हम बेकारों को काम देंगे, लेकिन ज्यों-ज्यों एक के बाद एक पंचवर्षीय योजना खत्म होती जा रही है त्यों-त्यों देश में बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना के खत्म होने पर देश में 50 लाख बेकार हो गए थे, दूसरी योजना के खत्म होने के बाद 90 लाख बेकार हो गए थे, तीसरी योजना के बाद 3 करोड़ बेकार हो गये थे, चौथी योजना के बाद 2 करोड़ बेकार हो गये थे और इस तरह से हमारे देश में बेकारों की संख्या बढ़ती ही चली जा रही है। योजनाकारों को भी इस बारे में आश्चर्य होता है कि जिस देश ने अपने को विकसित कर लिया है आज वहाँ पर इंजीनियरों की कमी है, लेकिन इस देश में, जो कि एक विशाल देश है, जहाँ प्रकृति की बहुत सी चीजें भरी पड़ी हुई हैं, उस देश में 70—80 हजार इंजीनियर बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। इस चीज से बढ़ कर और कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं हो सकती है।

श्रीमन्, जिस देश में इंजीनियर बेकार बैठे हुए हैं, देश प्रगति करने के लिए वचनबद्ध तैयार बैठा हुआ है और सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ भी नहीं कर सक रही है, यह सचमुच में एक

गम्भीर सवाल है। इस चीज का निराकरण केवल नारेबाजी से नहीं हो सकता है। हम वित्त मंत्री जी का बिना भरा भाषण सुनते हैं, लेकिन निराकरण होता नहीं देखते हैं। श्रीमन्, मैं अपने मित्र महोदय, से जानना चाहूँगा कि जहाँ आप बहुमत चाहते थे, चाहे लोकसभा में हो, चाहे विधान सभाओं में हो, सारी जगहों में आपने अपनी आकांक्षाओं से ज्यादा बहुमत मिल गया है। आपने उस आकांक्षा की पूर्ति के लिए लोगों को क्या चुकाया है और उसी इच्छा की पूर्ति किस तरह से करना चाहते हैं। आपके भाषणों से मालूम हुआ कि जो राष्ट्रीय-कृत बैंक हैं वे ठीक ढंग से नहीं चल रहे हैं और उनके जो अधिकारी और कर्मचारी हैं वह ठीक ढंग से काम नहीं कर रहे हैं। ये बैंक ठीक ढंग से काम करें, यह जिम्मेदारी आपकी है और इस जिम्मेदारी से आप हट नहीं सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, आज हमारे देश में जो गरीब और बेकार लोग हैं उनके सामने यह सरकार प्रॉक्टिकल रूप में कौन सी चीज सामने रखने जा रही है जिससे आज या कल यह मालूम हो सके कि बेकार नौजवानों की समस्या का निदान हो सकेगा। कम से कम अगर आप अपनी नीति इस सम्बन्ध में घोषित करते, संविधान में संशोधन करते कि हम काम का अधिकार सबको देने जा रहे हैं, तो कुछ बात समझ में आती। जिन प्रकार से आप मतदाताओं को वोट का अधिकार सुपुर्द करते हैं, उसी तरह से आप को प्रत्येक बेकार नौजवान को यह अधिकार देना चाहिए कि जिनके हाथ खाली हैं, जो बेकार बैठे हैं, उन्हें हम काम देंगे और जब तक काम नहीं देते हैं तब तक उनको मदद देने के लिए कुछ परसेंटेज के हिसाब से जीने का भत्ता दिया जाना चाहिए। जब इस तरह का कोई साफ चित्र वित्त मंत्री जी रखेंगे तब ही देश के नौजवानों को विश्वास होगा कि उनके लिए कुछ किया जा रहा है और सचमुच में देश एक रास्ते पर चलने के लिए तैयारी कर चुका है।

सिर्फ गरीबी हटाओ के नारे देने से गरीबी देश से हटने वाली नहीं है और न ही बेकारी घटने वाली है। आज तो स्थिति यह हो गई है कि जो यह गरीबी हटाओ का नारा दिया गया है उससे कुछ लोगों की गरीबी तो हट गई है और बहुत से लोगों के घरों में गरीबी पहुँच गई है। इसलिए जब तक आप खेती को सर्वोपरि स्थान देने की बात नहीं करते तब तक हम नहीं समझ सकते हैं कि देश में आज जो लाखों की संख्या में बेकार पड़े हुए हैं उन्हें काम मिल सकेगा।

श्रीमन्, जो समता की बात समाजवाद के रूप में कही जा चुकी है, उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक आप आमदनी का रेणियो का हिसाब ठीक तरह से नहीं करते और इसका हिसाब किसी न किसी कीमत पर ठीक करना चाहिये वरना देश में जो इस समय गरीबी की समस्या है, बेकारी की समस्या है, वह हल होने वाली नहीं है। इस समय आमदनी का जो अन्तर है वह एक और 20 से अधिक नहीं होना चाहिये। आज जो आमदनी का अन्तर है और जब हम इसको देखते हैं, तो हमें बहुत दुःख होता है। हम लोग यहाँ पर एयर कंडिशनड कमरों में बैठे हुए हैं और बिहार में लोग लू से मर रहे हैं। आज दिल्ली के होटलों में एक आदमी हजारों रुपया खर्च कर रहा है और बिहार में जो सन्याल लोग हैं वे अन्न और पानी के बिना सैकड़ों की संख्या में मर रहे हैं।

25 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी आप छोटा नागपुर के वनवासियों में कहीं चले जाएं किसी के पास तीन महीने से अधिक का भोजन नहीं है, फिर भी वह साल भर जीता है, पत्ते खाकर जीता है, आधा-पेट, पोता-पेट खाकर रहता है। क्या हम ऐसी स्थिति में विचार करने चले हैं कि हम सचमुच बेकारी मिटा देंगे? अगर बेकारी मिटाएंगे तो किस प्रकार मिटाएंगे? कुछ तो चित्र आप सामने रखें जिससे हम भी

आपक साथ देकर लोगों को बना सकें कि आपने जिस सरकार की गद्दी पर आसीन किया है उसके कुछ विचार बदले हैं, लेकिन लगता है कि सिवाय नारे के कुछ नहीं है। देश में साढ़े 8 लाख परिवार ऐसे हैं जिनके रहने के लिए मकान नहीं है, रैन-वसेरा सी जिनकी जिन्दगी है और मकान भी हैं तो रहने लायक नहीं है। मैंने देहात की जिन्दगी देखी है। एक छोटी सी झोंपड़ी में, जिनमें एक बिछावन मुश्किल से बिछ सकती है उसमें सारा परिवार रहता है। बग़सत में क्या हालत रहती है, आंधी-तूफान में क्या हालत रहती है, इसका वर्णन करें तो पोथा का पोथा भर सकता है।

बिहार की बाढ़ की समस्या, बिहार की सूखे की समस्या किसी से छिपी हुई नहीं है। आज स्पूननिक एज में लोग चन्द्रमा पर जा रहे हैं, लेकिन हम इतने भी समर्थ नहीं हैं कि हम अपनी नदियों को पालनू नदी के रूप में परिवर्तित कर सकें। एक नदी का उदाहरण ले लीजिए। गंगा नदी 1,300 मील की लम्बाई में बहती है इससे 21 करोड़ लोग प्रभावित होते हैं। आप अन्दाज कर सकते हैं कि कितनी जमीन उससे प्रभावित होती होगी। अगर पानी सही सलामत चला तो गंगा नदी बरदान है, लेकिन पानी में उन्नाल तरंगें उठीं, बाढ़ आई या कटाव हुआ तो हाहाकार मच जाना है। वित्त मंत्री बाढ़ के समय जो रिलीफ देते हैं, वह 25 वर्षों में जितना दिया है उसका आंकलन करें और अगर वह एक बार खर्च करने और गंगा नदी को नियंत्रित करते तो जैसी हमारी अब योजना है गंगा से कावेरी तक जाने की वह पहले ही पूरी हो जाती, दो-तीन प्रदेशों की जमीन, जो करोड़ों एकड़ होती, सिंचित हो जाती और जमीन जब सिंचित हो जाती तो 8-10 मन जो उपज होती है वह सैकड़ों मन में बदल जाती। जहाँ पर सिंचित है वहाँ पर हमने लोगों को खेती करते देखा है। आज किमान देखता है कि एक तरफ लहलहाता

[श्री जगदम्बा प्रसाद यादव]

हुआ खेत है और दूसरी तरफ सूखा हुआ खेत है, वह चाहता है कि उसके खेतों में भी पानी जाए, उसके खेत हरे-भरे हो जाए। लेकिन जब तक आप नदियों को नियंत्रित नहीं करते तब तक ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। आज छोटे छोटे देशों ने नदियों को नियंत्रित करके उसकी बाढ़ और कटाव को ही नहीं रोका है, उससे मिचाई ही नहीं हुई, उससे यातायात के साधन भी विकसित किए हैं, उससे मछली पालन को विकसित किया है, जहरों की शोभा बढ़ाई है जबकि हमारे यहाँ ही अधिकांश नदियाँ अभी तक अभिशाप के रूप में हैं। इसलिए मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री का ध्यान उस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। मैंने उनका एक भाषण पढ़ा कि मैन की क्वालिटी को डेवलप करना चाहिए। सचमुच जब तक मानव की क्वालिटी डेवलप नहीं होती तब तक किसी भी चीज की प्रगति नहीं हो सकती। किसी भी काम को करने के लिए, किसी भी जिम्मेदारी को वहन करने के लिए हमें आवश्यकता है अच्छे मानव की। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 25 वर्ष अवधि गति से आपका शासन रहा, इस 25 वर्ष में समाज की कौन सी क्वालिटी डेवलप आपने की है, कौन सी एफिशिएन्सी, कौन सी स्किल डेवलप की है।

आज देखेंगे तो लगेगा कि हर जगह करप्शन साधारण चीज हो गई है, साधारण सी बात हो गई है जिन्दगी में, अब करप्शन के बारे में विचार प्रगट करना भी लगता है हास्यस्पद है। मैंने देखा कि पुलिस विभाग और जहाँ पर राजस्व का लेनदेन होता है वहाँ अपराध पर्वत से है, लेकिन आज जो शिक्षा विभाग है वह भी इससे बरी नहीं है। तो मैन की क्वालिटी डेवलप करने के लिए आपने कौन से रास्ते रखे हैं, और अगर कोई रास्ते नहीं रखे तो फिर कैसे मैन का डेवलपमेंट होगा? आज उम मनुष्य को डेवलप करने के लिए कौन सी चीज आपने रखी है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि

हमारी सरकार जो आजादी की रजतजयंती मनाने जा रही है उसके सम्बन्ध में सरकार यह निश्चित करे कि इस देश में जहाँ पर गरीबी, बेकारी, महंगाई, अपराध और भाई-भतीजावाद का तांडव नृत्य हो रहा है, वहाँ पर रजतजयंती मनाने की सचमुच में जो अभिलाषा है उसका आधार क्या होगा और कौन सी आशा का केन्द्र रजतजयंती बनेगी? महात्मा गाँधी के जन्म दिवस पर या उनकी शताब्दी के अवसर पर हम ऐसे सकल्प करते थे कि हम इतने गाँवों में बिजली पहुँचायेंगे, इतने गाँवों में सड़क पहुँचायेंगे और इतने स्थानों पर शराब बन्दी लागू करेंगे। ऐसे संकल्प लेते-लेते हम पुराने हो गये और अब संकल्प के नाम से शायद लोगों को लगता है कि किसी सेरिमनी या फक्शन के अवसर पर ही संकल्प कर लेना काफी है और उसके बाद उसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं होती है। चीन के आक्रमण के वक्त हमने एक ऐसा ही संकल्प लिया था और इसी पार्लियामेंट में हमने शपथ ली थी कि चीन द्वारा दखल की हुई जमीन का जब तक हम एक-एक इंच वापस नहीं ले लेंगे, छीन नहीं लग तब तक हम चीन नहीं लेंगे। लेकिन आज उस संकल्प को स्मरण करने में हमें कठिनाई महसूस होती है। फिर भी मैं कहूँगा कि यदि हम ने कोई संकल्प इस रजतजयंती के अवसर पर न लेने की कोशिश की तो यह रजतजयंती बेकार होगी और केवल अपनी झूठी ज्ञान और शोक्त को दिखलाना होगा। इसलिए मैं चाहूँगा कि इस रजतजयंती पर आपने जो मैन की क्वालिटी बढ़ाने की बात की है, उसके साथ साथ आप संकल्प लें कि हम अब अपने देश में किसी को गरीब नहीं रहने देंगे। संविधान में जो हम ने माना है कि अनिवार्य शिक्षा लागू करेंगे, तो उस के अनुसार हम अनिवार्य शिक्षा लागू करें, उसके साथ ही दवा के बिना कोई न मरे, काम के बिना कोई नहीं रहे और सभी बच्चों को आप दुध की निःशुल्क व्यवस्था करें, जब तक लोगों को आप काम नहीं देते हैं, तब तक उन को बेकारी का भत्ता मिले, जनको बुढ़ापा अभिशाप है, जिन

को कोई देखने वाला नहीं है उन के लिए आप निश्चित पेंशन की व्यवस्था करें। साथ ही हम यह व्यवस्था चाहते हैं कि आप का प्रशासन शुद्ध, दुस्त और सस्ता भी हो। इसीलिए श्रीमन् रजन जयन्ती के अवसर पर हम चाहेंगे कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय आज इस सदन में कुछ संकल्प रूपी घोषणा कर दें जिस से सदन में लोगों को यह आशा हो जाए कि रजन जयन्ती में जो विशेष खर्च होंगे उन खर्चों से हमारे गरीब वर्ग को विशेष कोई कष्ट नहीं होगा और उन को उस से ऐसा लगे कि वह खर्चों उन के लिए हो रहा है और इस प्रकार की आशा गांव गांव में जानी चाहिए।

SHRI M. K. MOHTA (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it would appear that the Government has not learnt any lesson from its experience of several years that it has been in power and particularly its experience of following a particular policy which has not, unfortunately, resulted in bringing prosperity to the country. Once again we find that the process of transferring resources from the hands of the public to the coffers of the State has been continued, completely disregarding the fact that it will be a misnomer to call it mobilisation of resources because real mobilisation of resources ought to consist of increasing the total resources at the disposal of the society and not on y that, but thereafter putting to to good use, putting it to productive use, so that the resources at the disposal of the society would increase at a geometric rate and there will be real abolition of poverty as has been proclaimed by the Government. Unfortunately, what has been happening is only that the resources which could be productive in the hands of the people are taken away by the Government and put to such a use that they become either unproductive completely or at least semi-productive. This, to my mind cannot be called mobilisation of resources, and the great necessity in the country today of husbanding the resources is not being given the attention that it deserves.

Sir, it has been the experience that deprivation of resources with the public hamper growth to a much greater extent

than those resources generate growth through the Government. So, the society is at a net loss. This has been our experience over the past so many years and unless the Government recognises this and changes its policy for the better. I am afraid the real goal before the country would not be reached.

Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has proclaimed the necessity of Increasing institutional savings, public savings as he calls it. May I remind the hon. Minister that corporate saving in the private sector is also a form of public saving, institutional saving, which could be put to great productive use ? And here I must make a distinction between savings in the hands of an individual and savings in the hands of a corporation, due to the simple fact that while most of the savings in the hands of the individual can be used for consumption, most of the savings in the hands of a corporation have to be used for productive purposes. Therefore, any relief that the Finance Minister might have given to the corporate sector would have added to the total savings of the country which are, put to productive use. Unfortunately, this has not been so.

Sir, there has been no relief in the Budget that has been presented by the hon. Minister of Finance. Not only in this particular Budget, but in October and December, 1971 when mini-Budgets were presented, the total yield would come to something like Rs. 500 crores a full year. In addition to that, another Rs. 183 crores of taxes have been imposed in the recent Budget. Not only that. But there is a hint of additional burden, a dark hint about the clubbing of the incomes of the husband and wife and minor children, which would further add to the burden of the taxpayer. I would like to point out in this connection that today the ruling party has a massive majority not only in Parliament but also in most of the State Legislatures. Today, the ruling party and the Government do not need any slogans to keep themselves in power. The prestige and stature of the hon. Prime Minister is such that any policy that is good for the country, even though it may prove to be unpopular in the short run, can be undertaken by the Government today, because the Prime Minister-

[Shri M. K. Mohta]

ter is the one person, after many, many years, who has attained such a stature that the public has complete confidence in her, and I wish that this stature, this position, that the Prime Minister has attained would be put to such a use with such courage that some policies which are in reality good for the people but may be unpopular due to ignorance or due to any other reasons, may be undertaken by the Government for the good of the people.

Sir, quite a lot has been talked regarding ceilings—ceiling on agricultural land, ceiling on urban property, ceiling on wealth, ceiling on incomes and so on. I do not understand why there is a talk about ceilings only in the country. Why is not there any talk about floor or minimum income for every one, about the minimum level of wealth for every family? Why can we not talk of and plan and work for a situation wherein *per capita* income of the country would increase from the present level of Rs. 500 to Rs. 25,000? And this is not a day dream. The *per capita* income of Rs. 25,000 is not something which is unattainable, and even if we were to attain in by the end of the century, I think something would have been done. Even then we would be very much below the present level of *per capita* income of America and we would be only slightly higher than the present *per capita* income of Japan. What I am trying to say is that this is achievable. But that can be achieved only if we can start planning for prosperity and stop planning for poverty. The fundamental question, to my mind, is whether the Budget and the economic and fiscal policies of the Government encourage economic growth with social justice. As the hon'ble Finance Minister has himself said growth, social justice, self-reliance, investment and mobilisation of resources are mutually reinforcing processes. Unfortunately, in the country sometimes it is not fully realised that while economic growth can be possible without social justice, social justice cannot be achieved without economic growth. What I am trying to say is we must have first economic growth. It is factories and industries and other productive enterprises that can later build schools and hospitals and other social services, not the other any way round.

This priority has to be kept very clear before the Government and the people if we are to achieve social justice at all. Without fast economic growth and a fast rise in the gross rational product we cannot have more employment opportunities, we cannot have higher distribution of income and we cannot eradicate poverty at the lowest level.

A very high-powered and expert body was constituted by the Government some time back; namely, the Wanchoo Committee and the recommendations of that Committee have been published recently. The hon'ble Finance Minister has said that the recommendations are under the consideration of the Government and a comprehensive proposal would be brought before Parliament very soon giving effect to such of their recommendations as are accepted by the Government. I only wish, Sir, that while considering the recommendations of this Committee the Government will not lose sight of the fact that the recommendations are an integrated whole, and simply taking out a few stray recommendations which are to the detriment of the taxpayer and completely ignoring those recommendations which are in the interest of the taxpayer would not serve the purpose for which the Wanchoo Committee has given so much time and attention.

An extremely important and, to my mind, a non-controversial recommendation of the Wanchoo Committee was in respect of the level of taxes. In no uncertain terms the committee has come to the conclusion that too high and actually expropriatory levels of taxation give rise to not only tax evasion at some levels but erode completely the capacity to save and reinvest which have a very adverse effect and a direct bearing on the capacity of the taxpaying people to reinvest and take part in the developmental processes in the country.

Sir, in this connection we cannot lose sight of the fact that national savings decreased from a level of 11.1 per cent, in 1965-66 to 8.3 per cent, in 1970-71. whereas 18 to 20 per cent of the national income must be saved for self-generating growth. The average annual increase in gross investments in the first two years of the Fourth Plan may be no more than 4.8 per cent as against the target of 9.8 per cent in the Plan.

As regards industrial development, it is well known that recently there has been near-stagnation in the development of industries. The industrial production index which rose by 6.6 per cent in 1968-69 and 6.9 per cent in 1969-70, has come down to 3.5 per cent in 1970-71 and may be no more than 4 per cent in 1971-72. In spite of this near-stagnation in industrial development, the hon. Finance Minister has thought it wise to abolish the incentives that were heretofore given to priority industries. The effective tax rate in such industries has been increased from 50.6 per cent in 1970 to 57.75 per cent. Not only that, there is also a warning from the Government that the development rebate would be abolished in due course. Along with the announcement regarding the pro-

posed abolition of development rebate, no alternative proposal has yet been announced by the Government regarding incentives to industries, particularly in the priority fields, to encourage their establishment and their growth to the desired extent. In 13 years since 1960-61, the effective rate of corporation tax has increased from 40 per cent to 58 per cent, or an increase of as much as 45 per cent. This will give us an idea of the extent to which private savings have been eroded. And that is why the industrial sector particularly has not been able to fulfil the task assigned to it. Even now, not much has been lost. If the magnitude of the problem and the reasons for the stagnation are understood by the Government and a sympathetic attitude is taken to encourage more industrialisation and not only more but speedier industrialisation, then we can definitely achieve the goal that we have set before ourselves and also provide employment to the thousands and millions of unemployed people who are roaming the country to-day.

Sir, a little arithmetic would show that if the tax on priority industries were to be reduced to 40 per cent and the general tax on corporations were to be reduced to 50 per cent, the loss to the exchequer would be no more than Rs. 90 crores in a full year. This has to be seen in the proper perspective. This can easily be made up by reducing the outlay on Central and Centrally sponsored schemes by a like amount of Rs. 90 crores. Even then, the allocation to the Central and Centrally

sponsored schemes would be at a fairly high level. The allocations in this respect are Rs. 1,787 crores this year, which are higher by Rs. 332 crores over last year's figure. So, even if a pruning to the extent of Rs. 90 crores were to be made, they would still be higher by Rs. 242 crores over last year's level. The point that I am trying to make is that this pruning of Rs. 90 crores in Central schemes would not affect the economic growth of the country so much, but would be more than counter-balanced by the industrial growth and economic growth in general which would be generated in the *free* sector, by this incentive of Rs. 90 crores a year. As a safeguard against frittering away of resources, the Government can provide for some measures by which this relief would be re-invested in productive enterprise and would not be simply frittered away by way of dividends or other consumption expenditure.

1 P.M.

Coming now to some of the specific provisions of the Finance Bill, I would like to comment on a few clauses. Clause 4 (a), it is an amendment to Section 10 (3) of the Income-Tax Act. This is regarding tax on casual or non-recurring income. If the intention of the honourable Finance Minister had been only to tax an income by way of lottery prizes, I do not think there would have been any objection to it. But the way the section has been worded, I find that amounts presented to a public figure by his admirers as a gift in cash or kind—about which we hear so much nowadays—awards and cash prizes given for distinguished service or outstanding achievements in the field of science, technology, literature, art, etc., an amount received by the widow of a deceased employee out of *companionate* considerations from a former employer, awards of cash prizes under quiz programme and other activities of a similar nature run by a company for trade promotional purpose, all these also would be covered and would be taxed in future. I do not think that this is the intention of the honourable Minister. Therefore, the wording should be suitably amended to exclude all these incomes.

Then clause 4 (b) regarding gratuity to be paid to an employee. It appears

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that the object of the amendment is to exempt from taxation in the hands of an employee, gratuity received only in the event of retirement, incapacitation or termination of employment. This amendment excludes from the scope of the exemption, gratuity paid as a result of voluntary resignation of an employee prior to superannuation. This is an avoidable hardship which can easily be rectified by suitably wording the section.

Then, clause 7 (c) about treatment of charitable trusts. It would appear that a trust forfeits exemption from tax if any income or property of the trust or institution is used or applied during the previous year for the benefit of some persons who have been mentioned in the Clause. The expression "manager" of the institution has not been defined. And it would appear that if a paid manager derives some benefit out of the income of a trust, then the income of the entire trust would be subject to taxation. This is another hardship which perhaps is unintended and could be rectified.

Clause 3 (b) and 6 regarding charitable trusts. The provisions apply for the assessment year 1973-74. But, although the honourable Minister has announced on more than one occasion that tax reliefs and tax laws would be prospective in fact in certain cases this may become retrospective in effect. Therefore, I would urge upon the honourable Minister to make this provision effective from June, 1962 instead of from March, 1972.

Another clause is regarding . . . (Time bell rings) Sir, I will take only three or four minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have already taken three minutes more.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I am finishing in only two or three minutes.

Clause 18 regarding tax relief for priority industries. The withdrawal of the tax relief for all priority industries without adequate prior notice seems harsh, particularly as many new industries in the priority sector have relied on the tax exemption

of 5 per cent of their cash flow. Moreover, the combined effect of the withdrawal of this tax relief from 1973-74 and of the development rebate after March, 1974 would be serious in the case of priority industries. It is, therefore, urged that the proposed withdrawal of the entire schedule of priority industries should be reconsidered by the Government.

Another clause that I would like to draw the attention of the Government to is regarding deduction of tax at source from payment to contractors. The new provision for deduction of 2 per cent of an amount payable to a contractor is likely to create administrative difficulties because the term "contractor" and the words "carried out any work in pursuance of a contract" have been defined and clarified by the Government. The term "contractor" can be taken to mean such a wide range of people who work in pursuance of a contract with a company that it will lead to a lot of confusions, and the intention of the Government would not be properly served.

The last clause to which I want to invite the attention of the House is Clause 45 regarding amendment of Section 5 of the Wealth-tax Act on exemption for investment in industrial undertakings. The amendment of Section 5 of the Wealth-tax Act by which investment, together with other items, up to a limit of Rs. 1,50,000 in industrial undertakings by an individual or partner or a firm is exempted from Wealth Tax is welcome. I, however, strongly urge that this exemption should not merely be confined to industrial activities. In the context of the unemployment situation prevailing in the country, many other types of activities which are not industrial activities contribute as much, if not more, to the growth of employment and there is no reason why this concession should not be extended to amounts invested in other types of business activities.

I once again urge the Finance Minister to take the situation prevailing in the country in the economic sphere as a whole and not to have water-tight compartments between private sector and public sector and not to be carried away by slogan and not to be after ideology for the sake of ideology. Let us have some concrete action on the

part of the Government so that the economy of the country could be strengthened and poverty removed, instead of following an ideology in pursuit of an obscure goal.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : After lunch the first speaker will be Shrimati Savita Bahen. The House now stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

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

The House reassembled a lunch after two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN IN THE CHAIR.

श्रीमती सविता बहिन (दिल्ली) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष जी, यह फाइनेंस बिल जो हमारे सामने आया है इसमें कोशिश तो की गई है कि कुछ चीजें इस तरह की लाई जायें जो समाजवाद को आगे ले जाती हैं। दरअसल किसी भी प्लानिंग, किसी भी आगे से प्रोग्राम की सीढ़ी उसकी फाइनेंस होती है। एक ले आउट की तरह से फाइनेंस बिल है। जिस तरह से फाइनेंस का प्रोग्राम हम बनायेंगे उसी तरह से आने वाला समाज बनेगा, उसी तरह से काम होगा और उसी तरह से देश आगे बढ़ेगा। इसमें कुछ चीजों की तरह सही ध्यान दिया गया है।

मैं आप का ध्यान एक दो चीजों की तरफ दिलाना चाहती हूँ। दिल्ली जो सारे देश की राजधानी है उसका एक खास कैरेक्टर है। बिजिनेस के लिहाज से सर्विस के लिहाज से अमेनिटीज के लिहाज से यहाँ के रहने वालों की दिक्कतें भी बहुत हैं, लेकिन कुछ सुविधाएँ बढ़ाने की बात भी हमेशा की जाती है। दिल्ली राजधानी है। इसलिए यहाँ पर कोई असेम्बली की बात नहीं चल सकती। लेकिन फिर भी एक डेमोक्रेटिक सेट अप है, मेट्रोपोलिटन काँसिल है और कुछ चीजें उसके जरिये से तय की जा सकती हैं। इस फाइनेंस बिल में दिल्ली के मुतालिक एक अमेंडमेंट रखा गया है जो सेक्शन 6 को निकालता है। जो पहले था उसमें दिल्ली को सेल्स टैक्स से बरी किया गया था। दिल्ली में अपना कोई प्रोडक्शन नहीं है। वहाँ बाहर से रा मँटीरियल आता है। यहाँ जो इंडस्ट्रीज हैं वे

उस रा मँटीरियल के जरिये से बिजिनेस भी करती हैं और अपनी अपनी इंडस्ट्रीज में उसको यूज भी करती हैं। पंजाब से आने के बाद और दिल्ली में इतनी आबादी बढ़ने के बाद जिस तरह से यहाँ हर एक मामले में बढ़ोतरी हुई है उसी तरह से व्यापार में भी हुई है। लगभग 60 हजार युनिट यहाँ पर काम करते हैं छोटे बड़े सब मिला कर। अब 20, 25 साल के बाद उन्होंने अपने आप को इस्टैब्लिश किया है, दूसरी स्टेड्स के साथ जो भी हालात हैं उनके तहत अपने व्यापार को जमाया है, तो ऐसे समय में उनके साथ ऐसा व्यापार करना उचित नहीं होगा। जब एक तरह हम समाजवाद को लाने जा रहे हैं, जब एक तरफ हम यह योजना अपने सामने रखते हैं कि किसी का कुछ छीनना नहीं है और जो नीचे हैं उनको ऊपर उठाना है, जिन के पास कुछ नहीं है उनको कुछ देना दिलाना है और उनके लिए सुविधाएँ जुटानी हैं, तो दूसरी तरफ यह जो इसमें प्राविजन किया गया है इससे उनको फायदा पहुँचने वाला नहीं है। इससे यहाँ के व्यापार को बहुत धक्का लगेगा। अगर इस तरह से इस बलाज को निकाल करके नया अमेंडमेंट यहाँ पर लाया जाएगा और मंजूर किया जायेगा तो उसमें जिस तरह से रा मँटीरियल पर सेल्स टैक्स लगाने की बात है उसमें न सिर्फ यहाँ के व्यापार को धक्का लगेगा बल्कि यहाँ की आमदनी को, रेवेन्यू को भी बहुत बड़ा धक्का लगेगा। मैं नहीं जानती कि हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था को सोचने वाले आफिशियल्स और स्पेशलाइज किए हुए ग्रुप ने कैसे यह सोचा है। टर्मिनल टैक्स जितना हम दिल्ली में वसूल करते हैं वह हमारी आमदनी का, हमारे रेवेन्यू का एक बहुत बड़ा जरिया है।

अगर सेल्स टैक्स लगा दिया जाता है तो वह व्यापार को एक धक्का लगाने की बात होगी और उससे जो खास रेवेन्यू का जरिया है वह बहुत कम रह जाता है। मैं सिर्फ एक चीज लेती हूँ, आयल को लेती हूँ तो बहुत सारे रा मँटीरियल पर टैक्स लगाया गया है, लेकिन इंटर स्टेट सेल्स

[श्रीमती सविता बहिन]

टैक्स का प्रप्रोजल रखा गया है 3 परसेंट का, और स्टेट में वह बँदी करता है 5 टु 7 परसेंट। बहुत से रा मँटीरियल वहाँ आते हैं और फिर दूसरे स्टेट्स में जाते हैं। उन की खपत दूसरे स्टेट्स में मोर दैन 60 परसेंट होती है उनको जब वह माल अपने स्टेट में कम सेल्स टैक्स पर मिल सकता है तो वह उस को यहाँ से क्यों मंगावेगे। यह बात यहाँ के व्यापार करने वालों को एक बड़ा धक्का पहुँचाने और इस कारण हमारा माल बाहर नहीं जा सकेगा। अगर 3 परसेंट इंटर स्टेट सेल्स टैक्स जमा किया गया है और 5 से 7 परसेंट दिल्ली के लिए किया गया है उससे भी दिल्ली के व्यापार को बहुत बड़ा धक्का लगेगा। दूसरी बात यह है कि अल्टीमेटली यह कर किस पर पड़ेगा। इसका सारा बोझ तो कंज्यूमर पर पड़ेगा, खरीदार पर पड़ेगा। अगर हम किसी जगह भी टैक्स को बढ़ाते हैं, रा मँटीरियल पर या तैयार चीजों पर तो अल्टीमेटली उसका बोझ खरीदने वाले पर ही पड़ता है। एक तरफ तो हम चीजों को सस्ता करने की तरफ कदम बढ़ाते हैं, एक तरफ तरफ हम गरीबी हटाने की बात करते हैं, एक तरफ हम समाजवाद लाने की बात करते हैं और उसके लिए कदम उठाने की बात करते हैं और हमने कुछ कदम उठाये भी हैं, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ अपना आफिशियल ढाँचा कुछ इस तरह की चीजें बना कर हमारे सामने रख देता है कि जिसमें न चाहते हुए भी उलझ जाते हैं और जिसके कारण हमारा समाजवाद आगे की तरफ न जा कर पीछे की तरफ चला जाता है। तो मैं आयल की बात कर रही थी। अभी तक हम एक लाख 25 हजार टन आयल मांगते हैं और उनको दूसरे स्टेट्स को भी भेजते हैं, लेकिन अगर दूसरे स्टेट्स, गुजरात आदि अपने आप आयल लेने लग जायें तो हमारे पास दिल्ली में केवल 25,30 हजार टन आयल की खपत ही रह जाती है। आप सोचो कि कितना टर्मिनल टैक्स कम हुआ। इसमें ही करीब 30 लाख रुपये

का नुकसान होता है और जो दूसरे स्टेट्स को जाता है, किसी को 11 परसेंट, पंजाब को 28 परसेंट है, हरयाणा को 29 पर सेन्ट है, आदि वह बाहर भेजा जाता रुक जाता है और इस प्रकार यहाँ के ट्रेड का डाइरेक्ट नुकसान होता है। मेरे ख्याल से इस मामले को तो जो यहाँ का डेमोक्रेटिक सेट अप है, जो दिल्ली को नयी मेट्रोपोलिटन काँसिल बनी है उस को रेफर करना चाहिए और उससे सलाह करके, या यहाँ के चेम्बर आफ कामर्स के प्रतिनिधियों से मलाह कर के देखना चाहिए कि क्या निकलता है और किन किन चीजों पर टैक्स लगाया जा सकता है। अगर टोटल सेल्स टैक्स लगाने की जरूरत है यहाँ तो उस को हम सब लोगों को बैठ कर तय करना चाहिये। जिस समय यह प्रपोजल कंसीडर किया गया था उन समय जो डेमोक्रेटिक ढाँचा दिल्ली में था, मैं विद इयू रेस्पेक्ट अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ कि उन्होंने अभी देश की बेहतरी की बात नहीं सोची, उन्होंने कभी देश की सेवा की, देश के भविष्य की बात नहीं सोची। वे फौरी बक्त की बात सोचते थे और उसी के हिसाब से काम करते थे। कभी-कभी ऐसी जमातों को, इन तरह से सोचने वालों को मौका मिलता है और उस में वह गलत काम भी कर जाते हैं। कभी कभी सही काम भी कर जाते हैं। जिस तरह का यह प्रपोजल आया है मैं समझती हूँ कि इस को फिर वापस जाना चाहिये और इसको फिर से रिकंसीडर करना चाहिए। इसमें सिर्फ तेल की ही बात नहीं है, लोहे की बात है काठन की बात है, हर चीज के व्यापार पर इसका सीधा असर पड़ता है और जो चीजें इससे डाइरेक्ट एफेक्ट है मैं आपकी जानकारी के लिए उन की लिस्ट आपके सामने रखना चाहती हूँ। आप देखें कि किस तरह से इस का आम लोगों पर डाइरेक्ट असर पड़ेगा। एग्जीक्यूटिव इन्फ्लेमेट्स वह सारे इससे अपेक्ट है, पैकिंग करके दूसरी चीजें जो बाहर भेजी जायें, कैंटिल फाड्स इससे एफेक्ट है, एलेक्ट्रिकल सामान इस से एफेक्ट है, फटिलाइजर इस से एफेक्ट है, तम्बाकू के प्रेपरेशन्स इससे एफेक्ट

हैं, कंटी मेड शूज इस में आते हैं, पाटम, आचार मुरब्बे, चर्खें, तकली, बेंसिल, काफी, तमाम घर में जो इस्तेमाल होने वाली चीजें हैं, इस से एफेक्टिव हैं। रोटी चपाती तक के ऊपर सेल्स टैक्स आ जाता है और इस तरह से कोई भी आम चीज घर के इस्तेमाल की बचती नहीं है। अगर इस सेल्स टैक्स को दिल्ली के ऊपर लागू करते हैं तो यहां के लोग जोकि पहले ही मंहगाई में पिस रहे हैं वह और पिस जायेंगे। यहां के, कैपिटल के, रहने वालों को हम कुछ विशेष सुविधायें न दे सकें तो मैं समझती हूँ कि हम से कम उन्हें ज्यादा परेशानी में डालने की कोशिश नहीं करनी चाहिए और इन सारी चीजों को सामने रखते हुये, ध्यान में रखते हुये, मुझे उम्मीद है कि माननीय फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय इस पर फिर से गौर करेंगे। मैं आपके जरिये से उनसे दरखास्त करना चाहती हूँ कि दिल्ली के इस प्रॉपोजल के ऊपर, जो इन्होंने सेल्सटैक्स का अमेंडमेंट सेवशन 69 के अन्दर लाने की कोशिश की है और जो सेक्शन 6 को ड्राप करने की कोशिश की है, उस पर फिर से कंसीडर करने की कृपा करें।

एक बात मैं और अर्ज करना चाहती हूँ। अभी एक प्रॉपोजल और सामने आने वाला है जिसमें कि परिवार की इंकम को, पति और पत्नी की इंकम को इक्वलाइज्ड असेस किया जाएगा। उसके बारे में भी, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी एक दरखास्त है। हमारे यहां हालात से मजबूर होकर लोग काम पर जाते हैं और दोनों पति और पत्नी काम करते हैं क्योंकि घर का गुजारा नहीं चलता, घर का स्टैंडर्ड नहीं बनता, बच्चों की पढ़ाई लिखाई और परवरिश ठीक से नहीं चलती और हम चाहते हैं कि देश के जितने रहने वाले लोग हैं सभी ज्यादा से ज्यादा मेहनत करने वाले हों और यहां डिगनिटी आफ लेबर आये और जितने भी बकिंग मैन और वीमेन हैं वह देश के प्रोडक्शन को, देश की दीलत को बढ़ाने वाले बने लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हम यह इन्सेटिव छीन लेते हैं और कुछ इस तरह के

कानून बना देते हैं जिससे कि आम इन्सान पिस जाता है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि शायद इस वजह से इस चीज को लाने की कोशिश की गई होगी क्योंकि जो बड़े-बड़े सैरमायेंदार हैं, बड़े बड़े मिलऑनमेंट हैं, बड़ी बड़ी फैक्ट्रीज वाले हैं जिन्होंने छः-छः, आठ-आठ या दस-दस कंसर्न्स बना करके रखी हुई हैं, वे कुछ इन्कमटैक्स को बचाने के लिए घर में जो उनकी स्त्री होती हैं, उनकी पत्नी है या बहन है, उनमें से किसी के नाम में वह दिखा देते हैं और पे की तरह से या हिस्से की तरह से उसमें दिखाते हैं, तो उसको बचाने के लिए, उसको रोकने के लिए शायद यह किया है। उसको जरूर रोकना चाहिये, उस तरह की चीज का रोकना बहुत जरूरी है और शायद उस तरह की चीज को रोकने के लिये ही यह अमेंडमेंट लाने की कोशिश की गई होगी लेकिन इसमें आम परिवार भी पिस जायेंगे इस लिए जरूरी है कि इन्कम की एक लिमिट रखी जाए कि इतनी इन्कम तक के परिवारों की जो इन्कम है उसको ज्वाइंटली असेस किया जाएगा लेकिन इससे वाम इन्कम वाले परिवार जो हैं उनको अलग-अलग असेस किया जाएगा ताकि इन्कम टैक्स का बोझा उनके ऊपर उतना न पड़े और जिस उत्साह के साथ घर में परेशानी उठा करके, घर के काम काज को छोड़ कर के और घर के बच्चों की परवरिश को छोड़ कर के वहेन काम पर जाती हैं सिर्फ इस ख्याल से कि हमारी गुजर सही तरीके से हो सके, रहन सहन का स्टैंडर्ड मेन्टेन कर सकें वह काम करने जाती हैं, तो उनमें वह उत्साह बना रहने दें। यह न सिर्फ उन परिवारों के लिये जरूरी है बल्कि मेरी राय में देश के लिए भी जरूरी है और मुझे उम्मीद है कि हमारे जो काबिल साथी मिनिस्ट्री में बैठे हुए हैं वह इस तरफ जरूर गौर करेंगे, ध्यान देंगे और देखेंगे कि किस तरह से इन्कम टैक्स ऐक्ट के क्लाजिज को घटाया जाए, बढ़ाया जाए, उसमें अमेंडमेंट लाया जाए जिसमें कि आम लोग जो थोड़ा कमाने वाले हैं जिनकी गुजर मुश्किल से होती है उनकी इन्कम ज्वाइंटली असेस न की जाए उनकी इन्कम सेपरेट असेस की जाये और जिनकी बहुत ज्यादा इन्कम है और जो

[श्रीमती सविता बहिन]

इन्कम टैक्स बचाने के लिए इस तरह के तरीके निकालते हैं उनकी इन्कम वेशक ज्यादाली असेस करें।

धन्यवाद।

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS (Assam) : Mr. Deputy Chairman. Sir, the spokesmen of the big business have been shouting from the housetops that they are crushed because of the heavy burden of taxation. Of late, Mr. Palkhivala seems to have become the chief intellectual guide of the big business in India. He has been writing and lecturing extensively on this subject and the central theme of his talks is that if a concession is given to the big business and if taxation is reduced then the big business will get incentive and they can save and help in mobilisation of resources and there will be more industrial production and so on and so fourth. According to them the economic growth of this country depends on the reduction of taxation on big business

Now I am not going to answer this argument in detail. I will only quote certain facts. What is the percentage of direct taxes of the total taxation—in 1950-51 and indirect taxes of total taxation?

The ratio between direct tax and total tax in 1950-51 was 47.1% and that of indirect tax and total tax was 52.9%. That was in 1950-51. What is the situation today in this new Budget? In this year the ratio will be in the case of direct tax 26.5% and in the case of indirect tax 73.5% which means the ratio of direct taxation to total tax has come down very much whereas of indirect tax has gone up. If you consider last year's and this year's the increase is of Rs. 294 crores in indirect taxation but in the case of direct tax only Rs. 88 crores. Now the tax that is expected to be collected in 1972-73 on account of taxes on sugar, tea, cigarettes, kerosene, textiles, tobacco, soap and matches would amount to Rs. 940 crores but the tax that is expected to be collected from the corporate taxes would be only Rs. 480 crores. This picture makes it absolutely clear that the grievances of the big business is absolutely unfounded. They may say that because their number

I is very small, so the total tax also is small. The only answer I can give to that is that 50% of our population to-day get only 21% of the national income whereas only 4% of the top rich get 2% of the national income. So what 50% of the entire population get only 4% of the population at the top get, but they are not paying tax on equal terms. Therefore I do not think the case of the big business that they are heavily taxed and that is why the economic growth is not taking place will stand any test.

Now the Wanchoo Committee have made some valuable and far reaching suggestions and recommendations. I am not going into them while discussing the question of black money and evasion of taxes the Committee has also suggested that the marginal taxation should be reduced from 97.75% to 75%, that this will act as an incentive to the industrialists and they will produce more and will not evade taxes and ultimately this is one of the methods by which black money can be unearthed. I am sorry I am not in agreement with this recommendation at all. They have compared the case that took place some time back in England where when the taxation was reduced, the evasion of taxes also was reduced and there was more incentive and more savings, I do not think the circumstances in England can be compared with the situation in India. India is a very poor country. Let us remember that in 1961, about 52% of our population lived below bread-line and in 1968 it increased to 70%. 65% of the population today have an earning which is less than Rs. 30 per month. This is the extent of poverty to which we are reduced and therefore to compare the circumstances of England with those in India is not quite logical and sound.

Besides that I would submit that the nature and history of the development of British capitalism is in my opinion different from the nature and history of the development of Indian capitalism. British capitalism was guided and motivated by a true spirit of entrepreneurship and enterprise and by a spirit of adventure but unfortunately it is not so here. The motivation of the Big Business in India is quick returns, speculation and all those characteristics which guide commercial and trading concerns. I therefore to expect that if we reduce the

taxation the Big Business will have more incentive to produce more, I do not think, is quite correct. Dishonest men will remain dishonest whatever the extent of taxation may be. I am not prepared to put a premium on dishonesty by reducing the taxation to 75 per cent and I do not think this recommendation will actually help in unearthing black money or eliminating evasion of taxes.

Sir, in this connection I would also like to point out the case of the auditing firms. Twenty auditing firms, today control 80 per cent of the total auditable transactions. One hundred and one giant public limited companies with an aggregate turnover of Rs. 2615 crores were audited by these 20 big auditing firms. These twenty big auditing firms almost monopolise the whole business; not only that, they have become part and parcel of the Big Business. They also encourage the circulation of black money, tax evasion and all that. Unless the Government does something about controlling these audit firms or eliminates this monopoly control by a few audit firms I do not think black money can be brought out or evasion of taxes stopped.

Sir, we have given the slogan of self-reliance and we want to mobilise additional resources. In this connection I quite appreciate the efforts made by the Finance Minister towards mobilisation of resources. Particularly in this Budget the fact that they have made a very massive allocation for the Plan in the current year and the efforts made by the Finance Minister to mobilise resources to that extent indicate that the Government is taking very earnest step in this respect; there is no doubt about it. But I would like to submit that self-reliance and mobilisation of additional resources—both of them go together—can perhaps be better achieved or the cause of self-reliance can be advanced much more by taking a few steps which I consider to be essential in the circumstances prevailing in this country.

Firstly, the performance of the public sector must be improved. The public sector must be able to give a surplus to augment our own resources.

Secondly, I know the financial institutions have expanded their activities. A

number of branches have been opened and deposit mobilisation is taking place. Their activities are expanding but I think they should expand a little faster.

Then I think it is time to think seriously whether it is not desirable not only in the interest of mobilising resources but also in the interest of progressing towards equality to put a ceiling on income and expenditure. In any case curbing conspicuous consumption has become a must in this country if we want to do anything by way of achieving self-reliance. There should be a ceiling on income and expenditure and particularly conspicuous consumption must be curbed if we want to make any progress towards self-reliance.

Then, Sir, I do not approach the question of socialism from any doctrinaire point of view. My approach is not doctrinaire. I am prepared to be practical and pragmatic. Even from the practical and pragmatic point of view is it not desirable now, is it not high time now to think of nationalising the entire monopoly capital and foreign capital in this country? Again I would say this is not a slogan I am raising. This is not simple a doctrinaire approach to socialism. In accordance with the facts of the situation today, in order to mobilise more resources, in order to achieve self-reliance at the earliest possible time, I think it is high time to think of nationalising monopoly capital and foreign capital.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh)
: We agree with you.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS : Then, Sir, I would also suggest that in our production programme there should not be any expansion of production of luxury goods. Whatever is there, it is there, but no expansion of production of luxury goods should be permitted, and there should be a complete ban on the import of luxuries and non-essentials. These are a few steps I would suggest to the Ministry as part of the programme for achieving self-reliance.

Then I come to the last point which is the regional imbalance. At the very outset I must make it clear that some people in this country are raising the slogan of autonomy. I am totally opposed to this slogan.

[Shri Bipinpal Das]

Now who is most vociferous about it ? For example, Tamil Nadu, Government. Now, if autonomy as they conceive it is granted to them, certainly a rich State like Tamil Nadu will gain. What, about the poor States? We have developed in a way that some regions have become very rich and advanced and some have remained very backward. It is the duty of the entire country to mobilise resources from the advanced areas for the development of the backward areas. If autonomy is granted to Tamil Nadu, an advanced States, the resources of Tamil Nadu will not come to the help of a backward State like mine, or Orissa or Rajasthan, and therefore this slogan of autonomy in the way they have conceived it will be dangerous from (lie point of view of achieving regional balances. At the some time we must recognise the fact that today some regions are very back-ward and some base gone forward. We are happy that some are forward. But what about those which have remained backward? Let me tell you, let me tell the Government that various causes create conflicts and distension in our country today, and one of them is regional im-balance. Unless we take positive steps towards remowards removing the regional imbalances, the cause of conflicts and tensions will remain in those areas, and that will ultimately threaten or may threaten national unity and integrity. Therefore, this question of regional imbalance must be viewed and considered very seriously by all concerned.

Now, Sir, it has been said *that* during the First Plan Central assistance to States, was Rs. 386 crores. During the Third Plan it was increased to Rs. 1,549 crores. In the Fourth Plan it will be increased to Rs. 4,256 crores. Even in this particular Budget the assistance to States comes of Rs. 1,218 crores. So, the Government is try to make out a case that progressively the Central Government is helping the States to go forward financially. But this assistance goes to whom ? A major part of this assistance goes to those States which are already advanced. If you analyse—I am n t going to take your time for this because you want me to conclude—a major part c/ Central assistance goes to those States which are already advanced. This is my case. Let it be

examined carefully. It is simply carrying coal to New Castle. Therefore, the whole p l icy and the whole principle must be revised and changed so that a major part of Central assistance goes to those areas which are backward. (*Time bell rings*) Now, Sir, I am concluding.

Take the case of my State. We produce oil. We get Rs. 10 per ton today as royalty which we used to get during the British days. Can you imagine ? What was the value of Rs. 10 which used to be given during the British time and what is the value of Rs. 10 today ? Today also we are getting only Rs. 10 per ton as royalty. Is it justified ? The Government of Assam and the people of Assam have been demanding that we must be given at least Rs. 20 per ton as royalty. This has not been done up till now. Take, for example sales tax on tie crude that we produce. The crude is taken to Barauni. The sale is shown in Barauni and the sales tax on the crude goes to the Bihar Government. We produce crude. We put it in the pipeline, but because the sale is shown in Barauni in Bihar the scale tax on the crude goes to the Bihar Government. Not only that. Even the sales tax on the refinery products of Barauni goes to the Bihar Government. We get nothing. Is it justified ? Thirdly, we produce tea and very good tea, but our tea bears the highest duty. Why ? Because our tea is paying the highest duty the State Government does not find any possibility, scope or avenue for further taxation. I have given you only three examples;

Now, overdrafts from the Reserve Bank have been stopped. I welcome it. It is very good. Every State must learn to be self-re'iant. But unless we are allowed to tap our own resources—and you deny the very right of tapping own resources how can you expect the States to be self-re'iant ? I conclude by saying only one tiling. I request the Finance Minister to consider the advisability and " possibility of amending articles 269, 270 and 271 and also the Seventh Schedule, so that the taxation powers of the States, as are gi'en to them, could be increased. If you allow me only one or two minutes, I will give you examples. Article 269 lays down that on certain items the Central Government will levy taxes, collect them and the collection will go to the States. If that be

so, why do you not allow the States themselves to levy and collect those taxes ? According to article 270 income-tax in the divisible pool, but why not corporate tax also ? Corporate tax is also income-tax and, therefore, it should come under the divisible pool. Article 271 speaks of surcharges. The surcharge on income-tax is also income-tax. If income-tax can come under the divisible pool, why not this also ? So, from these points of view I request the Finance Minister to consider the desirability of amending the Constitution, where necessary, so that the States are given more avenues and scope for tapping their own resources, so that they may become more and more self-reliant, so that they can do without any overdraft on the Reserve Bank.

SHRIMATI SARASWATI PRADHAN (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the new taxation measures proposed in the Finance Bill are really unfortunate. Particularly the new taxation on kerosene, readymade garments and fertilisers will hard hit the poor the middle-class and the agricultural classes. It may be recalled that the tax component in the price of kerosene is of the order of 65 per cent and the new taxation on kerosene is a heavy imposition. According to the Direct Taxes Administration Enquiry Committee, taxes amounting to about Rs. 1500 crores are being evaded annually. The Government, instead of taking steps to realise these evaded taxes, are now coming upon the people with the heavy imposition. Such fiscal measures will increase poverty rather than remove it. The Utkal Congress welcomes the ceiling on land. But there must be a ceiling also on urban property. Without urban ceiling, land ceiling in the rural sector will make our socialism lopsided and meaningless. To march towards socialism, we must have programmes in actual practice to reduce the social disparity prevailing in our country.

The House is well aware of the terrific cyclone that visited the State of Orissa in 1971. The President of India had characterised it as the greatest tragedy of the century. You will appreciate what great burden it means for a State Government like that of Orissa to rehabilitate the affected people. I am sorry to say that some political parties in the State are only criticising the Govern-

ment; instead of that, they should urge upon the Central Government for more Central aid. We are thankful to the Central Government for the little mercies shown during this time but I feel that the Central Government has to do much more in this regard. On the top of this cyclone and flood in some coastal district some other districts tricts like Bolangir, Sambalpur, Sundergaih, Kalahandi, Phulbani, Mayurbhanj, Keorjher etc., are now in the grip of a severe drough. I urge upon the Government of India to come to the rescue of these suffering people.

Thank you.

SHRI JAGAN NATH BHARDWAJ (Himachal Pradesh) : Sir, I rise here to support the Finance Bill which no doubt seeks to enhance the quantum of taxation in the country but because it is a determined effort to do away with deficit financing, I strongly support this Bill. You know that the quantum of taxation in our country has already gone up very high and I think it is almost near the point of saturation. Therefore it is very necessary that some measures should be taken so that we have not to resort to more and more taxation and thus increasing the element of taxation year by year. We have to think of alternative means so that there is no frustration among the tax payers and also there is a better understanding between the Government and the people because generally people criticise the Government that they tax them and that those moneys are never properly spent. There is the talk of corruption and all these things. So, while supporting this Bill, I also suggest that the Government must think of other alternatives so that the burden of taxes is no more increasing. It should at least remain static and not increasing.

For that, I think, there can be only two alternatives. One is we should earn more and more from other sources than taxation. The second alternative is that we should make more and more savings so that we can remain within the balance of the income.

As far as savings are concerned, the public sector undertakings, where our country has invested thousands of crores of

[Shri Jagan Nath Bhardwaj]

rupees, should try to yield more and more profits so that the burden of the taxpayer is reduced. For this it is not only for the Government but it is for the entire country to see that our public sector works very efficiently and with a sense of dedication. I have felt and I have observed that in the public sector, except for a few honourable exceptions, there is not much loyalty and sense of dedication. There is urge for more rapid promotions and pleasure making. This trend shall have to be arrested because this is the greatest cause of unrest among the labour in the public sector. When there is unrest, when labour relations are not good, the result will be that the public sector will not be a successful thing; it will be a failure. Therefore, I suggest that for the sake of better industrial relations in the public sector we will have to adopt a very determined, clear-cut, positive and very strong method of keeping good industrial relations. If we do not bother that in the public sector the moneys of our poor people are invested then it can not be successful for want of sense of owners and industrial peace. As a matter of fact, every Indian is a proprietor of the public sector. But with popularity-hunting we cannot expect labour to behave in a responsible manner. There will be no industrial peace in the industry with the result that the public sector will be damaged. We should see to it that there is no damage to our own factories and investments.

Sir, it is a matter of sorrow for us that the public sector in which we have invested more than Rs. 5,000 Crores is not yielding considerable resources for the country to fall back upon. The same is the condition with the Railways. There too we have invested heavy amounts but the yield from the Railways is also not very satisfactory. So it becomes necessary for every Indian, and at least Members of Parliament and officers in the public sector, to see that the public sector becomes a success. For that I would suggest that we should devote some time to see that the public sector functions properly. We should not take the attitude of indifference thinking merely that why should we visit and see the working of the public sector? We should check it because it is our own investment. It should be our

duty to devote some time as proprietors. As a mill-owner cares to see his mill occasionally, so we should also see the working of the public sector occasionally to see it works properly, that the officers there work with a sense of ownership, devotion and dedication. After all, some one will have to take some responsibility for this. We have to approach the public sector in a very careful way since it is a very delicate business. If we devote some time towards the working of the public sector, I can assure you that there would not be any necessity of further taxation. Further investment will be generated and there will be great relief in the country.

The other way of reducing the burden of taxation making the savings. Savings can be in so many ways. Now take, for example the Public Works Department. In our country, a huge portion of our national income is spent on public works. And in public works, many of us have observed that there is organised corruption. There you have to please everybody. Now it is our duty to break this circle of organised corruption. Of course, there is a sense of gratification in our social life. For example, I go to a man and ask him to bring a glass of water and he brings it, there is a sense of gratification there. But if there is corruption in an organised way, it is a different thing. Somebody says, "All right, pay 10 per cent here. You will get your bill, otherwise you cannot get your bill", as if the entire Public Works Department belongs to those officers who are in charge of it. So we have to break this circle of vested interests of certain employees who are controlling these public works. And here there is one thing which is very much injuring our finances and that is the contract system. The contract system is fraught with the danger of corruption. I think we should do away with the contract system. We are working in an organised economy. So that work should also be done in an organised manner. There should be some labour co-operative societies. Such a scheme was mooted by the Central Government and the State Governments but that scheme has dwindled because we make schemes and then do not follow them with the same interest. We start schemes without proper planning and without drawing up the proper procedures and the officials who handle those schemes

make them fail because of their apathy. So we have to see how we can do away with the contract system and find other agencies for the execution of these works so that a larger and larger number of people take share in this in an organised way and the works are allotted in a scientific and organised way. You might have observed that at the close of the year, huge sums of money are squandered away to big contractors and those contractors become richer and richer while the poor labourers do not get due regard. So, we have to do away with the contract system and we have to find some agency which can handle these construction work so that this huge wastage is controlled and there is greater relief in the matter of employment, in the matter of savings and there is relief to the tax-payer.

Secondly, in the Community Development Projects also, I have found from experience that considerable amounts of money are being wasted by the BDOs. We have to keep a check over them because much money is wasted by them. For this, I suggest that we should not give assistance in the shape of grants. We should give assistance only in the form of loans on a reasonable interest so that generation of wealth, as I have already mentioned, is created even in the matter of giving assistance to people. Assistance is necessary. Even subsidies and other things are necessary. But we should give them only where it is absolutely necessary. Generally we should try to do away with the system of paying doles, subsidies and grants. The best thing is, we should give loans wherever assistance is required. And the loans should be well educated and assisted properly in technical ways so that the loan does not stand the risk of being wasted.

So in this way we can create more funds and those funds can be invested again and. I have the experience of one thing in Himachal Pradesh : in khadi and village industries they give loans; considerable amount of loan is given But what happens ? The Railway Department does not supply them coal in time, or some such delay occurs in some other thing, with the result that those loans fall in the risk of being put into litigation. The people thus are in trouble. So I would suggest that wherever Government money is given as loan, it should be

seen that from all sides all facilities are available to the loanees so that the loan amount does not fall in any sort of risk and the loan can be easily collected back. These are the few suggestions I had to make while supporting the Bill. I hope the Government would take proper action on all these matters. Thank you.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Sir, while listening to the speech of the Finance Minister I could see no difference between what he said when he talked on the Budget and what he said when he moved the Bill yesterday. The approach is the same and I have no hesitation in describing this approach as a *status qua* approach. I was disappointed because his speech did not reflect the great commitment which his party has made to the people during the general elections to the State Assemblies and earlier during the mid-term poll to Parliament. It also does not say anything about the strategy of the Government in dealing with black-money. Also we do not get any idea as to how they are going to curb the monopoly houses. On all these points the Finance Minister was silent, and his silence speaks volumes because, I think, his own party is suffering from a spell of schizophrenia. Some of them are pressing for the take-over of all the monopoly houses, and, others, who are not as yet decided, are trying to assure the houses that the Government is not going to be very hard on them. Just now I have listened to the speech of my friend, Shri Bipinpal Das. He was at pains to convince Shri Palkhivala that, after all, the Government was not following a very hard line and the taxation was not very oppressive. Shri Palkhivala is too shrewd an advocate and he knows that the hue and cry that the monopolists are raising is not true at all because there is a report of the Reserve Bank of India which has examined 290 big business houses and it has come to the conclusion that they never had it so good as they had it during the last two years. I am quite sure that Shri Palkhivala has read that report. The whole strategy of the monopoly houses is to try to get more if they could and that is why Shri Palkhivala is going round the country saying that the taxation is very high if more concessions were given, if more latitude were given, the private sector will give you more by way of production.

[Shri N G. Goray]

You will be surprised if you examine and find out how the monopoly houses have grown from strength to strength. It seems that with every enquiry their strength grows. Here I have got some of the figures. To begin with I will mention the names of only two houses whose names are on everybody's lips. In 1951 Birla assets were Rs. 51.14 crores. In 1971-72 their assets were Rs. 800 crores. Tata's assets were Rs. 95 crores in 1951. Now they are Rs. 850 crores. I can quote a number of instances which will show that that with every report—there was the Hazari report in 1958, there was the Monopoly Inquiry Commission in 1964; the Industrial Licensing Policy Inquiry Committee was there in 1964 and the Dutt report was in 1967-68—these houses have been expanding at a phenomenal rate. Now you take smaller houses. At the time of Hazari report Kirloskar's assets were Rs. 3.93 crores; now they are Rs. 61.20 crores. Mafatlal had similarly a phenomenal growth. At the time of Hazari report it was Rs. 11.46 crores and now it is Rs. 135.87 crores. This is in spite of this Government which is always talking of curbing monopolies, of arresting prices and bringing about an egalitarian society. Therefore, I am saying that this hidden nexus between monopoly houses and the Party which has the monopoly power must be uncovered. Otherwise they will continue to indulge in this game. On the one hand they are saying that they want to curb monopolies; on the other hand they are expressing their wonder and surprise how the monopolies are growing in spite of all their efforts. It is the double game of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. This game should not be allowed to continue. Some of the prominent people in the Congress Party have been going hammer and tongs at the monopoly houses, I have got a number of pamphlets here. This one was recently distributed: Whither Indian Planning by Shri Chandra Sekhar. He says :

"Social parasites who are living by exploiting others, a handful of the vested interests who have stranglehold over the toiling masses will have to be liquidated."

The words are very clear. They will have to be liquidated. Shri Chandra Sekhar

holds a very important position and he is a Member of the Working Committee of that Party. But it is only Shri Chandra Sekhar who is known to hold very radical views, but others also say the same thing. Here I have got a paper by Shri Vidya Charan Shukla, Minister of State for Defence, in which he has said this. This also has been circulated and therefore it is not a secret document. He says :

"If the prevention of concentration of economic power is an unalterable social and political policy, why are we afraid of nationalising these concerns ?"

This is the question he asks. To top it all, here is my friend, Shri Mohan Dharia, who has almost issued an ultimatum in his statement he has given before us. He says that certain things will have to be done forth-with and certain things will have to be done before the 15th of August, 1972. You see, he is the Minister for Planning and he has said, Sir, like this. It is Item No. 3 He says, "There is no time to be lost. The industries owned by monopoly houses should be either taken over by the Government or the loans advanced to such industries by the public financing institutions should be converted into equity capital and the Government should introduce adequate control over the management of such industries." There are a number of items like this.

3 P.M.

Sir, the point that I was trying to make is this : After all these announcements, what is happening ? What is happening is that there is nothing in the budget speech of my friends, the Finance Minister and in his speech yesterday. Nothing in that. There are only two voices, two minds, you see, the double-think and double-act, if you allow me to use that word. Now, this is the atmosphere in which we find ourselves and thus we are losing both ways. The monopolists are saying, "Well, we don't feel enthusiastic at all" and Shri V. C. Shukla has said in his pamphlet that the monopolists are on strike. Sir, I remember a phrase. In 1957-58, it was said that the capital had become shy and now, again the capital has become shy. Now, the question is whether you are going to take over the shy capital

once and for all or whether you are going to coax it. That is the question. So far as I can understand the Finance Minister and so far as I can see the Government policy as expressed by him, it is only to coax the capital and it is not to take it over at all. I was a little surprised that the Prime Minister also has started saying, "Let us avoid extremes and let us not go too far, either to the right or to the left", and she is trying to tell the extremists in her party to keep quiet, not to shout too much. I know, Sir, that Mr. Bhupesh Gupta gets angry with the Ministers nowadays and also with the Prime Minister.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I am not getting angry.

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SHRI N. G. GORAY : I said you get angry with the Prime Minister because of what she said at the FICCI Session. And, Sir, he raised very serious objections asking why she should say like that when she is confronted by big monopolists. I entirely agree with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and I entirely agree with Shri Dharia and Shri V. C. Shukla that the time has now come when you will have to define your attitude.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Like Shri Krishan Kant.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Yes, like Mr. Krishan Kant. But I did not want to disturb him because he was sleeping.

What I wanted to say is that we have reached a stage where you cannot have two minds. You must define your policy, whether you are going to allow the monopolist to continue or not or, whether you want them to continue so that you will have a sort of mixed economy where all the plums will go to them and we shall be left high and dry. This is something which you will have to define and I am saying that the Government is failing to do it and the Government is failing to give a lead to the country, it is keeping us in the dark and it is also keeping the monopolists in the dark.

Sir, so far as the black money is concerned, yesterday, Mr. Chinai hinted that the Finance Minister was almost ready with the demonetisation scheme. But, some higher-up intervened and, therefore, the scheme

had to be dropped. I do not know whether this is true or false. But, Sir, I can very well believe it, because the Government itself is in two minds. The Finance Minister himself is convinced that so long as black money is there we cannot just put the things straight. It is impossible, because whatever you try to do, the black money comes in and it distorts the whole picture. He was not ready to admit this six months ago. But, in his recent speeches he has referred to black money and has said, "Yes, there is a parallel economy". Now, so long as the parallel economy is there in the country, what is the use of this Finance Bill and the taxation measures and what is the use of saying that if you make it a little less, there will be less of black money? Sir, it is not easy, because even when the taxation was not high, was not 98%, but only about 60%, the tendency to amass black money was there and, therefore, Sir, that is not the remedy at all. You will have to make up your mind once and for all. Last time, I had suggested that this demonetisation scheme should be really examined. But, at that time Shri Cluvan had said, "No, we do not want to do it." But, Mr. Chinai tells a different story that and, Sir, Mr. Chinai has his own source of information. I know it. Therefore, I feel, that it might be that the Finance Minister was thinking in that manner but people high up, who knew that it may hit monopoly houses which have been financing the Congress Party so long—it is nothing new; it has been always like that and even where my friend Mr. Tyagi was there he knew that big monopoly houses were financing the Congress party...

THE MINISTER OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, may I...

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I know what you will say. You will say that you do not accept that.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I am not making this statement about money. I am only making this point that the hon. Member Shri Babubhai Chinai made this point yesterday that the Finance Minister was ready with demonetisation but somebody else high up scuttled it. This is not true. I am just contesting that.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Which part of it ? Was the Finance Minister not willing or was there no interference ?

SHRI K. R. GANESH : What I have said is quite clear.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I accept what Mr. Ganesh has said. But then, how are you going to tackle this question of Mac¹-, money ? You tell us. The Finance Minister has not shown any outline or anything at all. And if this is so, I say that black money will continue to hold its ground, it will grow and it will always paralyse our economy and frustrate all our efforts to develop our own economy...(*Time Bell rings*) Only one minute and I will have finished.

What is true of the industry is also true of our agricultural policy. Again, a dispute is going on, a dialogue is going on as to the ceiling: Eighteen acres, ten acres, twelve acres, irrigation by Government sources, irrigation by private sources, and all that sort of thing. Sir, what you are doing is that because of this controversy the entire rural community is in doubt. They do not know what is going to happen. What has actually happened is that big chunks of land are being partitioned, are being sold, are being divided and so on. They do not know what is going to be the outcome of it. I am saying that we have just now had the green revolution and the maximum benefit out of agriculture. It would not be wise to put the whole agricultural economy in suspense. Whatever you want to do, do it. Don't go on wrangling about it. Don't go on appeasing the Chief Ministers of various States. Let there be a Central policy and let it be enforced. Let there be no doubt at all as to what is going to be our agricultural policy, in the minds of our agriculturists. Sir, I am saying this because I feel that much will depend on the decision that we make. Whether in the field of industry or whether in the field of agriculture, if we are firm, if we have taken a decision and if we are going to implement it, then it will be the beginning of an all-sided social and economic revolution. But if you are not going to do it, then, I may be pardoned for saying it, that it will be a big hoax on the people which they may not allow you to play on them. And then that

will be really a very bad time for all of us because then all the political parties will have lost their credibility and people will think that the promises made at the time of the poll have no validity at all.

श्री यशपाल कपूर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभा-पति महोदय, वित्त विधेयक में जो कुछ महत्वपूर्ण बातें सामने आई हैं उनमें सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह है कि पहली बार योजना-वद्ध कार्यों के लिये उसमें कोई 27 प्रतिशत अधिक रखा गया है। जिससे कि कुछ 100 करोड़ रुपये की पूंजी योजना के कामों में लगेगी और उससे आर्थिक कार्यों में गति बड़ेगी। जिससे योजना के कार्यों में गति आती है उससे देश के पूरे आर्थिक क्षेत्र को चहे वह निजी क्षेत्र में हो चाहे दूसरे क्षेत्र में हो और चाहे सहकारी क्षेत्र में हो, एक बढ़ावा मिलता है।

श्रीमन्, वित्त विधेयक पर बात करते समय जो हमारी आर्थिक नीति है, जो उसकी बुनियाद है, उस पर निगाह दौड़ाने की बात आती है। अभी पिछले कुछ महीनों में या पिछले एक वर्ष में देश के सामने बहुत बड़ी समस्या थी, एक नहीं बल्कि कई समस्याएँ थीं। जो कुछ हमारे पड़ोसी देश बंगला देश में हुआ और एक करोड़ विस्थापित लोगों के रहने और खाने का प्रबन्ध, उसके बाद पाकिस्तान से युद्ध, इन सब के कारण हमारे देश में जहाँ तक कि मूल्यों का, कीमत का, सवाल है कम से कम 40 प्रतिशत तक बढ़नी चाहिये थी, कुछ बढ़ी है लेकिन इतनी नहीं जो कि इन समस्याओं के होते हुये बढ़ती। यह एक हमारा इम्तिहान था हमारी आर्थिक नीति का और उस नीति का जो कि अबसे 20-22 वर्ष पहले हमारे राष्ट्र-नायक पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने डाली थी, और उस नीति की सफलता को प्रमाणित करने का यह एक मौका आया।

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आपने बताया था कि जितना किया गया था वह सब बेकार है।

श्री यशपाल कपूर : बेकार बातें करने के सिवाय यहाँ और कोई कार्य होता नहीं। आपके ओर से बेकार बातें ही होती हैं।

श्रीमन्, वित्त विधेयक और बजट सरकार की वित्तीय नीति का एक पहलू है। कई कदम उठाये गये हैं जैसे कि जनरल इश्योरेंस और कोकिंग कोल का राष्ट्रीयकरण कर लिया गया है, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में बहुत कुछ पैसा, कर्गोड़ों खपा, जैसा कि और सदस्यों ने कहा है लगा है और निजी क्षेत्र में जो हमारे वित्तीय संस्थान हैं उनकी तरफ से 38 प्रतिशत तक पूंजी लगी हुई है। अभी सरकार ने कंक्टिबिलिटी क्लोज का निर्णय कर के एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाया है और जो बड़े बड़े निजी औद्योगिक संस्थान हैं उन पर काबू रखने के लिए, उनके चलने पर अंकुश लाने के लिए यह हथियार सरकार अपने हाथ में ले रही है। फिर सवाल उठता है कि हमारे बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ। पूरी तसल्ली तो नहीं उनके कार्य से लेकिन फिर भी हमारे प्रायविटी सेक्टर में जहाँ राष्ट्रीयकरण से पहले केवल 8 या 9 प्रतिशत पूंजी वह लगाया करते थे अब वह बढ़कर 27 प्रतिशत तक हो गई है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से दो एक बातें कहूंगा कि जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में बैंकों को ले जाने का कार्यक्रम है, उनकी शाखाएँ जो खुल रही हैं...

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : पैसा नहीं देते।

श्री यशपाल कपूर : लेकिन उनकी कार्य-क्षमता इसलिए अभी इतनी नहीं बढ़ी कि एक तो उनमें जिन लोगों को काम पर लगाया जाता है वह लोग शहर से आकर के गांवों में ड्यूटी में लग जाते हैं। पहले तो उनका मन नहीं करता कि वे शहर से गांव जाएं और गांव वाले लोग भी जो होते हैं, उनको भी यह ऐतबार नहीं होता कि यह कैसा आदमी है, सोचते हैं कि यह बाहर से कोई अजनबी आया है, मालूम नहीं वह पैसा लेकर रहेगा या चला जाएगा। दूसरे, जो बैंकों की बहुत सी शाखाएं गांवों में खुली हैं वहां पर एक ही अधिकारी बैंक की तरफ से रखा जाता

है—वही मैनेजर वही एकाउन्टेन्ट, वही क्लर्क उनमें उसको अपने कार्यालय में ही बंधकर बैठना पड़ता है वह गांव में जाकर या खेत में जाकर किसान से बातचीत करने का समय नहीं निकाल पाता और इससे बैंक का कार्य नहीं चल पाता। बहुत से बैंकों के बाहर तो चौकीदार भी नहीं लगाया जाता है जिसकी बंदूक से चाहे कुछ हो या न हो, लेकिन गांवों के लोगों को एक विश्वास रहता है कि हमारा पैसा यहां सुरक्षित रहेगा और चौकीदार के न रहने से वह विश्वास उनमें नहीं आ पाता। तो इसलिए मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंकों की विशेषतः ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जो शाखाएं खोली जा रही हैं उनकी कार्य क्षमता को बढ़ाने की और जिससे उनके द्वारा किसानों को आसानी से और अधिक पैसा मिल सके इसकी व्यवस्था की जाय।

इसके अलावा बजट में चाहे जो कुछ भी हो, योजना में कोई कार्यक्रम हों, उसके अतिरिक्त और भी कई कार्यक्रम उठाए गए, जैसे गांवों में लोगों को रोजगार दिलाने के लिए क्रेश प्रोग्राम चालू किए गए शिक्षित लोगों के लिए अलग से धनराशि रखी गयी और गांवों के विकास के लिए, पीने के पानी के लिए, आवास के लिए, अलग से कुछ पैसा रखा गया। इन सब के अलावा सरकारी कर्मचारियों को दो, दो बार इन्टेरिम रिलीफ दिया गया। तो कोई दो-हाई सौ करोड़ रु० इस मद में और फूड सर्विसिटी पर जो खर्च किया गया, तो इस प्रकार बजट में योजनाबद्ध कार्यों के लिए कोई पांच-छः करोड़ रु० सीधे जनता के पास पहुंचा।

क्रेश प्रोग्राम के बारे में एक प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि जब आप हर एक जिले के लिए एक जैसी धनराशि देते हैं - सायद साढ़े 12 लाख रु० देते हैं—तो उसमें यह ध्यान नहीं रखा जाता कि किस जिले की विशेषता क्या है। मैदानी इलाके में भी साढ़े 12 लाख रु०

[श्री यशपाल कपूर]

दिया जाता है और पहाड़ी इलाके में भी साढ़े 12 लाख रुपया दिया जाता है। चाहे सड़क बनाने का काम हो, चाहे कुएं खोदने का या पानी पहुंचाने का काम हो, जो काम उठाए जाएं, पहाड़ी इलाके में उनकी लागत मैदानी इलाके से तीन-चार गुना अधिक होती है और नतीजा यह होता है कि पहाड़ी इलाके में लाभ तीसरे हिस्से का ही हो पाता है। तो जब ये चीजें सोची जाएं तो यह भी देखा जाए कि जो भी किसी की अपनी आवश्यकताएं हैं, उसके अनुसार उनकी धन मिले।

इसके अलावा जो अग्रिकलचरल इनकम टैक्स कमेटी की नियुक्ति की गई है उसको भी रिपोर्ट शीघ्र लाने का प्रयास होना चाहिए। काले धन के सम्बन्ध में वांचू कमेटी की रिपोर्ट पर जल्द से जल्द निर्णय लेकर कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। दूसरे, विदेशी मुद्रा में जो हेराफेरी होती है, हमारी इन्वाइसिंग में गड़बड़ करके, उसे रोकने के लिए जो कौल कमेटी बिठाई गई है उसको भी यह निवेद होना चाहिए कि वह अपना कार्य शीघ्रता से पूरा करे।

भूमि के परिसीमन के बारे में यहां कुछ कहा गया। यह तो निर्णय हो ही चुका है कि यह परिसीमन केवल ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में नहीं बल्कि शहर में जमीन और मकान पर भी लगे। अब, जहां तक इसको लागू करने का सवाल है, 10 एकड़ हो, 12 एकड़ हो, 18 एकड़ हो, अभी उसके विषय में बातचीत करके विचार करें क्योंकि हर एक प्रदेश की अपनी समस्याएं हैं, अपनी अपनी उनकी—क्लासमेटिक कहिए, ज्योग्रफिकल कहिए—कुछ दिक्कतें हैं। तो उन सब पर विचार करके इसके बारे में निर्णय हो सकते हैं।

अभी थोड़े दिन पहले—यह हमारे दल का मामला था—हमारे चुनाव घोषणा पत्र के बारे

में जो कुछ भी कहा गया है, मैं समझता हूं, चुनाव के बाद घोषणा-पत्र पर तेजी से अमल हो रहा है। और निर्णय लिए जा रहे हैं। एक बात वित्त मंत्री जी से यह कहूंगा कि वे पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों की तरफ विशेष ध्यान करें जब कि पंचवर्षीय योजना के सम्बन्ध में बात चीत चल रही है। हमें यह ज्ञात हुआ है कि पंचवर्षीय योजना में पिछड़े हुए लोगों पर, दरिद्र लोगों पर, अधिक खर्च किया जायेगा, तो यह बहुत ही प्रसन्नता की बात है। लेकिन अभी तक आप जिस मापदंड से साधनों का वितरण प्रदेशों के लिए करते रहें हैं, वह कुछ ठीक मालूम नहीं देता है। उत्तर प्रदेश की ही बात ले लीजिये। वहां से कितनी इन्डस्ट्रीज के लिए लाइसेंस पत्र आये और कितने दिये गये? जहाँ तक मेरी सूचना है केवल चार ही दिये गये हैं। वहां पर बिजली की बहुत कमी है और पिछले कई महीनों से तो बहुत क्षेत्रों में कई लाइनों पर कई-कई घंटों तक बिजली गायब रही है। एक तो वहां पर इन्डस्ट्रीज पहले से ही कम है और गांवों में जहां ट्यूबवेल्स लगाये गये हैं, सरकार ने सिंचाई की सुविधा लिफ्ट इरिगेशन द्वारा या राजकीय ट्यूबवेल्स द्वारा की है, उन्हें तक बिजली नहीं मिल रही है। इस सिलसिले में दो बातें विचाराधीन हैं। एक तो चार सौ मेगावाट का थर्मल स्टेशन देने की बात है और दूसरा आणविक शक्ति का जो प्लान्ट लगना है उसके सम्बन्ध में शीघ्र ही निर्णय होना चाहिये। कहां और किस जगह पर उत्तर प्रदेश में लगे यह विवाद का विषय नहीं बनना चाहिये।

एक नीति आपने यह बनाई थी कि केवल उन्हीं मोनोपोलीज हाउसेज को लाइसेंस दिये जायेंगे जो पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योग लगायेंगे। कहां तक यह नीति सफल हुई और कहां तक मोनोपोलीज हाउसेज पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्रों में उद्योग लगाने के लिए तैयार हुए, इन बातों को देखते हुए इसकी सफलता और असफलता को देखते हुए, आपको निर्णय लेना होगा और इस मामले में कुछ जबरदस्ती भी करनी होगी। क्योंकि बड़े बड़े

शहरों के आस पास कारखाने लगाये जाने से जनता को कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है और इस तरह यह पिछड़े हुए इलाके हमेशा अन्धेरे में ही पड़े रहेंगे जब की उन्हें आज उठाने की आवश्यकता है।

कुछ बातें कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने, श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही जी ने, यहां पर कहीं। उनके भाषण के समय मैं यहां पर नहीं था।

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आप भी नहीं थे और आज वे भी नहीं हैं।

श्री यशपाल कपूर : मैंने उन्हें बतला दिया था कि अब मैं उत्तर दूंगा। उन्होंने पूरे अपने भाषण में गरीबों के लिए, पिछड़े हुए लोगों के लिए एक शब्द भी नहीं कहा, लेकिन दूसरों पर लांछन लगाना और पुरानी बातों को उखाड़कर लाना, जैसा कि उनके दल की डिस्ट्रिक्ट नीति रही है, कैरक्टर असेसिनेशन की नीति रही है, वहीं उनके भाषण का सारांश था।

उन्होंने कहा कि उन्हें अपने गुरु के हारने की कोई चिन्ता नहीं है, लेकिन उनके भाषण से ऐसा लगता है कि उनके हारने का ही मर्मिया पढ़ रहे थे, चाहे वह लोक सभा का चुनाव रहा हो या राज्य सभा का चुनाव। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो उन्होंने कहा कि उन्हें चिन्ता नहीं है वह भी उन्होंने कुछ ठीक ही कहा; क्योंकि उनके गुरु कोई हार-जीत के लिए चुनाव नहीं लड़ते। चुनाव के समय वे कितना पैसा इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं, उसके लिए चुनाव लड़ते हैं, चुनाव में हार जाने के बाद फिर इलेक्शन पिटीशन इस लिए करते हैं कि फिर उसमें पैसा इकट्ठा कर लिया जाय और फिर कोई और चुनाव राज्य सभा का आ जाय तो फिर चुनाव लड़ लेते हैं, जिससे कि कुछ और वर्षों के लिए इन्तजाम हो जाय। इसीलिए उन्हें चिन्ता नहीं, इसी से उनको तसल्ली होती है। मैं उन्हें यह बता देना चाहता हूँ कि उनके अपने दल के साथी—क्या

करें उनके दल के चार टुकड़े हो गए पता नहीं उनके साथी रहे या नहीं...

संसदीय कार्य विभाग तथा नौबहन और परिवहन मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री ओम् मेहता) : सब दल दल में हैं।

श्री यशपाल कपूर : उनके साथी काशी-नाथ लोक सभा के चुनाव में उनके चुनाव क्षेत्र के कार्यालय के मुख्य कार्यकर्ता थे। चुनाव के थोड़े दिन बाद उन्होंने अपने दल से त्यागपत्र दे दिया और उसकी वजह यह बताई कि जो कुछ चुनाव के दौरान उन्होंने देखा, इतना रुपया कहाँ से उनके दल के नेता के पास आया। और यह चुनाव जो था वह कोई समाजवादी दल के उम्मीदवार बनकर इनके गुरु ने नहीं लड़ा था, वह एक अजीब खिचड़ी बन गई थी, तथा कथित समाजवाद का नारा लगाने वाले दल और पूँजीवादी दल कहिए उन सबने मिल कर इनको अपना प्रतीक बना कर चारों तरफ से पैसा इकट्ठा कर के चुनाव लड़ा। और इन्होंने उन दलों की सहायता से चुनाव लड़ा जो न केवल पैसा बल्कि धर्म और जाति के नाम पर भी लोगों को उभारते हैं। तो यह इनके समाजवाद का कार्यक्रम है।

राज्य सभा के चुनाव के बारे में नागेश्वर जी ने कहा कि आखिरी दिन डेढ़ लाख रुपया एक वोट की कीमत थी और यह भी कहा कि बनारसी दास जी को उनके दल के 51 सदस्यों ने लिख कर दिया कि हम आपके साथ हैं। अब यह प्रमाणित करना कि 51 उनके साथ थे या, नहीं यहां कठिन मालूम होता है, लेकिन उनके दल की भी एक बात बता दूँ।

श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, उन्होंने यह नहीं कहा कि 51 सदस्यों ने लिख कर दिया।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : उन्होंने डेढ़ लाख की बात कही थी।

श्री बनारसी दास : मेरा खयाल ऐसा है कि रणबीर सिंह जी को ज्यादा सर्टिफिकेट की जरूरत नहीं है। यशपाल कपूर को प्रसन्न करने के लिए मैं केवल उनका ध्यान आकर्षित कर रहा था इस गलती की ओर . . .

श्री रणबीर सिंह : वह लिखी कार्यवाही है।

श्री यशपाल कपूर : जो उनका भाषण हुआ मेरे पास उसकी प्रति है। जिस दिन वोट पड़े उससे एक दिन पहले हालत यह थी कि 51 विधायकों ने लिख कर दिया था कि हम आपके साथ हैं। तो 51 में से 36 कैंसे रह गए। अब मैं सदन का ज्यादा समय लेना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन यह भी बता दूँ कि जब श्री विभुवन नारायण सिंह जी मुख्य मन्त्री थे और उनकी सरकार लड़खड़ा रही थी, तब उनके सामने भी लोगों को ले जाकर खड़ा कर दिया जाता था कि ये सब विधायक आपके साथ हैं, चाहे उनमें बहुत से विधायक होते नहीं थे और इसी लिए गवर्नर के भाषण पर धन्यवाद के प्रस्ताव के बाद ही उन्हें अपना त्यागपत्र देना पड़ा था; क्योंकि उनको अन्धेरे में रखा गया था कि कितने उनके साथ हैं, कितने नहीं हैं। अन्त में महोदय, मैं एक बार फिर क्योंकि मेरा निजी नाम लिया गया था, कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो कुछ नागेश्वर प्रसाद जी ने अपनी आंखों से मुझे बाँटते देखा, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह सब उन्होंने स्वप्न में देखा। उन्होंने जो कुछ बातें मेरे ऊपर थोपी हैं, वे सगसर गलत हैं। मैं संसद का समय जाया नहीं करना चाहता, वे करतूतें बता कर जो उनके गुरु ने की थीं।

श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे (महाराष्ट्र) सम्मानीय डिप्टी चेयरमैन जी, मैं सिर्फ एक बात कहने के लिए खड़ा हूँ। समृद्धि व साथ सामाजिक न्याय रहेगा, समृद्धि और सामाजिक न्याय दोनों साथ-साथ चलेगे यह हमें कहा गया है। किन्तु मुझे लगता है कि जहाँ तक सामाजिक न्याय का सवाल है, एक अत्यन्त महत्व-

पूर्ण पहलू पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। हमारे देश में जो समाज की घड़ी बनी हुई है, समाज छुआछूत और जातिवाद से घिरा हुआ है। घटनाकारों ने जब घटना बनाई तो उस वक़्त अछूतों के लिये सिर्फ दस साल के लिये अलग से राजकीय अधिकारी प्रदान किया था, जिसके कारण लोक सभा में और असेम्बलियों में विशेष रिजर्वेशन शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए निर्धारित किया गया था। दस साल का समय क्यों दिया गया था? मेरे विचार में उस वक़्त घटनाकारों ने यह सोचा कि आजादी के पहले छुआछूत समाप्त करने की दृष्टि से जो बड़े जोर के साथ प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है, आजादी के बाद वह प्रयत्न और ज्यादा जोर में किया जायगा और देश में जो छुआछूत और जातिवाद का कलंक है, उसको दूर करने में दस साल से अधिक समय नहीं लगेगा। मेरे खयाल से इसी अन्दाज से उन्होंने पोलिटिकल रिजर्वेशन का समय सिर्फ दस साल तक सीमित रखा था। दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि दस साल का समय गुजर जाने के बाद फिर दुबारा रिजर्वेशन का समय और दस साल के लिए बढ़ाना पड़ा। इतना ही नहीं, आगे आने वाले दो तीन साल से बाद यह समय फिर गुजरने वाला है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि फिर दूसरी मर्तबा यह पोलिटिकल रिजर्वेशन शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के नाम से किया जायगा। लेकिन जिस रफ्तार से इस दिशा में काम होना आवश्यक था, दुर्भाग्य से वह काम उस रफ्तार से नहीं हो रहा है। यह बात जरूर है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के उत्थान के लिए विचार होता है, मगर मैं स्पष्ट तौर से यह कहना चाहूँगा कि विचारों में जो तेजी दीखती है, प्रत्यक्ष कार्य की अगर छानबीन की जाय तो मेरे खयाल से हमारे विचारों में जो तेजी है, काम में यह तेजी नजर नहीं आती। मैं यह कहने जा रहा हूँ कि हमारे विधान के प्राविधान के मुताबिक कमिश्नर नियुक्त किया गया है शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के हितों की रक्षा करने के लिए, उसके लिए

एक कमिशनर को नियुक्त किया गया है, वह कमिशनर हर साल एक रिपोर्ट पेश कर देता है, किन्तु उनकी रिपोर्ट में जो सुझाव दिये जाते हैं, उन सुझावों को कार्यान्वित करने की दृष्टि से मेरे विचार में कोई गम्भीर कार्यवाही नहीं की जाती है। इतना ही नहीं, इस लिए कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स कमिशनर के अधिकार बड़े सीमित हैं और उनकी रिपोर्ट के माध्यम से जो काम होने चाहिए वह काम नहीं हो रहे हैं, इसलिए फिर एक कमेटी बनायी गयी है, जिसको कि पेरुमल कमेटी बोलते हैं। उस कमेटी ने भी दो साल पहले अपनी बड़ी लम्बी रिपोर्ट पेश की है और बड़े महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव भी उन्होंने दिये हैं। मगर मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि रिपोर्ट तो आ गयी है, मगर शासन की ओर से उस रिपोर्ट की किताब के पन्ने भी नहीं पलटे गये हैं।

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) in the Chair]

जो अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव उन्होंने दिये, उन सुझावों में से कोई भी सुझाव स्वीकार करके उसके मुताबिक कार्यवाही करने के लिए शासन की ओर से अभी तक कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है।

एक महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव, जिसके लिए मैंने बोलने का अवसर लिया है, यह है कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की विशेष समस्याओं को देखते हुए उनके लिए एक फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन की स्थापना की जाय। यह एक सुझाव पेरुमल कमेटी द्वारा दिया गया। यह एक अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव है। इस पर शासन को अत्यन्त गंभीरता से विचार करना आवश्यक है। देश में छुआछूत समाप्त करने की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं और आगे भी उठाये जायेंगे, मगर आज भी मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि एक बात मुझे कही गयी और उसे सुन कर मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ। यह बात मैं ठीक मानता हूँ कि इस सदन में जो बात कही

जाए, जो लोग यहां उपस्थित न हों, उनकी गैरहाजिरी में नहीं कहीं जानी चाहिए, मगर एक बात मुझे कही गयी है कि जिसको सुन कर मुझे अचम्भा हुआ और वह यह है कि आज भी उत्तर प्रदेश के जो मुख्य मंत्री हैं उन्होंने ने कभी भी किसी अछूत के मकान पर भोजन नहीं किया है। यह ऐसी जानकारी है जिसको सुन कर हर भारतीय के मन में एक प्रकार से दुःख पैदा हो सकता है। तो मैं यह कहने जा रहा था कि आज भी छुआछूत की भावना गहरी है, जब तक कोई खास दुनियादी कार्य नहीं होता है, जब तक उनके आर्थिक और शैक्षणिक विकास की दृष्टि से कोई महत्वपूर्ण कदम नहीं उठाये जाते हैं, यह जाति-पाति और छुआछूत का वातावरण समाप्त होने में हम को कई साल तक इंतजार करना पड़ेगा और इसलिए मैं आप के माध्यम से उपाध्यक्ष जी, चाहूंगा कि इस पिछड़े हुए वर्ग के उत्थान के लिए ठोस और सर्वव्यापी और महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाना आवश्यक है और इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना वक्तव्य समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very glad that the Vice-Chairman has given me permission to participate in the discussion on the Finance Bill. I am happy that our Budget and the Finance Bill provide for schemes which are labour-intensive and labour-oriented and that our finances and plans and programmes are intended to eradicate poverty. It is gratifying to note that they are intended to solve unemployment in the country, to increase industrial production and to implement export-oriented schemes. I am very thankful to the hon'ble Finance Minister for his proposals to reach the goal of self-sufficiency by removing under development in the country.

At this stage I propose to speak on the handloom industry which has been completely neglected in the country. Two crores of people are dependent upon the handloom industry. This industry is spread all over the country, especially in the rural areas. There are nearly 75 lakhs of handloom

[Shri Sanda Narayanappa]

weavers working on 30 lakhs of looms. The total population depending on this rural cottage industry, which is called the national cottage industry, is about 2 crores. But they are now facing crisis because the yarn prices have gone up. The rates of dyes and chemicals are abnormally high. The high rates of different varieties of cotton yarn and colours have increased unemployment. The looms have stopped working. The handloom weavers are moving towards towns and other parts of the country in search of employment.

In this connection I may bring to your notice that there were only 27 thousand of powerlooms in the year 1953-54. Now the illegal installations have gone up rapidly. Since the excise duty on units consisting of four powerlooms has been removed the big monopolists and rich people have entered this field. Now the number of power-looms has gone up to 3 lakhs.

Sir, the powerloom is the first and foremost enemy of the handloom industry. The Government of India were kind enough to protect this industry, and to give employment to the handloom weavers they constituted a fund called the Cess Fund in the year 1953-54. In the first and the second Plan this Fund was administered by the Centre. It was then working very well. The handloom weavers were getting funds through the Central Government and they were earning their livelihood. Now this Cess Fund is being administered by the State Governments in the third and the fourth Plans, as such their condition has become deplorable. The handloom weavers are not getting adequate attention towards their handloom problems. They are facing unemployment. The State Governments are concerned with their own priorities. They are allotting more funds to other schemes. The amounts sanctioned by the Government of India for utilisation by the handloom industry have been diverted to other schemes and the handloom industry is completely neglected at the State level. I would request that this Cess Fund should again be administered by the Government of India instead of handing it over to the State Governments.

There is another thing. Recently in the 1970-71 Budget there was excise duty on powerlooms. Each powerloom had to pay Rs. 50. That has been reduced to Rs. 10. And now they are producing coloured saris, though the Government of India order is there since 1966 that coloured saris are to be reserved completely for the handloom sector. That communication has gone to the State Governments, but the State Governments are not strictly implementing this order. I request the Government of India the Finance Minister to take note of this and see that this order reserving coloured saris for the handloom sector is strictly enforced by the State Governments, and give protected market and protected facilities to this industry. In order to arrest the increase in the size and number in the powerloom sector, the Government of India set up a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Asoka Mehta, to enquire into the question of powerlooms increase, and this committee recommended that coloured saris should be strictly reserved for the handloom sector. Now, Sir, three years' grace time was given. The Maharashtra Government challenged the order in the Bombay High Court and they got a stay order. The time of three years, according to the Government's order, has now gone. The stay order has been vacated now, and there is no problem now. The problem which is there in Maharashtra is that they are levying a sales tax of 11 per cent on silk handloom fabrics. On account of this heavy sales tax, the rates of the handloom fabrics have gone up and the silk handloom weavers have been reduced to unemployment. The weavers in centres like Banaras and Mysore, who send their handloom fabrics to Maharashtra, find it difficult to market them. So I request that the Maharashtra Government may be instructed by the Government of India not to levy this 11 per cent sales tax on silk fabrics.

Another thing which I would like to bring to your kind notice is that whenever there is some trouble in textile mills, the Government rushes in to give assistance and solve their problems. At the labour level, at the leaders level, they conduct discussions and then they give adequate finances to help the industry in order to see that the workers are provided employment. But in the case of the handloom

industry which covers the whole of India and on which two crores of people are dependent, they are not given adequate attention and protection. The high prices of cotton yarn, as I have mentioned earlier, should be controlled at the floor level and a ceiling on yarn price should be fixed. Then only the price of yarn can be stabilised and the industry will be able to stand. And with less financial assistance, we can solve the unemployment problem in this sector. If you install a loom with Rs. 500, you can provide employment to two or three persons. All these people are concentrated in the rural areas and they are not united; they have got no associations to start agitations. They are not at all educated. They are distributed all over the country. They are not able to start agitations and thus bring pressure on the Government to solve their problems. I request that the Government should think over the poverty-stricken conditions of the handloom weavers and give them adequate facilities, house facilities, educational facilities and so on, as are given to some backward communities. These weavers should be given all facilities to continue their handloom industry without any interruption and without any kind of competition from the powerlooms and the textile mills. Recently All India Handloom Convention was arranged by Shri M. Somappa, President All India Handloom Fabrics Marketing Cooperative Society on the 3rd May, 1972 at Delhi, in which all the hardships that the Handloom industry is facing were discussed. The resolutions were sent to the Government for speedy action in order to help the handloom industry without further delay. There is one more thing I want to mention. Some of the handloom institutions are exporting nearly Rs. 20 crores worth of fabrics every year, but they have not been given adequate financial assistance. There is one institution at the all-India level called the All-India Handloom Fabrics Cooperative Marketing Society. They have been requesting the Finance Ministry to allot them adequate finances as loan to improve their exports and earn foreign exchange and ultimately to provide employment to handloom weavers. I hope the Finance Minister will be kind enough to consider this request and give them adequate finances. In this connection I would like to refer to the cash incentives given by the

Government of India to the textile fabrics "on their export varieties to the extent of 30 per cent. I request that such incentives may be given to such people who are able to export handloom fabrics to other countries. They should be given 10 per cent more than mill fabrics for export purposes. Ten per cent may be given extra for handloom fabrics to be exported outside the country. Such cash incentives may be given to handloom fabrics so that they can withstand the mill competition. Then only they will be able to live in the country with peace and security. I hope the Government will consider all these points and try to protect this industry and the people dependent on this industry traditionally. One-third of the requirements of cloth for the entire country is being produced by the handloom sector. The Government of India has all these figures. This industry should not be neglected. It should be given adequate finances. The yarn prices also should be stabilised. The industry may be given adequate supply of colours and dyes. Crores of people dependent on this industry are there in villages all over the country. When the yarn prices went up, they started an agitation in Nagpur and a procession was taken out in the streets and during that agitation when firing took place, six people lost their lives. In U.P. recently a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to liquidate the stocks, to purchase handloom cloth and thus help the handloom weavers. In Tamil Nadu at Nagercoil there are 5000 handlooms. Similarly in Andhra Pradesh Erode, Salem, Tiruchirappalli and other places there are many thousand handlooms. All those handloom weavers are out of employment now on account of the high prices of yarn and dyes. I hope the Government will consider all these things and that the handloom sector is protected well. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRIMATI SUSHILA ROHATGI): On a point of order. Sir with your permission. The speaker who preceded the Member who has just finished had made a certain allegation that the Chief Minister of U.P. had probably never eaten food along with a member belonging to the Scheduled Castes. Though this Member is not here, I would like to say that it is not the practice in this House

[Shrimati Sushila Rohatgi]

to quote persons who are not Members of this august House here; even otherwise, I think the Chief Minister of U.P. happens to be one of the oldest Congressmen that we have in the country and who ate committed to the Congress ideology, and it is one of our principles, one of the tenets of our philosophy, that we do believe in the eradication of untouchability. And as such to attribute a motive or intention or action to such a person, I think, is not correct, and I feel it should not have gone on record and it was not right. Therefore, I have stood up to contradict the allegation made...

श्री नवल किशोर : अच्छा यह होगा कि मेम्बर साहब मुख्य मंत्री को दावत दें और हम लोग भी शामिल होंगे। तब पता चलेगा कि वह उनके यहाँ खाते हैं या नहीं।

श्रीमती सुशीला रोहतगी : दावत दें तो हम स्वागत करेंगे।

श्री नवल किशोर : उप सभापति जी, मैंने फाइनेन्स बिल को देखा और ऐसा लगा जैसे कुनेन की गोली मुँह में डालो तो मीठी मीठी लगती है और हलक के नीचे जाती है तो कड़वी हो जाती है। चव्हाण साहब बहुत अच्छे और होशियार वकील हैं, पता नहीं उन्होंने कभी प्रेक्टिस की या नहीं। उन्होंने काफी कुछ चीजें कहीं, और हम लोगों को भुलावा देने की कोशिश की। उन्होंने फरमाया कि 27 परसेंट इसमें नियोजन के ऊपर ज्यादा खर्चा होगा, प्लानिंग पर ज्यादा खर्चा होगा, 246 करोड़ ऐसी स्कीमों पर खर्चा होगा जिनके कार्यान्वित से सामाजिक न्याय लोगों को ज्यादा मिलेगा। उन्होंने ब्लैक मनी को किस तरीके से ओपिन में लाया जायगा उसकी चर्चा की, टैक्स ईवेजन को रोकने की बात भी कही, यह भी लोगों को डाढ़स दिया कि बांचू कमेटी की जो सिफारिश सरकार को मंजूर होगी उन पर अमल के लिए एक बिल या विधेयक सरकार पार्लियामेंट में पेश करेगी। श्रीमन्, उन्होंने यह भी बताया कि

मिट्टी के तेल पर टैक्स कम कर दिया है। ये सब मेहरबानियाँ उन्होंने बताई। यह भी बताया कि नए नए रिसोर्स की आवश्यकता है और इससे ज्यादा टैक्सों में कमी करने में दिक्कत पेश आएगी। मुझे इसमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है। मैं इस बात को जानता हूँ कि अगर समाजवादी व्यवस्था लानी है तो इनवेस्टमेंट बढ़ाना पड़ेगा और इनवेस्टमेंट बढ़ावेंगे तो नए रिसोर्स तलाश करने पड़ेंगे और टैक्सेशन होगा। मगर मुझे एक शिकायत है कि चव्हाण साहब ने न लोकसभा में और न ही यहां आस्टे-रिटी की या इकोनोमी की बात कही। आप जितना चाहे टैक्स लगाइए, मगर इस बात का आश्वासन आपको देना चाहिए और आपको देना होगा कि एक-एक पाई जो आप टेक्सपेयर से लेंगे उसका सही इस्तेमाल होगा, उसका वेस्टेज नहीं होगा। केवल इतना काफी नहीं है कि आपने नियोजन पर, प्लान स्कीम्स पर आउटले बढ़ा दिया। चव्हाण साहब मुझ से ज्यादा जानते हैं, कि पिछले साल जितना आपने कैपिटल आउटले बहुत सी स्कीम्स में रखा था उतना इस्तेमाल नहीं हुआ और करोड़ों रुपया अनयुटिलाइज्ड पड़ा रहा। तो केवल पैसा बढ़ाने से काफी काम नहीं होता है। श्रीमन्, मुझे याद है, मेरे यहाँ एक काफ़तकार थे, उनको खेत बोनो का शौक था, उसमें क्या पैदा होता है उसकी फिक्र नहीं थी। तो केवल पैसा लगाने से काम होने वाला नहीं है उसका परिणाम क्या होता है यह भी देखने की बात है।

वित्त मंत्री (श्री य० व० चव्हाण) : वह किसान नहीं होगा।

श्री नवल किशोर : वह था तो किसान ही। हो सकता है कि आपकी तरह होशियार न हो, लेकिन था तो किसान ही।

मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। समाजवाद की बात होती है, सही बात है, समाजवाद आया चाहे वह चव्हाण साहब की मार्फत आए, चाहे किसी और की मार्फत आए। गणेश

साहब का टेम्पर बहुत शांत है। मैंने एक बात पूछी थी, हर चीज पर सीलिंग होगी, लैंड पर सीलिंग होगी ठीक बात है, होनी चाहिये, अरबन प्रोपर्टी पर सीलिंग होगी, होनी चाहिए लेकिन क्या गवर्नमेंट के मिनिस्टर्स पर जो एक्स-पेंडीचर होता है उस पर सीलिंग होगी या नहीं होगी ? इसको देखते हुए यह कहा तक मुनासिब है कि हम देहात के अन्दर जो आदमी पिछड़ा हुआ है उसके लिए तो कहे कि 10 एकड़ 18 एकड़ करेंगे ? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आप सीलिंग कीजिए 5 एकड़ पर। आप यह तय कीजिए कि आप गांव के आदमी का मैक्सिमम इनकम क्या देना चाहते हैं और जो मैक्सिमम इनकम उनको देना चाहते हों, वह जितने एकड़ से प्राप्त हो सकती है, उतने पर सीलिंग कर दीजिए, मुझे आपत्ति नहीं है।

मैंने अभी पढ़ा कि 100 कारें इम्पोर्ट की जा रही हैं बाहर से और यहाँ पर बात की जाती है आत्म-निर्भरता और सेल्फ रिलायन्स की, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। जब अपने देश के अन्दर फायट और एम्बेसेडर बनती है तो क्या जरूरत है कि हमारे राष्ट्रपति साहब के लिए 6 लाख की गाड़ी आए और मिनिस्टर साहबान के लिए 1 लाख की इम्पाला गाड़ी आए? अगर समाजवाद लाना है तो उसकी प्रैक्टिस टाप से शुरू करनी पड़ेगी, आपको राष्ट्रपति भवन का खर्चा कम करना पड़ेगा, आपको बाइस प्रेसिडेंट पर जो खर्चा होता वह कम करना पड़ेगा, जो मंत्रिमंडल के ऊपर खर्चा होता है, मंत्रियों के ऊपर जितना खर्च होता है वह कम करना पड़ेगा। मैं उन चीजों में जाना नहीं चाहता कि किस पर कितना खर्चा होता है, 4 लाख खर्चा होता है या 5 लाख खर्चा होता है। और यहाँ तक कि जो एम० पी० साहबान हैं, हमारे खर्च में भी आपको कमी करनी पड़ेगी, तब कोई समाजवाद के मायने होंगे, नहीं तो समाजवाद के कोई मायने नहीं होते।

4 P. M.

कहा गया है कि सेल्फ रिलायंस हो, लेकिन

उसके बावजूद अभी हाल में ही सरकार द्वारा फारेन कोलाबोरेशन के लिए 221 मामले स्वीकार किये गये हैं, पिछले सालों में फारेन ऐड आपकी बढ़ती जा रही है और उसके बाद आप कहते हैं कि हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर सेल्फ रिलायंस हो। गोरे साहब नहीं हैं, उन्होंने कोट किया था...

श्री एन० जी० गोरे : मैं हूँ।

श्री नवल किशोर : तो अच्छा है, उन्होंने कहा कि टाटा के 1951 में जो असेट्स थे वह 95 करोड़ से बढ़ कर अब 850 करोड़ हो गये, बिरला के 51 करोड़ से बढ़ कर 800 करोड़ हो गये लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी उनको नये-नये लाइसेंस दिए जा रहे हैं इस समाजवादी व्यवस्था में। तो मैं यह बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम समाजवाद के साथ हैं और चव्हाण साहब जो भी हंगर समाजवाद को लाने के लिए अपनायेंगे, जो भी कदम उसके लिए उठावेंगे, हम 101 परसेंट उसमें उन को सपोर्ट करेंगे, मगर यह जो होक्स और ह्योकोसी है उसमें हम आप का साथ नहीं दे पायेंगे। श्रीमन् यह, जो आपका फाइनेंसबिल है और जो टैक्सेशन है जिसमें इंडायरेक्ट टैक्स, जैसा कि कल भी कहा गया है, 65 परसेंट हो गया है और डाइरेक्ट टैक्स सिर्फ 35 परसेंट हो गया है। 204 करोड़ का इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सेशन है और केवल 88 करोड़ का डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेशन पड़ता है। इस का गतीजा यह है कि कीमतें बढ़ रही हैं। चव्हाण साहब कितनी ही कोशिश करें कीमतों की रोकथाम करने के लिए, लेकिन कामयाब नहीं हो पाते हैं। लेकिन किसान के गेहूँ की कीमत को आप नहीं बढ़ने देंगे। उसके गेहूँ को पैदा करने वाली जो चीजें हैं फर्टिलाइजर की कीमत बढ़ गयी, ग्रावपासी, बिजली और जितनी चीजें हैं जिनकी उसी आवश्यकता होती है, आप भी एक अच्छे फार्मर हैं; जानते हैं कि उनकी कीमतें बढ़ गयीं 12 परसेंट से 15 परसेंट तक, 20 परसेंट तक, लेकिन गेहूँ की कीमत 76 की 76 ही है। तो वह सीतेला बर्ताव हो

[श्री नवल किशोर]

रहा है काश्तकार के साथ यह क्यों है यह मैं जानना चाहता हूँ ?

ब्लैक मनी की बात आयी। श्रीमन् मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बॉन्ड कमीशन ने कहा है कि 1,4000 करोड़ रुपया (?) ब्लैक मनी में है। मैं जानता नहीं कि यह आंकड़े कहां तक सही हैं, एक बात मैं जानता हूँ कि आप प्लान में 4,000 करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं और श्रीमन्, आज जो करेशन का मार्डरेट एस्टीमेट है उसके हिसाब से एक सौ रुपया अब खर्च होता है तो उसमें से इंजीनियर्स पर, ओवरमियर्स पर, सरकारी अफसरों पर 25 परसेंट करेशन में कटियां या चाय पानी में कटियां खर्च हो जाता है। तो इस तरह से इसमें से 1,000 करोड़ रुपया तो आपका नया ब्लैक मनी बन जायगा तो इस सबकी रोक थाम के लिए आपके पास क्या स्कीम है ? करेशन की बात में नहीं कहता, क्योंकि करेशन तो कानूनी तौर से लीगलाइज्ड हो गया है। यू० पी० में मैं जब एम० एल० ए० हुआ 1952 में और इस्टीमेट्स कमेटी का चेयरमैन बना तो जब देखता था कि 10 हजार या 20 हजार की बंगलियां आती थीं तो उससे मुझे बड़ी परेशानी होती थी, लेकिन बाद में इतना सीजनड हो गया, एक्लैमेटाइज्ड हो गया कि 6, 7 लाख की बंगलियां भी मेरे दिमाग पर कोई असर नहीं करती थी। अब जब यहां आया, तो देखा कि यहां तो जराब और पैसे का पतनाला बहता है सरकारी दफ्तों में। किसी की आमदनी और एक्सपेंडिचर क्या और है, कितना है इसका कोई हिसाब नहीं ? आमदनी पांच सौ की है तो खर्च 2,500 का है और यह वह आमदनी है कि जिस पर कोई इनकम टैक्स नहीं, चव्हाण साहब के बंगुल में वह आते नहीं। तो इस तरफ भी मैं उनका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह ठीक है कि आप यह बिल लायें, हम को आपके टैक्सेशन

से कोई आपत्ति नहीं, लेकिन इसका असर यह बढ़ रहा है कि देश में इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ रहा है अगर आपका प्रोडक्शन बढ़े तो अच्छी बात है। जो पब्लिक सेक्टर है मैं श्रीमन्, 100 परसेंट उसके पक्ष में हूँ, मगर पब्लिक सेक्टर, जैसा कि मैं कई बार कह चुका हूँ कि सेंटीमेंट में चलने वाला नहीं है। उसकी आपको एफीशियेंसी बढ़ानी पड़ेगी, उसका आपको प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाना पड़ेगा और मजा इस बात का है कि आज पब्लिक सेक्टर में साल से 50 परसेंट से कम इंस्टाल्ड कैपेसिटी का इस्तेमाल होता है। उससे ज्यादा का इस्तेमाल नहीं होता है। तो जब तक इन बातों को नहीं करेंगे प्रोडक्शन आप नहीं बढ़ावेंगे, तब तक समाजवाद नहीं होगा। समाजवाद के माने हैं कि प्रोडक्शन बढ़े और इक्विटेबिल डिस्ट्रीब्युशन हो। ऐसा हो तब तो बात समझ में आती है, लेकिन यह है नहीं।

अब, श्रीमन्, ब्लैक-मनी के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया। मैं जानता हूँ कि चव्हाण साहब बड़े मजबूत आदमी हैं वह किसी कहने में नहीं आने वाले हैं, लेकिन मेरा उनसे पूछना है कि जब इतना ज्यादा ब्लैक-मनी है और यह मांग की जाती है कि आप डिमानेटाइजेशन कीजिये तो फिर क्या बात है, आपको आपत्ति क्या है, आप करते नहीं लिहाज श्रीमन्, मैं मांग करता हूँ कि इसको किया जाय।

श्रीमन्, हमारे दोस्त श्री विपिन पाल दास इस वक्त यहां नहीं हैं, उन्होंने यह मांग की है कि जितनी कैपिटल है, फारेन कैपिटल है और इंडिजनस कैपिटल है, उसको नेशनलाइज किया जाय उन्होंने यह जोरदार मांग की। मैं हंड्रेड परसेंट इससे इतिफाक करता हूँ, जरूर किया जाय, लेकिन दुःख तो यह है कि 14 बैंक्स का नेशनलाइजेशन हुआ और फारेन बैंक्स नेशनलाइज नहीं हुई और न उन्हें नेशनलाइज करने का कोई इरादा है। प्रधान मंत्री महोदया ने कहा कि हमारी प्रापरटी में तो उनका नेशनलाइजेशन आता नहीं। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता

हूँ कि जहाँ तक कि नेशनलाइजेशन का सवाल है उसको हिम्मत के साथ करें। एक बहुत छोटी गी इंडस्ट्री है। शुगर की इंडस्ट्री है, उत्तर प्रदेश की शुगर इंडस्ट्री के लिए मांग आई। बम्बई में आपने एक प्रस्ताव पास किया उत्तर प्रदेश की शुगर इंडस्ट्री के बारे में। केवल उत्तर प्रदेश की शुगर इंडस्ट्री के ऊपर आपकी मेहरबानी थी। हमारी मांग थी कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में नेशनलाइज की जाय, मगर न हिन्दुस्तान में हुई और न उत्तर प्रदेश के अन्दर हुई। तो श्रीमन् हम समाजवाद की बात तो बहुत करते हैं लेकिन जब कभी ठोस कदम उठाने की बात होती है तो बत्ती पर चिपक जाते हैं और कुछ कर नहीं पाते।

श्रीमन्, एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। रीजनल इम्बैलेंस की बात की गई। कपूर साहब ने बहुत मेहरबानी की कि उन्होंने कुछ उत्तर प्रदेश की बातें कहीं। उन्होंने कहा कि कितनी एंजलीकेशन आ, कितने लाइसेंस दिये गये, पावर की वहाँ शॉर्टेज है, आटोमिक पावर स्टेशन बनाने की बात थी वह नहीं हुआ वहाँ ट्रैक्टर फैक्ट्री देने की बात थी वह भी नहीं हुआ। तो इस तरह की बहुत सी स्टेट्स हैं और जब तक रीजनल इम्बैलेंस को खत्म नहीं करेंगे तब तक सारे हिन्दुस्तान की इकानामी एज एन इंटिग्रेटेड इकानामी बनने वाली नहीं है, यह मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, हालांकि मुझे इस वक्त मौका नहीं है, मगर इस मौके पर अपने दोस्त श्री भूपेश गुप्त से एक बात कहना चाहना हूँ। इनके एक और दोस्त बिहार से आये हैं, उन्होंने इसमें अपनी बात कही लेकिन श्रीमन्, मुझको बड़ी हैरानी होती है कि मैनिफेस्टो तो है कांग्रेस पार्टी का और इम्प्लीमेंटेशन का साग दंद और सारी परेशानी हमारे भाई भूपेश गुप्त को है। आज श्री भूपेश गुप्त को सी० पी० आई० का क्या प्रोग्राम है यह सब याद नहीं है। सी० पी० आई० क्या चाहती है यह भी याद नहीं है, लेकिन इनको परेशानी यह है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी

का मैनिफेस्टो इम्प्लीमेंट क्यों नहीं होता है ? मैं इससे इतिफाक करता हूँ कि होना चाहिए लेकिन हिन्दी में एक कहावत है, चव्वाण साहब हिन्दी जानते हैं, इसलिए मैं वह बहे देता हूँ, कहते हैं—जीजा के माल पर साली दीवानी। मोज बन रही है इन्दिरा गाँधी की। उनको कुछ खूबियाँ हैं, सारी प्रेस्टिज बनी है उनकी हिन्दुस्तान में, लेकिन मजा उसका लूटना चाहते हैं भूपेश गुप्त और सी० पी० आई०। यह एक मजे की बात है कि किसी की चीज और मजा लोई और लूटे।

संचार मंत्री (श्री एच० एन० बहुगुणा) : आप तो रहम करते हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर : बहुगुणा जी, हम और आप एक हैं। हम तो एक खानदान में हैं, मुश्तकी में हैं।

श्रीमन्, वहाँ कपूर साहब नहीं हैं। उन्होंने उत्तर प्रदेश की कुछ चुनाव की बात कही। उसका मौका नहीं था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : आप समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री नवल किशोर : मैं उसका जवाब भी देना नहीं चाहता। केवल एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने यह कहा कि बनारसी दास और राजनारायण का 51 वोट के बजाय 36 कैसे रह गया। यह बात उनकी समझ में नहीं आ रही थी। श्रीमन्, मैं कपूर साहब को सब से बड़ा जादूगर मानता हूँ हिन्दुस्तान का। हिन्दुस्तान में आप देखते हैं कि बहुत से जादूगर हैं, उनकी टोपी में चार और पांच खरगोश थे लेकिन दिखा दिया कि पाँचों खरगोश गायब और टोपी खाली तो अगर वह 51 एम० एल० ए० में से 15 गायब हो गये तो कपूर साहब की जादूगरी से। और एक मैजिक बँड होता है, एक डंडा दिखलाते हैं और वह भी चांदी का डंडा हो तो फिर क्या कहना। तो इसमें ताज्जुब की क्या बात है ? बेचारे बनारसी दास के पास

[श्री नवल किशोर]

36 तो बाकी रह गये यह भी क्या कम है, 15 हो गायब हुये, यह तो जादू है, इसमें कोई नाग-जगी का सवाल नहीं है। हमारे दोस्त बहुगुणा और हम परसों साथ रहे हैं। वह उधर ज़रूर बैठे हैं; किन्तु यह दिखावे की बात है कि बहुत साथी हैं आजकल। लेकिन इसकी जादूगरी आज तक हमें भी समझ में नहीं आई। तो इसीलिए मैं इतनी ही बात कहना चाहूंगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश के चुनाव - या उत्तर प्रदेश की भियासत, यह आज कल कपूर साहब की जादूगरी का नतीजा है। तो जादूगर क्या जादूगरी करता है, उसके बारे में मैं नहीं कह सकता।

आखिरी बात कह कर खत्म करना चाहता हूँ। मेरी एक ही दृष्टि है चव्हाण साहब से और मैं उनको इस बात का विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जहाँ तक समाजवादी नीतियों का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें आप हमको कभी पीछे नहीं पायेंगे, सिर्फ एक बात चाहता हूँ कि जैनबिन समाजवाद हो, किसी के डाइरेक्शन या डिक्टेसन का समाजवाद न हो। श्रीमान, एक शेर है—“मेरी दुनिया लुट रही है मैं खड़ा खामोश हूँ”। आपके साथ कुछ लोग जो ऐसे हैं जो पीवा लगा कर सोचते हैं उनसे होशियार रहें। जो जेनुइन समाजवादी नीतियाँ होंगी, उनका हम समर्थन करेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ, उसकी तरफ भी कदम तेजी से जाए लेकिन जैसा कि मैंने कहा—स्टार्ट फ्राम टोप। आप लादगी को, आस्टेरिटी को पैदा कीजिए और एकजाम्पल खुद दीजिए, आपके साथी जो और मिनिस्टर्स हैं उनसे शुरू कीजिए वरना अगर एक तरफ यह शान-शौकत और दूसरी तरफ गरीबी चलती रही तब इस तरह से समाजवाद नहीं आएगा।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have been listening to the debate for the last few hours. Though I missed some important speeches, I had occasion to read parts of those speeches. The most important features of the Budget and the

Finance Bill have been discussed in this House and the other House. On different occasions in both the Houses all the aspects have been raised and many times I have had occasion to reply to those points. I do not propose to repeat the same things over and over again and, therefore, I have decided to take some representative points made by certain Members and deal with them individually.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: First please take up those points which our friend to my right has made.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I certainly will start with the first speech that was made in the debate by Mr. T. N. Singh. I think it is one of the serious speeches made in the course of the debate. Therefore, I would like to deal with some of the points that he has raised.

I am only sorry that he has started with some sort of a sense of pessimism. He has no reason to be pessimistic about the economy of our country. I assure him that if he gives up his pessimism and looks at the Budget and the economy as a whole and the performance in the last critical days I am sure nobody else need convince him; he himself will be convinced that there are certain intrinsic strengths in the economy which, if properly looked after and helped from time to time, will make it a buoyant economy; I am not fond of saying that the economy has reached the take-off stage. For example, he has made one or two interesting points and I was rather surprised when he made those points. He gave a very good piece of advice which is an age-old thing of wisdom. He said that the people in authority should be cautious of flatterers and sycophants—a very wise thing that he said. I think it is quite true, but I would also like to tell him another piece of wisdom, That people in the opposition should not oppose merely because they are in the opposition. This is another eternal truth.

He said there is some sort of a craze for public enterprise. I think he has forgotten the days when he was a member of the Planning Commission in charge of industries. I remember to have had some very interesting and useful discussions with him.

He himself has tried to teach us the philosophy of public enterprise. I am only trying to tell him because he is a believer in public enterprise. Not only he is a believer but really speaking he had something to do with the development of public enterprises. Not only that, later on he himself was in charge of the Industries Department. He was Industries Minister. He probably thinks that there are certain defects in all these matters possibly. Partly he may be responsible for it, one does not know about it. We are trying to improve some of the things. Certainly there are some deficiencies and shortcomings of the working of these public sector undertakings

SHRI T. N. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh) : The responsibility stretches over 25 years. I was there only for one year.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : But in that one year you may have undone possibly what we did in the other 24 years. Certainly be objective and be critical. But when people repeatedly start generalising things and criticising things only because they are in the Opposition, I thought of another eternal truth—criticise objectively and give advice but do not merely try to be negative only because you are in the Opposition. This is one piece of wisdom, I should say.

(Interruptions)

SHRI T. N. SINGH: I assure you that I am not opposing for opposition's sake. I have never done it in my life.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: You said there is a craze for public sector in this country. When you use these expressions it seems to show as if there is some craze for establishing public sector undertakings. Certainly we are committed to our philosophy and we have no doubt that the scope and place of public undertakings is going to continuously grow. It will have to grow if at all we are thinking in terms of socialism. What is socialist programme without public undertakings? If you have to build a socialist economy in this country, there will have to be a craze and more craze if necessary I am not bothered about the word craze. I will discuss now the positive side. There are certainly some points which need to be looked into in the public sector undertakings and their working. Some public

undertakings are working very well. If you see the performance of public undertakings, some of the public undertakings certainly have come out of red and they are giving profits. Some of them are carrying on with some difficulty. The steel sector particularly in the last one year or so has been showing signs of improvement. Sometimes back the Minister of Steel has explained in detail what steps he has taken. Recently we have appointed an Action committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Pathak who has been a Member of the Planning Commission now. He along with other members who are very experienced persons so far as the running of industrial undertakings is concerned and they have made many useful suggestions, or recommendations about the management technique, personnel management and many other aspects of public enterprises and I am sure if we continue to take action on the same lines we will certainly show some results. I would certainly welcome from a person of Mr. T. N. Singh's stature any constructive suggestions about these matters. We will certainly welcome them. We welcome criticism.

Well, Sir, he also made one general statement that the nationalised banks are running badly. It is rather too positive and rather too severe condemnation I should say. If he had said that they are not running up to his expectations possibly I would not have hesitated to agree with him. But to say that they are running badly is really speaking not making a proper assessment. I have myself many times said what part of the performance of the nationalised banks is better and what their deficiencies are and I would like to repeat them. In the last two or three years two important things have happened in the banking sector. As I have said, they are trying to cover larger areas which were so far unbanked or under banked. Therefore there is substantial increase in the number of branches of different banks in the country. Secondly the most important thing—and that was the expectation—is that there is spurt in deposit mobilisation. This was one of the objective for which they are going into new areas. Certainly they are trying to mop up savings in the areas which were so far not reached. These are the two important features of the functioning of the banks. Of course they are making efforts—and that was the main

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

objective—to see that credit facilities are extended to new areas. So far credit facilities were being availed of by the monopoly houses; particularly the banks were urban-oriented. Our expectation was and is and our efforts will be to see that this credit policy becomes more favourable to neglected sectors of the society, namely, the small artisan, the small farmer, self-employed persons, the small transport owner and such people who really speaking are in need of credit facilities and who certainly with the help of the credit facilities can help themselves, can help the growth of the country and bring about new sources of employment to themselves and to people at large. As far as that part is concerned I can say, well, things are not as satisfactory as they should be.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I am glad that you agree with that.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Because I am very objective in this matter but even than if you say that things are running badly, I would not say they are running badly.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : If you will excuse my interruption I said badly on the basis of my personal experience. I am a small farmer with an uneconomic holding. I have been running to the bank for the last one year for a small credit of Rs. 5,000/- and I have not got it yet. And I am a Member of Parliament. And it is the State Bank of India.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is quite possible; you may be right. I would look into this.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : That is why I said that I did not say anything irresponsibly.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is quite possible.

श्री बनारसी दास : अध्यक्ष महोदय, एक प्रश्न मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ। लखनऊ और दिल्ली के बीच एक चेक के क्लियरेंस में 15 दिन से कम का समय नहीं लगता। दूसरा यह है कि प्रोक्योरमेंट में जो चेक दिए जा रहे हैं उनको कैश कराने में 10 रोज से कम का समय नहीं

लगता। बुलन्द शहर के अन्दर प्रोक्योरमेंट में मैंने देखा कि एक हफ्ते से कम में किसान को चेक का पैसा नहीं मिलता, बैंक कहते हैं कि अभी हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है।

श्री य० ब० चव्हाण : यह हो सकता है, ऐसे इन्स्टांसेस हो सकते हैं, केमेज हो सकते हैं जिनके बारे में देना पड़े।

I certainly say they are cases: I am receiving complaints from individual Members. When I go round I hear many complaints. Some time back I had gone to some parts in his State

SHRI T. N. SINGH : I never make a personal complaint.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I quite see that; it is quite possible. What I am trying to say is in respect of this matter really speaking they are gradually making some progress. We are thinking of a new system. I do not say that there will be no individual grievances, but we will have to see what is the general progress. As I said, now the banks are trying to reach new areas; the banks and the bank employees were till now urban-oriented. Their training was of a certain type and now they are going into a different field of economy. Our major problem is the right type of recruitment of people who have got the background and understanding of these new areas. The question is one of reorienting them about the new approach to problem because in the beginning there was a feeling in the higher circles that all this is something political. For giving the poor man credit facility we had to reorient the banking structure. This is not politics. It is the social outlook in politics which is much more important.

Politics also is getting qualitatively changed now, it is now a different type of politics. Now politics does not mean merely holding an office or holding an election. It is now a question of a certain social content of the programme for which an office functions to implement, and this is a new concept of politics. So, gradually there is some sort of a change and we are taking new steps to train these new officers and new people who are going to work in those areas. I think we are also preparing some sort of

a new scheme which we call the lead bank scheme. I am not sure if I can claim any success of the scheme as yet. But the main point is we are trying to give the responsibility for specific areas to specific banks so that they can in the first instance identify the areas of growth, also prepare a development programme and try to see in which areas and in what form they can make the investment through their credit policies. It is a question of coordinating with the local cooperative movement. It is also a question of coordinating their credit policy and credit with the local developmental activity that is going on under the State Government's development programme and the Plan programme. It is this work which we are concentrating on now. I think we must give some time to ourselves and to these people also because it is completely changing the outlook, and the system as such which is more important. If the hon Member shows sympathy and a little more patience, I am sure the banking system will certainly give the results that we expect of it.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : इनने लोग रखे हुए हैं जैसा कि आप ने कहा स्माल फार्मर के लिए, लेकिन एफीशियेंसी बढ़ा कहाँ रहें हैं।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : The hon. Member has said that there should be a Parliamentary Commission to diagnose the ills of the public sector; this was also one of the suggestions. I think there is already a Committee of Parliament on Public Undertakings but, as I said, it is not merely a question of a Parliamentary Commission to go into their working. We are rather fond of too many Commissions.

SHRI T. N. SINGH : If I may interrupt ♦ the hon. Minister, when I was speaking I was pressed for time and so I could not dilate on that point, I had in my mind a general policy, an attitude survey as well as recommendations for that purpose. The Committee on Public Undertakings goes into the details of individual undertaking. I want a general policy to be evolved after a very very general survey of some undertakings.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I understand your point; the major thrust of your idea,

is taken care of by the Action Committee appointed by Government. It is a high-power action group and I have had occasion to discuss this matter with them. They are very knowledgeable people who, knew the illness of the sick units. They are people who have seen the best of the units in our country and know how well to run the units, and I must say that they are going into the fundamentals of some of the public sector units and they will certainly meet the point the hon. Member has in mind. These are some of the points that the hon. Member had made in his speech and I thought I should make a mention of them.

The other speech which I can take as some sort of a representative speech is the one by Mr. Anandan who spoke from this side of my party. He has made certain specific points to which I shall refer a little later. There was another speech which came from Mr. Sanyal. I do not know whether he present in the House today. Normally, these people make very violent speeches and quietly remain absent when they are replied to. He said that when they are defeated in the elections there is fascism in Bengal. When they were elected there was democracy in Bengal. I think it is much better that instead of ourselves making the assessment it is much better to go and ask the people what they think about it.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : Only if there were elections at all, then these questions would arise.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If this is also another very interesting thing; when you are not elected, it is not election; when you are elected, it is election.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI (West Bengal): These charges were not made by us alone. They have appeared in the world press. They are commenting on these. They know better.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not think so. I know a little about the world press as well. (Interruptions) I do not know if they have got any world press as such. They have deluded themselves into believing what suits them. I have seen the world press in the last elections.

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

You cannot say that the 1971 elections were the same type of elections as were held in 1972. In 1971 there were a large number of persons who were elected to Parliament. When, in the course of a year, people saw that things were deteriorating, and saw the results of the administration by their party in the last three or four years, they got wiser. The younger generation asserted itself and took a lead. The result was that his party was completely uprooted from that State. This is the major explanation for it. If you just go on telling that there was no election, possibly your party will have no future, I may tell you.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : 1/ there was no rigging at all, your party would not have lasted there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : This party has lasted a hundred years in this country. It has seen bad times, good times and possibly difficult times. Ultimately it has continuously led the country and the people of the country and we will continue to lead the people of this country.

SHRI SALIL KUMAR GANGULI : Not your party, but it is the party which is sitting there.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Now, they have also realised that the people are with our leader. Just now, Nawal Kishoreji said and he was right that the country now is with the leader of our party. They have also realised it, but unfortunately they have taken a wrong turn and they do not know how to turn back now.

श्री नवल किशोर : श्रीमन्, आपका टर्न अच्छा था ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know. I am a realist. As long as you accept it, I have no grievance. This is all that I can say about it. But certainly I must repudiate some of the things that he said. He said that the Central Government is influencing the Judges. This is the most ignorant and most vicious allegation that can be made against any Government and I would like to repudiate it with all the emphasis at my command. This is not only insulting the

democracy of the country but also the integrity of the judiciary of the country which is so important for the integrity of the country and democracy.

Well, Sir, when I am mentioning some of the Members and not some others, it does not mean that they are not important speeches. Some of their points were covered by others. Therefore, I am not mentioning Mr. Banarsi Das. The same points were made. I must make a mention of Mr. Babubhai Chinai's speech. He mentioned the raids on the film industry. One has to begin somewhere. When we do not do anything, you say that we do not do any thing. When we start doing something, you ask why we have done it.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI (Maharashtra) : I did not object to that. What I said was that it should be planned and done properly. Ultimately you touch only part of the society and you alert the others. That is what I said in my speech.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You cannot be raiding all the 300 million people in the country, the whole country. You have to make a selection.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Is it your contention that 300 million people are involved in this ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Some of the Members did say that evasion is not only at the highest level, but is taking place at the middle level and the lower level as well.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : His objection is that you have not raided his house.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : You are welcome. I accept the suggestion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. I am sitting here. I will not go out. I would request you to start it and do whatever you like.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No, no. The question of raid is always considered and it is necessary, one can do that as well.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : What is wrong ? Ministers can be raided. The other day there was a charge against a Minister made by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta saying

that he purchased a house giving Rs. 3 lakhs in white and Rs. 2 lakhs in black. This has not been repudiated by the Government. Who is that Minister ? Shri Bhupesh Gupta, who is always bold enough, did not name the Minister. He has not the courage. He is a coward. He has not named the Minister in the House. He cannot get away like that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a personal explanation. I am glad that he has mentioned it. The amount is Rs. 5.87,000.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Whatever it is, name the Minister.

(Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Order, order.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : "You cannot go on making vague charges. If he has got the courage or guts, let him name the Minister and the Government will make necessary enquiries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not confuse courage

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Von both are talking when the Minister is on his legs.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not confuse courage with foolhardiness.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Unnecessarily they have made personal points on this matter. Minister.

SHRI BABUBHAI CHINAI : It is only a personal point. You will excuse me. This arose because when the Minister was speaking, he interrupted therefore I replied I did not want to intrude the Minister's speech.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, the point that I was making was that there was nothing like any hostility about a particular class of industry as such. But certainly certain points were raised in Parliament; certain suggestions and criticisms were made in Parliament and certain questions were asked in Parliament. Naturally, when certain

information reached them, the Government had to act upon it. And if hon. Members give us also information, we can certainly look into it; independently also we get information and certainly, it becomes our duty to act. The other day I was making the point that said is one of the measures that one can think of. Certainly, we can raid as many places as are necessary but it will have to be done on certain specific information. One cannot merely go and try to do that. But even as a result of the raids what we have found is that the so-called black money is not found in such a large quantity because we have found it in the course of the last six or seven years. Certain statistics were given. And in the course of more than 500 raids—if I am right about that figure—not more than Rs. 7 crores were recovered. But certainly it helps us in one way—it gives us certainly very invaluable information through the documents and gives us an idea about this interlocking of business and other things that lead us to the working of the firms and their other operations which normally would never have been uncovered. That is one thing. And secondly it demonstrates another very important point that the so-called black money is not statically held money. This is one point which all of us have to take note of. I have explained the point in the other House. I am trying to explain it here. This black money is a dynamic black money. That is why it is very dangerous. It is an operation. It is in circulation. It is invested and it is earning more black money and more black money and more black money. That is why it is a skilful field *(Interruptions)* Therefore, what is important is this. The hon. Shri Goray has also made this point: "What steps are you taking about black money ?" This is one of the major points that he raised, as to what we are doing about it. Certainly, Government will have to find out—hon. Members also will have to help us in this matter—because I do not think it is a simple question. It is not that I have got some simple remedy for this matter. Some hon. Members say, demonetisation is one simple remedy. Some Members say that. I would like to make this Point clear it was said that I was about to do that and somebody's pressure has been brought not to do that. It is not true. About demonetisation it was said as if on the eve of the Budget, I was about to. . . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I accept what you say. But let me once again repeat that in the financial world and the industrial world, it was openly and very w dely said that the hon. Finance Minister was ready with ten-rupee notes but that he was stopped from doing it. I accept that you say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would hove been very happy and congratulated you if you had done it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Why I am trying to say JO is because this was the feeling that one in the Government was willing to do something and the others were not. Government never takes decisions like that. I have explained that. . . . *(Interruptions)* Whatever Government decides is as one policy and it rets on that. I wanted to make that explanation because it is a very tricky game of playing one against the other.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : No.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : It is not that you did it. But the result of it will be like this. It may not be your intention. And this also again demonstrates how the industrial world works on wrong premises and on wrong information, I thought they will merely speculate on general economic matters. But the speculative matters, really speaking, start with this sort of thing.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : This is one of the factors of economy-demonetisation. Therefore you appreciate it.

SHRI BHUPESH GDPTA : Mr. Birla got scent of the coming devaluation few days before and the transaction took place.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Well, you have said it, and that matter is under investigation. Why unnecessarily repeat it ?

I would like to make reference to some of the points made by hon'ble Shri Goray. I just made one reference to the point that he made about black money. I entirely agree with him that there will have to be manifold measures that will have to be thought of. Normally this money, which I s;iid is dynamic money, is being invested in

ceriain operations, one of them being investment in estates, properties, housing and other things. Secondly, it is invested in jewellery, ornaments and spent by way of ostentatious consumption.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am glad to say that black money becomes savings from election fund.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You have fought elections. You know it better.

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS : He never fought election.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : When I say 'you', I mean his party. I do not mean Mr. Bhupesh Gupta personally.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That we have seen the income tax returns, "Savings from election fund". Therefore, this black money does become savings from election fund.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : These are some of the channels into which the black money goes. So we have to take certain steps about it. As the hon'ble Member is aware, I liave already moved a Bill in Parliament. A Joint Select Committee sat for it and they gave their report. I propose to see that this Bill is moved in the remaining days of the session . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Which Bill you are referring to ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am referring to the Bill which will deal with properties which are sold on under estimated value. They will be taken possession of at the value indicated in the document. Sometimes properties are sold and they are shown as sold at a under-estimated value. You might recollect that in the last 1971 Budget I made a reference to it. The Bill was moved last * year. It went to the Select Committee. And this was one of the recommendations of the Wanchoo Committee too. They have made certain other recommendations which possibly we will have to go into and consider because Mr. Wanchoo has made some recommendations. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Some reco-mmendations made are retrograde.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is to be considered. That point of view also is there. Their basic approach is that most of the black money is because of higher taxation. This is one of the things which Mr. Mohta also said. I will come to his speech a little later. They have made these recommendations. They also made certain other important recommendations. I do not want to express any opinion on the>e matters because the Government is considering them. I not only propose to consult you Members, but also those who ate Members of the Consultative Committee, this month or the next month for a thorough examination of the Wanchoo Committee ieiorrt. Sir we have decided to call some leading economists * also, and to have a seminar with them to understand their point of view also. The seminar would be held on 3rd and 4th of June.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You obviotsly cannot invite all the economists. How will you settle the names of econom sts ? Will you consult us ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If you have got ore or two good names, certainly, I will invite them When we consult you. you must be having the support of the economists of your party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That you will hold a seminar is a good suggestion. The only thing is that the selection of economists shot.I'd be carefully done.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Give me some names. If they are not already included, I will try to include them.

श्री बनारसी दास : मैं मंत्री जी से मालूम करना चाहता हू कि सैल्फ रिलायन्स के बारे में तो आपने उत्तर नहीं दिया और फिर भी बाहर से कारें इम्पोर्ट की जा रही हैं और मंत्री फारेन कारों का इस्तेमाल क्यों करते हैं ? जब आप सैल्फ रिलायन्स चाहते हैं, तो क्या स्वदेशी कारों का इस्तेमाल करने पर शर्म आती है ?

श्री य० ब० चव्हाण : भाई साहब, ये बातें बहुत दफे कही गई हैं, मुझे फाइनैस बिल पर बात करने दीजिए ।

श्री बनारसी दास : सैल्फ रियायन्स आप के बजट का खास हिस्सा है । जब आप यहां पर कार और लक्जरी गुड्स मंगाएंगे तब यहाँ पर सैल्फ रिलायन्स होगा ?

श्री य० ब० चव्हाण : कोई नहीं मंगा रहा है ।

So, I was referring to Mr. Goray's point and I was trying to explain what steps we want to take in the direction in which we want to move. This will require a very major effort. And it cannot be just one step which is going to remove this black money disease. We will have to take manifold steps and it will have to be a sustained effort.

Then he spoke about agricultural holdings. I think he believes in ceilings on holdings, but he says this matter should be quickly decided and it should not be kept in suspense. I think he is right we have practically reached our conclusions about it. Our party is very keen to implement the commitments that we have made to the country and to the electorate in the last two elections. That is why our party have called all our Chief Ministers, all the important members and all our state party chiefs and discussed these matters. It shows the anxiety and the desire of the Government to implement these programmes as early as possible. There is no question of keeping the whole matter in suspense. But this matter will have to be gone into very carefully because if it is to be implemented, merely passing a legislation will not be enough but we will have to see that it is implemented ultimately up to the level of last person. So, this is what I can say about Mr. Goray's important points. He has made other points, but I do not think I need go into those.

Lastly, I would like to say something about Mr. Mohta's speech. Well, I must say that his entire outlook is different from ours.

DR. Z. A. AHMAD (Uttar Pradesh) : Naturally.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He makes very plausible arguments and makes reasoned speeches. I must say it is always interest-

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

ing to listen to him. But the basic thing is, he looks at the entire question from a completely different point of view. What we call resource mobilisation he is not prepared to call as resource mobilisation, because he says that merely money going from the pockets of the people to the coffers of the Government is not resource mobilisation. Then, according to him, money going from the pockets of the poor people to the capitalists' pockets is resource mobilisation. Is this what he means by resource mobilisation?

SHRI M. K. MOTHA : First of all, wealth must be created and put to productive use. Merely taking away money from the public is not resource mobilisation.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : That is why I said that you have not seen the Budget properly, and you have not seen the Finance Bill properly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : But you must appreciate that he is a boy on the burning deck.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : You yourself quoted me, Mr. Mohta, saying that in this year's Budget, we have made provision for an extra investment of more than Rs. 300 crores for developmental activities. Investment in developmental activities is investment for production. Will it be called, investment for production only if it is made by a private individual? Investment for giving employment to the people, investment for the education of the poorer people in the villages, for giving house-sites for the poor man, roads, rural electrification investment for the expansion of the public sector undertakings—this is really the most important sector where we are at present trying to expand, petrochemicals, fertilisers, etc.—these are the most important things necessary for production in the country. Strengthening the base of the agricultural sector is one of the darling achievements of the country of which everyone of us should be proud.

He forgets these things conveniently and says this is no resource mobilisation...

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Because,

most of the expenditure does not bear any fruit.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There again is a difference between you and me. We are looking at the same problem from a completely different angle. Mr. Mohta, though your speeches are interesting, they remain unconvincing as far as I am concerned. Sir, Mr. Mohta has said another very interesting thing. He said there can be economic growth without social justice. This is true. This is what has happened. This is not something new that you are telling us. We have failed as a country there. There is growth, as pointed out by Mr. Goray; what was the size of the Birla House in 1950-51 and what is its size now in 1971-72? Mr. Goray mentioned the same about the Tatas. Other names can be added...

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I added three or four names more. But the only difference is you say "we failed as a country" while I say "we failed as a Government".

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : We failed as a country in the sense that we were trying to diversify the base of the industry in the economy. That has helped the country. So let there not be a wholesale condemnation of it. Economic growth alone does not help. He was thinking in terms of per capita income. This per capita income is also one of the very dangerous theories. We cannot merely think in terms of per capita income. What I would like you to think is in terms of per capita welfare, welfare of every individual, the total quantum of a welfare expenditure that we are spending on an average Indian, the smallest man in the country. That is more important. What is the use of merely talking of the per capita income of Japan and America and comparing those figures which lead us nowhere? So he very rightly said that social justice without economic growth also is not possible. That is why we were saying * that economic growth and social justice must go hand in hand. Economic growth which is completely divorced from the idea of social justice is neither economic growth nor any other growth. It is no growth at all. I would say-it is a disease because it unnecessarily creates more power, more constraint, concentrated in a few hands which is not good for a democracy...

SHRI BANARSI DAS : If there is a genuine difference between you and Mr. Mohta about your concept of social justice, then will you bring forward a Bill to amend Article 41 of the Constitution so that there will be distribution of money ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have heard your speech. You do not see what we have done. You do not take cognizance of what we do. Everything that we have tried to do is in order to see that there is no concentration of wealth and there should be a sort of equality among the different sections of the people. We have amended the Constitution. You must have seen it. Probably you were not here in this House then.

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Let the Finance Minister complete his reply.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : He again said—and this is where he is a lonely soldier—he could not understand why there should be a talk about ceilings. The whole of India is now thinking in terms of a ceiling on property. I do not know how he cannot understand it. If he does not understand it I can only say that I would pray for you. That is all I can say.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : What I said was that floor is more important than ceiling. We should have a floor, a minimum floor, for everyone.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Certainly, the idea is ultimately we should have a minimum, we can certainly come to reach a minimum. But we have to fix the maximum first. Without fixing the maximum first, we cannot think of a minimum at all. I tell you this is the most important change in the social and political outlook in this country, and a man like Mr. Mohta, with all his intelligence, has missed the most important thing in the country today they have come to accept one thing, that there shall have to be a ceiling on urban property, rural property. Possibly we will have to think in terms of a ceiling on income at some stage.

But here is a person who says that he does not understand it. What can I do

about it ? I can only say that he does not understand it not because he does not have that capacity, but he does not want to understand it. This is why I would request him to reorient himself to understand the social implications of the Finance Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He is sitting at the top of the sky-scraper.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : May be that is true. There are certain specific points made about certain tax proposals. I think I would better deal with them at the time when we take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. I think, with this explanation, the House will support the Finance Bill.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : So, you have not accepted any concession here?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is why the Government is dogmatic.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Now I will put the motion.

The question is :

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1972-73, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 3 (Amendment of section 2)

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : While making my speech, I have covered all the amendments. I do not want to move my amendment and I have already spoken on it.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Sir, I move :

1. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 4, line 4. for the words 'voluntary contributions received by a trust' the words 'voluntary contributions received after 30th day of June, 1972 by a trust' be substituted".

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : While moving the amendment, I have a short point to make. It is the declared intention of the Government that all such matters and changes in tax laws should be prospective in effect and not retrospective whereas this particular clause makes it retrospective in the case of trusts and institutions whose accounting year ends after 31st March, 1972. If the date is changed into 30th June, 1972 then it becomes prospective for all kinds of institutions.

The question was proposed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I would explain this some what in detail. The broad effect of the provisions in the Bill is that income by way of voluntary contributions received by a trust created wholly for charitable or religious purposes or by institutions established wholly for such purposes will qualify for exemption from income-tax only if the following conditions are satisfied :

(i) The income of the trust or institution is applied to charitable or religious purposes during the same year or within 3 months immediately following, or is accumulated for such purposes for a maximum period of 10 years subject to fulfilment of certain procedural requirements.

(ii) The income or property of the trust or institution is not used directly or indirectly for the benefit of the author of the trust or the founder of the institution, substantial contributors thereto, trustees and there relatives.

The provisions will take effect from 1st April, 1973 and as such will apply in rela-

tion to the income of the trust or institution for the financial year 1972-73 or any other corresponding account year relevant to the assessment year 1973-74. There is no justification why voluntary contributions received before 1st July, 1972 should be exempted from tax even though they are not applied or accumulated for charitable or religious purposes. I do not understand why it should be done. In order to mitigate hardship in cases where income by way of voluntary contributions may be used for the benefit of the author, founder, etc. Before the Finance Bill is enacted into law, it is being specifically provided that exemption from income-tax will not be forfeited merely on the ground that such income was used for the benefit of the specific person* during any period before 1st July, 1972. I think with this explanation, the hon. Member will be convinced that it is not possible for me to accept his amendment:

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : In the light of the Minister's statement, I would like to withdraw my amendment.

The amendment (No. J) was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

"That clause 3 stand part of the Bill".

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 3 to 27 were added to the Bill.

5 P.M.

Clause 28 Insertion of new sections 194B and 194C

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Sir, I move :

10. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

For text of the amendment, vide Col. 235 supra.

'That at page 13, lines 12-14' for the words and brackets 'for carrying out any work (including supply of labour for carrying out any work)' the words 'for the construction of a building or for the supply of labour in connection therewith' be substituted.'

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Sir, I would like to say that the words "contractor" and "contract" have not been defined in the clause at all and the way the clause has been worded can give a very wide meaning, because the contract may be for the supply of goods *or* for raw materials or for plant and machinery including the erection and installation of the plant and machinery. In such cases, there will be avoidable hardships and quite a lot of confusion, because, Sir, after all, the law may be enacted by Parliament, but it will be interpreted by the courts and the courts will go by the letter of the law and not by the intention behind it if it has not been made clear. Therefore, it' the intention of the Government is that the deduction should take place in the case of construction of buildings only, then it should be so clarified in the clause itself. Otherwise, all kinds of work would come within the meaning of this.

The question was proposed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Sir, I understand that he is talking about Section 194C. The provision for the deduction of tax at source on payments made by the Central Government or the State Governments or the local authorities or the statutory corporations or companies will apply in cases where the contractor is engaged "for carrying out any work including supply of labour for carrying out any work." The provision would thus cover all works contracts and labour contracts. The question was for providing a definition of the expression 'works contracts' and this question was very carefully considered, but it was found that it was very difficult to define *the* word.

SHRI BABUBHAI M CHINAI : That would create complications.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Certainly. The Ministry of Law has given the opinion that the provision in the Bill as drafted will not cover contracts for mere supply of goods or

for rendering professional services. I think this explanation would be sufficient for Mr. Mohta.

Amendment (No. 10) was, by leave, withdrawn

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

"That Clause 28 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 28 was added to the Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Clauses 29 to 69. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I would like to speak on Clause 44 and clauses regarding wealth-tax. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Without amendments ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No amendment. I just want to speak on these clauses Clause 44 and all these clauses relating to wealth tax up to 51.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Please wait a minute.

Clauses 29 to 43 were added to the Bill.

Clauses 44 to 51.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : These amendments relate to wealth-tax and my criticism against these provisions is that these are far too inadequate. In the light of the past experience we expected the Government would change the existing provisions under the Wealth tax.

Sir, as you know, when prof. Kaldor made the suggestion first, the expectation was much higher. Now, of course, the incomes are higher than what were at that time. But we find that a very small number of assesseees are there under Wealth-tax in the country—a very small number. Yet you know that if you have wealth of one

*For text of the amendment, vide *col. Hill* supra.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

lakh or two lakhs or so, you are supposed to pay wealth-tax. How is it that the number is so small ? Not even two lakhs in the country—much less. In Calcutta the number is very small. Similar is the position in the case of Bombay and other cities, as everybody knows. In Calcutta there are some streets wherein if you enter any house you will find they possess wealth worth more than one lakh of rupees. Now, Sir, we expected the Government would go into it in the light of the experience of the past few years when the realisation under this Act had been very negligible and there has been a colossal evasion. In this very House it was pointed out—why pointed out ? It was admitted—by the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister at that time that Mr. G. D. Birla was paying only Rs. 8 as wealth-tax—only Rs. 8. You will be shocked, Mr. Chinnai. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Not very much shocked. Shock is reserved for you, because there are many others like Mr. G. D. Birla who do not pay the tax.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Of course. There you are right. For one thing you have stated correctly. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : But when you were asked to disclose the name you did not do that. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You are one of them. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I am not one of them.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Under no amount of provocation shall I give the name. I am satisfied with something. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : This is nothing new, Everybody knows it. . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Please don't interrupt.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : I cannot allow him to go on like that. If he goes on accusing anybody, I can't allow him to go scot-free. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You can shout. A capitalist's shouting is an amusement; it is entertainment. There I am prepared to yield.

Now, Sir, I was pointing out that Mr. G. D. Birla was paying Rs. 8 only as wealth tax, and nowadays a litre over Rs. 400. Then a list of the entire family assets was made, and it was found that the wealth of the Birlas concerns has increased, between the Monopoly Commission's time and now from Rs. 2VI crores to more than Rs. 500 crores. But the tax is very little. This is one of the instances I give. The Birla instance should be an eye-opener to those who talk about wealth-tax and about the tax being evaded.

The other day in the other House a list of people whose wealth is supposed to be Rs. 25 lakhs and above had been placed on the Table of the House. Now I have not got that list with me; it is in the Library. You will find that in this list most of the big people who are known to be very rich people in the country, who are supposed to have a lot of wealth do not figure. Some people in Goa are there or some widow in Nagpur. But everybody knows the Birla family, the Tata family, Dalmia-Jain, Karamchand Thapar family, the Chettiers of Madras and many others like that. Really they are the people with substantial wealth running into crores but you do not come across their names in any of the lists which have been submitted. Where they are people with a wealth of Rs. 25 lakhs they are not shown. Now, how to solve this mystery ?—I cannot understand. I am not talking about the Ministers and others. Even some of them. . .

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Now those days are gone.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I do not know. This is a matter for inquiry, serious investigation by the Government.

I will now give just one example and nothing else. Here I have got it—I always substantiate my things by instances to make them lively. You know how it is done. Here in this book you will find how wealth tax is avoided. It is not wealth tax evasion as such but how funds are cornered resulting in the concealment of wealth. No about

about it; Here are examples like that. The Birla family, of course, is the master, past-master, master craftsman in this country of evasion of wealth tax. Why can't you do anything about it? How about properly assessing their properties?

Another thing is under-invoicing and over-invoicing. Moneys are shifted, secret deals are made and you do not keep track of that wealth. It is said here that black money circulates, black money is constituting a parallel currency in our country. To say, yet we cannot catch it. And, of course, it goes without being accounted for when it comes to assessment of wealth tax or other taxes.

For example, Mr. Somani of the Shree-niwās Mills took over G. Claridge and Company formerly established by Brady's, etc. Some payment was made in cash. The rest, it was said, would be paid in dollars, somewhere, in some other country. This is how things are done. Obviously this could not have been bought for a small price. The fact that payment has been made in dollars does not mean the wealth is less. Of course, he will go and show it and say that was the price he had paid. The land and building have been put up for sale on the basis of about Rs. 75 by cheque and the rest in black money, preferably in a foreign country. This is the way how they sell things. Then what do they do? A part of the money is paid here in cash by cheque—Rs. 75 out of Rs. 100. Then the 25% arrangement is there. It should be paid abroad because some of these people have accounts abroad or business abroad and they utilise this money in order to acquire property here. And that is not only a loss as far as foreign exchange is concerned but also a loss to the country otherwise—in terms of wealth tax and so on. This is going on.

But here in this Bill there is still room for improvement. I think even improvement has taken place compared to the past but it is very very marginal. I think the Government should reconsider the matter.

As far as the Wanchoo Committee is concerned, well, the Wanchoo Committee has the Wanchoo approach. For Mr. Wanchoo the whole thing is happening because the taxes are supposed to be high.

First of all, taxes in certain cases are low; secondly, taxes are not being collected; even though the taxes are assessed, they are not realised which is why you have this Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 700 crores of tax arrears. That is to say, you have not collected this assessed amount.

What about the law? The present law is not changed because they can go to the court. So many cases are pending some before the Board of Revenue Tribunals and others before the High Courts and nearly 50% of the cases are pending and the Government is simply paralysed from doing anything because such writ petitions and other things come. You do nothing. Therefore this Wealth Tax thing is very serious. You talk about ceiling. What is happening you know. Already they are making arrangements in order to evade ceiling on urban property which means land and buildings. Why do you not do something to stop it? It is for the Government to consider. When the Parliament is not in session surely an Ordinance could be issued to stop and prevent it with retrospective effect. Now (hit) we have been discussing these, surely a ceiling has to be established not prospectively but retrospectively. This is important. As far as Wealth Tax is concerned, it is a colossal fraud going on. If Wealth Tax is enforced and properly handled, we can get crores and crores and it would not be necessary for Mr. Chavan to impose tax on kerosene and hit the poor. It is a huge joke that big business houses are not in the category of people paying Wealth Tax above Rs. 100,000. It is a shame and a condemnation of the entire Assessment Department and of course it is a condemnation of the anti-social financial sharks and others who are evading the taxes in this manner. Certain other categories of articles are exempted here from Wealth Tax. Why? Wealth Tax should include practically everything in the case of the rich people—those who pay Wealth Tax—who are in the higher income bracket. That is not done. Even this simple thing is not done. You talk about removal of economic disparities. You talk about justice and yet we find people who are sitting on a pyramid of wealth having accumulated it by means more foul than fair, through blackmarket operations, by exploiting the workers, by fleecing the consumers and by sharp practices in business and

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] commerce and industry. These are the people who are enjoying a premium on account of the failure on the part of the Government and what else could be more objectionable and deplorable than this I cannot understand. So my suggestion would be to appoint a Special Cell in the Finance Ministry with people of great probity who shall go into this question and the Wealth Tax Administration should be separated from the general thing. Let it be there so that Government can keep proper track of it and the Intelligence machinery is very essential. I know the Revenue has its own Intelligence machinery but you should not go after everybody. Mr. Chavan knows very well who are supposed to be rich in the country. Take the cooperation of the people in various States, draw up a list of what you consider to be prima-facie rich category the richest people in West Bengal and other States and on that basis narrow your attack and try other sources also. I am not saying do not go after these but concentrate your fire on them where the result will be the optimum and then ask your Department to find out how manipulations are done, and then proceed to impose the Wealth Tax. In this manner we can get much better yield if we are serious about this. Accumulation of wealth is most objectionable. It is very necessary to raid. You have raided the houses of film stars. Alright, some people like to raid the houses of film stars but go to the houses of others also. Mr. Chinai is right. I am not questioning his personal integrity. Carry out raids but where is the list? who are responsible for it and why certain people are left out? According to the papers there are people whose houses are not raided. It is not a question of random raid. It is a question of acting on the basis of Revenue Intelligence which you must have at the disposal of the Government.

Therefore I implore that Government should really take serious steps. It is a constructive suggestion that I have made; it is not a partisan suggestion when I say that the wealth-tax should be assessed in a better way and realised so that it bears some relation to the accumulated wealth in the hands of the very rich at the top of our society.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sir, some of the points that he made do require consideration.

I think we find ourselves in a very contradictory situation when we find that richest people are being the least taxed. How does it happen? Most probably it is because the functioning of the corporate sector is responsible for it to some extent. Secondly this racket of trusts, if I may use that word, is also another thing which is partly responsible for this. We are going into these matters. He has made a suggestion for a cell in the Finance Ministry; I can certainly think of that suggestion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJUJ : The question is -

"That clauses 44 to 51 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 44 to 51 were added to the Bill.

Clauses 52 to 69 were added to the Bill.

The First Schedule

SHRI M. K. MOHTA: Sir, I move—

15 "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 36, in Paragraph A of Part III under the heading 'The Rates of Income-tax' for the existing entries 3 to II, the following be substituted namely :—

'(3) where the total income exceeds Rs. 10,000 but does not exceed 15,000 — Rs. 500 plus 15 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 10,000.

(4) where the total income exceeds Rs. 15,000 but does not exceed Rs. 20,000—Rs. 1,250 plus 20 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 15,000.

(5) where the total income exceeds Rs. 20,000 but does not exceed Rs. 25,000—Rs. 2,250 plus 25 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 20,000.

(6) where the total income exceeds Rs. 25,000 but does not exceed Rs. 30,000 Rs. 3,500 plus 35 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 25,000.

(7) where the total income exceeds Rs. 30,000 but does not exceed Rs. 40,000—Rs. 5,250 plus 45 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 30,000.

(8) where the total income exceeds Rs. 40,000 but does not exceed Rs. 50,000—Rs. 9,750 plus 50 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 40,000.

(9) where the total income exceeds Rs. 50,000 but does not exceed Rs. 60,000—Rs. 14,750 plus 55 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 50,000.

(10) where the total income exceeds Rs. 60,000 but does not exceed Rs. 70,000—Rs. 20,250 plus 60 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 60,000.

(11) over Rs. 70,000—Rs. 26,250 plus (5 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 70,000)." "

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, I e—

25. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

'That at page 30, line 10, for the figures "85" the figures "96" be substituted.' "

26. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

'That at page 31, line 30, for the figures "20" the figures "40" be substituted.' "

27. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely:—

'That at page 33, line II, for the figures "85" the figures "80" be substituted.' "

The questions were proposed.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA: Sir, as far as this amendment is concerned I do not have much to say because it is framed after the recommendation of the Wanchoo Committee itself. A very expert Committee headed by a very eminent person has made this recommendation that unless taxes are reduced, there is no capacity to save and re-invest. If that capacity is eroded it only means a setback in the industrial development of the country. Since this suggestion has come from a very eminent Committee the Government should lose no time in implementing it so that there is industrial spurt in the country without any further delay.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, my amendment relates to this particular provision in the First Schedule. The Schedule says where the total income exceeds Rs. 2 lakhs the tax liability will be Rs. 1,32,000 plus 85 per cent of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 2 lakhs. My amendment says instead of 85 per cent it should be 96 per cent.

SHRI HAMID ALI SCHAMNAD: Why are you so liberal with that 4 per cent?

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI: Why do you leave out that 4 per cent?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why I leave out that is if I had said 100 per cent everything would have been taken away. Now, Sir, this is a question of principle. I am not dealing with people whose income is less than Rs. 2 lakhs; I am dealing with people whose income is more than Rs. 2 lakhs. It may be 10 lakhs, it may be 15 lakhs but surely it is not less than Rs. 2 lakhs. Now, how much do you want to give to a person? You are talking about ceiling on land, ceiling on urban property.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you are saying 96 per cent but it is already 97.75 per cent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Very well; then you accept my amendment.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Why this ignorance ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, he is prepared to accept my amendment. You can understand how much resources he has mobilised. He is not afraid of even 96 per cent. People have been making it out as though the entire quantum of the income is taxed at 85 per cent. It is only above the slab of Rs. 2 lakhs this 85 per cent comes into operation.

This is what I say. Therefore I think that here they should pay more. After all you must have some idea as to who can get that much money today. An income of Rs. 2 lakhs means nearly Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 17,000 per month. Who can get this income? I should like to know. Nobody who lives by honest work can make such an income of Rs. 17,000 per month. Nobody. Mr. Chavan is a very honest man and lives by very honest and hard work. Sometimes he is a misguided one, all the same honest, but he never thinks of having Rs. 17,000. Our professors, our technicians, our teachers, our scientists, nobody. Even the pilots who get so much money would not get Rs. 17,000 p.m. Now, Sir, this income is from those who live by clipping coupons, or otherwise in the big business there, or the big landlords with big stakes there, spread all over the country, otherwise in black money or black income. Why should we allow them to have such income? They are a very small number taking the country as a whole. If you take the total number of income-tax assesseees in the country as 30 lakhs, they may constitute a very small number among the total assesseees in our country. But why should we be so solicitous towards them that we allow them a certain portion? Now the amount becomes very big. It may sound that the percentage is very high. Therefore, my suggestion is that after freezing the income if necessary. Nobody should have such a huge income in a country like ours, where 82% of the population are into in a position even to spend one rupee a day,

where three-fourths of the population live below subsistence and sub-human levels of existence. In such a country, to parade that there are people here with income, of Rs. two lakhs and above is an affront to our culture, our professions and our commitments. Therefore, Sir, why should it not be done?

In England it was done more or less like that. Do you know what happened when Rothschild died and left some estate there? And I think even in England, in a classical capitalist country, where money is worshipped more than Birla's worship in Lakshminarayan Temple, there too, what happens when they die? I think £ eleven million Rothschild left, and about £ nine million was taken as tax. That happened even in a capitalist country. But here we are not doing such things. Therefore, Mr. Chavan, I think it is a question of policy decision. Would you allow people to earn such income? Because that money cannot be normally earned if a person pays income-tax regularly, without evasion, without avoidance. If he does so, he cannot possibly amass such a fortune as to have an assured income every month of Rs. 15,000 or Rs. 17,000. In our country it is not possible. Therefore, some shady deal, some shady transaction and corruption take place somewhere as a result of which it is possible for a person to have this much income. Therefore, he should be hard hit by taxation.

Then my next amendment is "That at page 31, line 30, for the figures "20", the figures "40" be substituted. I am very glad that Mr. Chinai is appreciating this amendment of mine. On page 31 of the Bill the provision is that "where the total income exceeds Rs. 1,00,000", the tax is Rs. 8,100 plus 20 per cent, of the amount by which the total income exceeds Rs. 1,00,000." We are to nuke it 40 per cent. That is all. The same principle follows in another place and my amendment is "That at page 33, line 11, for the figures "65", the figures "80" be substituted. Where it is 65 per cent of the total income, I want to make it 80 per cent of the total income. On page 32 of the Bill it is said "in any other case— 65 per cent of the total income." It should be more. This is my suggestion. Why I say, Sir, is on a matter of principle. I know Mr. Chavan will not accept

it. But these are the things to be discussed. You have social objectives. Relate your income-tax law to your social objectives. Relate your rate of taxation to your social objectives.

Then judge whether it is right or wrong. Obviously you cannot go by the needs of the capitalist class or their logic in this matter. I think, therefore, here in India there is a case for increasing taxes at the highest bracket and it is valid and in that respect I reject the approach of the Wanchoo Committee who want to bring down the percentage of tax on the plea that it will not lead to the growth of black money or that kind of thing. In our country we see that there is no limit to poverty, abysmal poverty of the people and on the other hand we see the colossal wealth and economic power. Attack it at the top. Dynamite it. Shovel it down, if possible. See that the man who is living in abysmal poverty and suffering is lifted to the light of the day treated as a human being and given the dignity of life. At least let him live a bearable life under the sun. That should be the approach. And yet we are concerned about protecting the man at the top, at the summit of wealth and prosperity like Mr. Mohanlal. Mr. Mohanlal does not understand ceiling. How can he? He is hung to the ceiling and that ceiling is very high. Soaring in high altitude ceiling he will never understand it. He will not understand it till the ceiling comes down with the edifice of wealth degradation of the caste to which he belongs, and it crashes to the ground and other men subjugated by these people come on top. That is why he is opposed to it.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : I have already become giddy by your speech.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know the criticism of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, but I am not in a position to accept his amendments, not because it is very difficult to accept his amendments, not because I do not like the amendments but because it is very difficult to accept them. I would give an illustration. For example, in the case of an income of over Rs. 2 lakhs, his suggestion is that it should be raised from 85 per cent to 96 per cent. Unfortunately he has not seen the arithmetic of it. Eighty-five plus 15 per cent surcharge makes it nearly 97 per cent.

If you make it 96 per cent, then with surcharge it comes to 100 per cent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right, very good. What is wrong? I do not mind it. Surcharge is another matter.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Let us not forget that he is taxed very high. You cannot ask for some sort of which is expropriatory in nature. It is likely to be challenged in a court of law also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What about the other thing?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I can give you the explanation. It refers to a registered firm. In the case of the share of profit of a partner of a registered firm, it is charged at the source. The profit of the individual partner is also subject to income-tax. So, there is no reason to fear that they are trying to escape it as far as the law is concerned. In practice what happens is a different matter. Then, again about the other firms, under the existing law no part of the income-tax paid by the company is treated as payment on behalf of the shareholders. When the dividend comes to the hands of the shareholders, it is also subject to income-tax. So, the operation of the Act on different classes must be taken into consideration. For these reasons I cannot accept his amendments.

SHRI M. K. MOHTA : Sir, I beg leave to withdraw my amendment.

Amendment (No. 15) was, by leave, withdrawn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

25. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 30, line 10, for the figures "85" the figures "96" be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

* For text of the amendment vide col. 224-25 infra.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

26. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 31, line 30, for the figures "20" the figures "40" be substituted." "

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

27. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 33, line 11, for the figures "65" the figures "80" be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :

"That the First Schedule stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

The First Schedule was added to the Bill.

The Second Schedule was added to the Bill.

The Third Schedule.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Rajasthan) : Sir, I move :

18. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 42, lines 25 to 27 be deleted." "

19. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 43, lines 26 and 27 be deleted." "

20. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 43, lines 28 to 31 be deleted." "

21. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 45, lines 19 and 20 be deleted." "

22. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 45, lines 29 to 41 be deleted." "

23. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1971, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 46, lines 20 to 4, be deleted." "

24. "That the Rajya Sabha recommends to the Lok Sabha that the following amendment be made in the Finance Bill, 1972, as passed by the Lok Sabha, namely :—

"That at page 46, lines 36 to 43 be deleted." "

The questions were proposed.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उप समाधेश्वर महोदय, अभी तक जो अमेंडमेंट आए हैं वे श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने इन्कम टैक्स और वैल्यू टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में पेश किये थे, लेकिन मेरा जो संशोधन है वह उन आम जरूरत की चीजों के सम्बन्ध में है जिन पर मंत्री महोदय ने टैक्स लगाया है। उनके मन में भी इन चीजों पर टैक्स लगाने वक्त शंका रही थी कि इस तरह का टैक्स लगाना उचित है या नहीं। इसका उदाहरण यह है कि केरोसिन तेल पर पहले 6 पैसे का टैक्स लगाया गया था, लेकिन बाद में इसको हटा कर चार पैसे कर दिया गया। इस चीज में कोई त्रुटि नहीं है कि छह पैसे से चार पैसे क्यों कर दिया गया और छह पैसे से तीन पैसे क्यों नहीं किया गया या बिल्कुल समाप्त क्यों नहीं किया गया।

जहां तक केरोसिन का सवाल है, यह कोई बड़े पूंजीपतियों की उपयोग के चीज नहीं है। यह तो आम जनता की उपयोग की चीज है। सरकार ने कहा है कि हमने बिजली की खपत बढ़ा दी है, बिजली का बड़ा विस्तार कर दिया है, लेकिन उसने मर्करी बल्ब पर किसी तरह का कोई टैक्स नहीं लगाया क्योंकि वे स्वयं उस चीज का उपयोग करते हैं। जब बिजली देश के अन्दर नहीं आई थी तो आम जनता लालटेन का प्रयोग करती थी और जब आजादी की लड़ाई हुई थी तो मंत्री जी ने स्वयं लालटेन के अन्दर काम किया होगा। उन्होंने मर्करी बल्ब पर तो किसी प्रकार का टैक्स नहीं लगाया मगर केरोसिन आयल पर, जो आम जनता के उपयोग की वस्तु है, उस पर टैक्स लगा दिया है। उन्होंने इस पर जो टैक्स 6 पैसे ने 4 पैसे कर दिया है, उसके बारे में कोई तर्क नहीं दिया कि 6 से 4 क्यों किया और इसको बिल्कुल समाप्त क्यों नहीं किया।

मैं उनसे निवेदन यह करना चाहता हूं कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में जो अधिकांश जनता है वह बिजली का इस्तेमाल नहीं करती है। आप यह कह सकते हैं कि जो लोग स्टोव से रोटी बनाते

हैं वे पैसे वाले होते हैं। यह बात ठीक है कि जो आदमी रोटी बनाने के लिए लकड़ी के बजाय स्टोव का इस्तेमाल करता है वह गरीब नहीं हो सकता है और उसकी स्थिति अच्छी हो सकती है। लेकिन बिजली के बजाय जो आदमी लालटेन का उपयोग करता है, वह गरीब आदमी है और मंत्री जी ने जो टैक्स केरोसिन तेल पर लगाया है वह गरीब आदमी के ऊपर लगाया है और इस टैक्स को लगाने के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने कोई भी उचित तर्क नहीं दिया है कि इसको क्यों लगाया गया। श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने बड़े-बड़े लोगों पर और टैक्स लगाने की जो बात कही शायद मंत्री जी को वह अच्छी नहीं लगी और उन्होंने गरीब आदमी के उपयोग की चीज पर टैक्स लगा दिया।

इसी तरह से मंत्री जी ने फर्टिलाइजर के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया। आज किसानों से जितनी सम्बन्धित चीजें हैं, उन तमाम चीजों के ऊपर माननीय मंत्री जी ने टैक्स लगा दिया है। किसान जो गेहूँ पैदा करता है उसके दाम घटाने के बारे में इस सदन में कई बार चर्चा हुई और अग्रिकलचर प्राइम कमीशन ने भी इस बारे में सुझाव दिया। लेकिन किसान जो बिजली खरीदने वाला है, बिजली के द्वारा अपना उत्पादन बढ़ाता है, उन सब चीजों के ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया है। शायद माननीय मंत्री जी यह बात मानकर चले हैं कि हमने तो जितना ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन करना था वह कर दिया है, जितना हमको अग्रिकलचर प्रोडक्शन करना था वह कर दिया है और अब किसान को ज्यादा इन्सेन्टिव देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। आज सरकार ने फर्टिलाइजर के ऊपर टैक्स लगा दिया है जब कि इसकी वजह से हमारे देश में काफी उत्पादन बढ़ा है। कुछ स्टेटों में वर्तमान स्थिति में ग्रीन रिवोल्यूशन आया है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान के अधिकांश भागों में इस तरह की स्थिति नहीं है। इसी वजह से फर्टिलाइजर के सम्बन्ध में जो टैक्स लगाया गया है, उसका कोई कारण दिखलाई नहीं देता है और इसको वापस लिया जाना चाहिये।

[श्री जगदीश प्रसाद पाथुर]

इसी प्रकार सीमेंट के ऊपर टैक्स लगा दिया गया है, इलेक्ट्रिक मोटर्स के ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया है जो किसान के काम आता है तथा उसका हर जगह उपयोग करता है। आज आपने हर जगह पर नहर नहीं बनाई है इसलिए किसान को मोटर के जरिये पानी निकालना पड़ता है जिसके ऊपर आपने टैक्स लगा दिया है। इसी तरह से मोटर पार्ट्स के ऊपर भी आपने टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है, स्कूटर्स और रिक्शा जो गरीब जनता के वाहन हैं मोटर पार्ट्स पर टैक्स लगाने से उनके ऊपर भार बढ़ेगा। स्कूटर और रिक्शा पूंजीपति लोग इस्तेमाल नहीं करते हैं, यह तो गरीब आदमियों का वाहन है और उन्हीं के ऊपर इस मोटर पार्ट्स के टैक्स बढ़ाने का असर पड़ेगा। इसलिए हमने जो संशोधन पेश किये हैं, चाहे वह केरोसिन आयल के सम्बन्ध में हों, फर्टिलाइजर के सम्बन्ध में हों, या इलेक्ट्रिक मोटर के सम्बन्ध में हों, मोटर पार्ट्स के सम्बन्ध में हों, यह जो चीजें हैं वे गरीब आदमियों की रोज की इस्तेमाल की चीजें हैं। मंत्री जी स्वयं हृदय से नहीं चाहते होंगे कि इन चीजों के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया जाय, लेकिन इनके बजाय उन्हें दूसरी चीजों पर टैक्स लगाने के साधन मिल जाते तो शायद वे इन चीजों पर टैक्स नहीं लगाते। मैं अन्त में भी यह कहूंगा कि अब भी वे इस बारे में विचार कर लें और इन चीजों पर से टैक्स हटा लें। आखिर में फाइनल बिल पास हो जायगा तो ये टैक्सेज आयद हो जायेंगे। केरोसिन पर टैक्स के सम्बन्ध में यह आखिरी लड़ाई है और मंत्री महोदय ने यह संशोधन स्वीकार नहीं किया तो केरोसिन पर टैक्स उसी तरह रह जायगा। चिमनी का लालटेन का जो गरीब आदमी उपयोग करता है उसकी ओर से मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय से आखिर में निवेदन करता हूँ कि कम से कम इस संशोधन को वे स्वीकार करें।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, my amendment relates to fertiliser and kero-

sene. I know Mr. Chavan will not agree, But here you will not find arithmetical scope of dealing with the problem. As you know, after the tax proposals were made known to the country in his Budget Speech, there was general discontent against these taxes, panicularly against these two taxes. We are not going into the other things at the fag end of the day. Mr. Chavan could have easily yielded to the popular wish in this matter. After all, he would not have lost much money in terms of revenue if he had accepted the popular criticism of that particular aspect of his Budget and done away with these taxes. He would not have lost much. I think he has stood on prestige, not personal prestige, but the prestige of his Government. It is always done, my experience is this. When they introduce the Budget they choose such items knowing fully well that they will make certain concessions. That is a part of the tactics of the Finance Ministry, the strategy being all the time to fleece the people as far as possible and help the rich as far as possible subject to popular pressure. That is what has been done. Otherwise, what is the difficulty?

Nrw, Sir, why do we say that these taxes are very retrograde and unjust. It is because they hit at a time when the prices are rising and when they are already over-burdened with high prices and high taxes not only Central but also local. While in 1953 or 1954 the Union excise duties yielded a total sum of Rs. 60 crores, today it is already Rs. 2,300 crores. You can say our economy has also grown, that the people have got money. I am not going into it. But in two decades, from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 2,300 crores is a big jump. The people have suffered. These taxes help inflationary process in our country. They add to the inflationary pressure. They influence the prices of other commodities to rise. They hit the consumer in a very direct sense as will be done in this particular case, as my friend has already pointed out. Why should it be so?

Again, I think that in this Budget, after all the speeches of election manifesto and otherwise, the Government should have given serious thought to the problem of indirect taxation, union excise duties in particular and the policy should have been one of lessening the burden rather than adding to

the burden. That should have been the approach. Unfortunately, it is not so in this Budget: These taxes will hit many sections of the people, not only those who are supposed to pay, but the incidence of these taxes will be shifted to others. Therefore, they will be shared by a very large section of the working people in our country.

Now, Sir, as far as these taxes are concerned, we are naturally opposed to them. I think time has come for the Government to close this chapter of the Budget, for having a serious radical rethinking in the Ministry of Finance as to how to budget for this country. The Budget does not reflect either our declarations or our social objective or even our desire to go forward. These are not reflected in a proper way. That is the tragedy of it. Therefore, I think you will agree that the Budget needs re-structuring. That you cannot do unless you find sources of revenue elsewhere, in the countryside by taxing the rural rich and the landlord: and everybody says that several hundreds of crores of rupees could be got by this taxation. In the urban areas, the corporate sector should be taxed in a better way; people who have a high income should be taxed. Nothing of the kind is being done.

I think you will agree that we cannot improve our revenue much by taxation alone in a developing economy. We want a nationalised sector, a big nationalised sector, a revenue yielding sector, which will give control of the economy as a whole and bring in revenue. If Mr. Chavan nationalises all 75 monopoly houses, he will at once have at his command hundreds of crores of rupees as revenue for the country. The money that goes to the coffers of the capitalists will be with the public exchequer. That is why he should now shift from the retrograde and regressive taxation measures to progressive ones. (*Time bell rings*) And this cannot be done unless we nationalise those industries. Before I sit down, I would point out to the House that you cannot improve upon the Budget radically unless you nationalise the monopoly concerns—sugar, oil, textile and other concerns; and foreign concerns should certainly be taken over. Then you would be in a position to find resources for the developmental activities

and also for meeting other budgetary requirements. Hitting the common man is a thing of the past. I think these tactics should be given up. Fleecing the common man is the capitalist method of development. It is an indirect way of making the poor sections pay for the capitalist development, for building up Bitlas and Tatas. Sir, these moneys are taken to the exchequer and then diverted to various other items of expenditure, some of which directly go to benefit the exploiting classes and the monopoly class. Therefore, it is socially unjust, politically it does not measure up to the standards of democracy and economically it is preposterous in the sense that it strengthens the negative forces in our economic life, with all its exploitation, with all its plunder, corruption and malpractices all along the line.

SHRI BABUBHAI M. CHINAI : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to oppose this amendment. It has become a fashion in this House to speak in the name of the poor man without understanding what exactly the position is. So far as kerosene is concerned, the inferior kerosene is not touched at all in the Budget. Therefore, the poor man is not touched by this levy. It is the better quality of kerosene which is being mixed by the public transport people who are running diesel engine trucks, which is now taxed. Therefore, on the contrary, I am really surprised that the Finance Minister succumbed to the pressure of his party people to reduce the levy from 6 paise to 4 paise. It is a duty which he has imposed very rightly, first to stop the mixing of the better quality of kerosene with diesel, and secondly to get more revenues for the Government; to fulfil the socio-economic objectives to which they are wedded. I am afraid, Sir, I cannot be a party to this amendment, if it were possible for me, I would have moved an amendment to restore the levy to 6 paise, so that the Government can get more revenue. He has fallen a prey to their pressure. I know he had got a little elbow room and in order to please the members of his party, he had come up with the amendment. I hope he will in future take care of this.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : श्रीमन्,
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने संशोधन

[श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव]

का विरोध किया है, लेकिन मैं जमीन पर रहने वाला हूँ और देहात का रहने वाला हूँ जहाँ कि किरासिन तेल व्यवहार किया जाता है। जिस दिन से सरकार ने तेल पर टैक्स बढ़ाया है उस दिन से चार पैसे हर बोतल पर कीमत बढ़ गयी है। बंबई में बाबू भाई को पता नहीं लगता होगा, लेकिन बिहार के हर गाँव में किसानों को बेसी पैसा देना पड़ रहा है। आपके टेक्निकल टर्म में भले ही दूसरे क्रिस्म के तेल पर टैक्स बढ़ा हो लेकिन जो लोग किरासिन तेल जलाने वाले हैं उनको आज बेसी पैसा देना पड़ रहा है। इसलिए मैं तर्क में न पड़ कर माननीय मंत्री महोदय से कहूँगा कि किरासिन तेल पर जो टैक्स कम करने की माँग है वह सचमुच में गरीबों के लिए है। आप ग्रीन रेवोल्यूशन की बात करते हैं तो आप को फर्टिलाइजर पर भी टैक्स कम करना चाहिए। और किमान की एलेक्ट्रिसिटी उसके पम्पिंग सेट पर भी टैक्स कम करना चाहिए।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have considered this aspect in great detail. And I cannot agree to this amendment, firstly because, as Mr. Babubhai Chinai has said, it is meant for the variety of kerosene which is used for adulteration with high speed diesel and among other things. . .

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : You ban it.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : How do you ban it ? This is the difficulty. We have raised the tax by 4 paise per litre. The honourable Member says that in some villages in Bihar it is charged on a bottle. Possibly, some unhealthy social elements would have done that even without taxing here. Therefore, you cannot say that his is because of the tax.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : किरासिन तेल दो तरह का वहाँ भी चलता है। एक सफेद होता है और एक गन्दा होता है। आप बाबू

भाई चिनाई के नाम पर ही इस को क्यों लेते हैं ?

(Interruption)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : If people are exploiting poor people in the villages, such exploitation will have to be removed by the local administration by the political parties, and try political workers like you and me, organising consumers' movement in the country. But then, as Babubhai Chinai said, as a gesture to the criticism in Parliament I agreed. .

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हृगियाणा) : यह दीपक का सवाल है ?

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : यह गरीब का सवाल है, दीपक का सवाल नहीं है।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : As I said, I also argued with myself. I know that kerosene oil is utilised by the common people. I do not deny that. To a certain extent it is true. Then, for, as a gesture to the criticism and the desire of Members of Parliament of my party as well as other parties, I decided to reduce it. But I cannot further reduce it. Therefore, I cannot accept the amendment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is —

"That Amendment Nos. 18 to 24 stand part of the Bill."

The House divided

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Ayes—10; Noes—50.

AYES—10

Alva, Dr. K. Nagappa Gupta, Shri Bhupesh Mandal, Shri B. N. Menon, Shri Balachandra Mohammad, Chaudhary A. Murthy, Shri B. P. Nagaraja Patel, Shri D. K. Tyagi, Shri Mahavir Yadav, Shri J. P. Yadav, Shri Shyam Lal

NOES—50

Alva, Shri Joachim
 Anandam, Shri M.
 Arif, Shri Mohammed Usman
 Bhagwati, Shri B. C.
 Bhardwaj, Shri Jagan Nath
 Bhatt, Shri Nand Kishore
 Chattopadhyaya, Dr. Debiprasad
 Chinai, Shri Babubhai M.
 Choudhury, Shri N. R.
 Das, Shri Bipinpal
 Dass, Shri Mahabir
 Deshmukh, Shri T. O.
 Gadgil, Shri Vithal
 Hath, Shri Jaisukhlal
 Himmat Singh, Shri
 Joseph, Shri N.
 Kalania, Shri I. K.
 Kapur, Shri Yashpal
 Kemparaj, Shri B. T.
 Krishan Kant, Shri
 Lakshmi Kumari Chundawat, Shrimati
 Mahida, Shri U. N.
 Malaviya, Shri Harsh Deo
 Mehta, Shri Om
 Mukherjee, Shri Kali
 Mukherjee, Shri Pranab Kumar
 Narayanappa, Shri Sanda
 Narayani Devi Manaklal Varma, Shrimati
 Panda, Shri Brahmananda
 Patil, Shri G. R.
 Patil, Shri P. S.
 Pratibha Singh, Shrimati
 Puri, Shri Dev Datt
 Reddy, Shri K. V. Raghunatha
 Reddy, Shri M. Srinivasa
 Reddy, Shri Mulka Govinda
 Refaye, Shri A. K.
 Roshan Lal, Shri
 Sangma, Shri E. M.
 Satyavati Dang, Shrimati
 Savi'a Behan, Shrimati
 Singh, Shri Bindeshwari Pd.
 Singh, Shri Ranbir
 Singh, Shri Sultan
 Singh, Dr. V. B.
 Sinha, Shri Awadheshwar Prasad
 Sisodia, Shri Swaisingh
 Tanvir, Shri Habib
 Tlwary, Pt. Bhawaniprasad
 Vero, Shri M.

The motion n-as negatived.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI V. B. RAJU) The question is :

"That ihe Third Schedule stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

The Third Schedule was added to the Bill.

The Fourth Schedule and the Fifth Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause I, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

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

•That the Bill be returned."

6 P.M.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल (विहार) : उपसभा-पति जी, जो यह फाइनेंस बिल इस सदन के सामने में है मैं उसका विरोध करता हूँ। मेरे विरोध करने का कारण है कि इस फाइनेंस बिल के जरिये नया कर उगाहा जायगा जिस कर को खर्च किया जायगा उस सरकार को चलाने के लिए जिस सरकार की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी है।

मुझे डर है, मैं अपने डर को व्यक्त करना चाहता हूँ और उस कारण से मैं नहीं चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार को और भी रुपया दिया जाय खर्च करने के लिए। मेरा डर है कि आज जो दर्रा इस देश में चल रहा है, उसका यह नतीजा हुआ है कि आज श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में, जो हमारा संविधान है, उस संविधान की इस ढंग से मरम्मत की गई है जिस मरम्मत का यह भी नतीजा निकल सकता है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी संविधान को खत्म करके डिक्टेटर बन जायें, अगर इस तरह का भी संशोधन लाने की उनको जरूरत पड़े तो जो जो मौजूदा संविधान है उसमें संशोधन करने के लिए कानून पास हो सकता है। उसी तरह से चुनाव का जो कानून है उस कानून का भी इसी ढंग से मरम्मत किया है। अगर इन्दिरा

[श्री बी० एन० मंडल]

गांधी की सरकार की ओर से ऐसा मैनिपुलेशन किया जाय कि जो गलत तरीके से वोट पड़े उनकी सही काउन्टिंग तो हो सके, तो ऐसा भी हो जायगा। (Interruptions) यहाँ तक कि चुनाव के टाइम में जिन को कांग्रेस की तरफ से टिकट दिया जाता है उनसे पहले कहलाया जाता है.....

SHRI D. D. PURI (Haryana): Sir, on a point of order...After all, you are permitting the hon. Member to speak like this.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR: No point of order.

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : कि तुम इन्दिरा गांधी को लीडर मानते हो। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसके साथ ही जो चुनाव हाल में बिहार में दरभंगा में पार्लियामेंट के लिए हुआ है, उसके बाद...

(Interruptions)

श्री मुलतान सिंह (हरियाणा) लोक सभा में जनता के द्वारा चुने हुए सदस्य हैं और इस सदन के अन्दर बैठकर माननीय सदस्य उस सदन की प्रतिष्ठा को घटाने के लिए प्रचार कर रहे हैं। यह प्रजातंत्र की बे-इज्जती है और इसको अलाऊ नहीं किया जाना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० बी० राजू) : आप समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : तो जिस ढंग से अभी दरभंगा में पार्लियामेंट के लिए चुनाव हुआ है और अभी हाल में राज्य सभा के लिए यू० पी० में जो कुछ श्री राजनारायण के साथ हुआ है, उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि ढंग से प्राइम मिनिस्टर की ओर से मैनिपुलेशन किया जाता है। उसको भी हम लोगों ने देखा है।

श्रीमती सविता वहिन : जो माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे हैं वह पार्लियामेंटरी शब्द हैं क्या? यह तो सबके टाप की पार्लियामेंट है।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : प्राइम मिनिस्टर के दिमाग में अगर यह ख्वाहिश हो, जिसकी वजह से चाहे संविधान की मरम्मत हो, चाहे कानून की मरम्मत हो, चाहे अपनी पार्टी की मरम्मत हो, चाहे सरकार की भी मरम्मत हो, उससे मुझे लगता है कि उनकी सरकार में जितने पुराने मंत्री थे जो जो उनको जवाब दे सकते थे, उन सब को हटा दिया गया अब सिर्फ 2 आदमी पुरानों में बाकी हैं—एक श्री चव्हाण साहब हैं...

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : यह भी जाने वाले हैं।

श्री बी० एन० मंडल : दूसरे हरिजन मंत्री हैं, तो 2 ही आदमी पुरानों में बाकी बचे हैं, जिनके बारे में समझा जा सकता है कि इन्दिरा गांधी अगर कोई गलत काम करे तो रोक सकते हैं लेकिन इन्दिरा गांधी ने होम मिनिस्ट्री को अपने कब्जे में रखकर उनको दबा रखा है, उसके जरिये से वे डिमोरेलाइज करती रहती है। मेरा कहने का मतलब यह है कि सारी डिक्टेटोरशिप की कार्यवाही हो रही है और इसलिए खतरा है कि इस देश के अन्दर जनतंत्र रह सकेगा या नहीं रह सकेगा। इसलिए मैं इस बिल का विरोध करता हूँ कि वर्तमान प्राइम मिनिस्टर के नेतृत्व में जो सरकार चल रही है उसके लिए इस सदन की स्वीकृति नहीं मिलनी चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The question is :—

“That the Bill be returned.”

The motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The House stands adjourned till 11 00 A. M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 24th May, 1972