

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND LABOUR (SHRI RAYINDRA VERMA) : With your permission, Sir, I rise to announce that Government Business in this House during the week commencing 18th July, 1977, will consist of:

- (1) Consideration of any item of Government Business carried over from today's Order Paper.
- (2) Consideration and passing of :
 - (a) The National Highways (Amendment) Bill, 1977
 - (b) The Cardamom (Amendment) Bill, 1977.
- (3) Discussion on the Annual Report of the University Grants Commission for 1975-76.
- (4) Discussion and voting on :
 - (i) Demands for Grants in respect of the Nagaland Budget for 1977-78.
 - (ii) Demands for Excess Grants (General) for 1974-75.
- (5) Discussion on the Annual Reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- (6) Consideration and passing of the following Bills, as passed by Rajya Sabha:—
 - (i) The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) Bill, 1977
 - (ii) The Insecticides (Amendment) Bill, 1977
 - (iii) The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (Amendment) Bill, 1977.

11:47 hrs.

FINANCE (No. 2) BILL, 1977—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Before I call upon the Member who has to continue his speech, Mr. Janardhana Prasad, I would like to make the suggestion to the House that there was a feeling that the general discussion be given more time instead of clause-by-clause discussion.

According to our allotment here, 10 hours are allotted for general discussion and four hours for clause-by-clause discussion. Generally, it so happens that the clause-by-clause discussion does not take much time—from the previous experience that is what we have found. I propose that instead of 10 hours, we should make it 12 hours for general discussion. I think the House will agree.

SHRI S. KUNDO (BALASORE) : 15 hours.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It would encroach upon the other time.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (BEGUSARAI) : What has been the practice in the past?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We used to take generally 12 hours.

In 1974-75, the time allotted was 12 hours and in 1975-76, it was 15 hours (time allotted) but it took only 11 hours.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : Emergency year.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In 1976-77, the time allotted was 15 hours, but they took only 11 hours. So, 12 hours is a good compromise.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA : Why should we go by the minimum time that is made available in the past? This is a very important Bill.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It has nothing to do with the past. We have already allocated for the Finance Bill, as I understand 10 hours for general discussion and 4 hours for clause-by-clause consideration and 1 hour for third reading. So, instead of that, what I am proposing is that we take 12 hours for general discussion and two hours for clause-by-clause consideration and 1 hour for third reading. So, total time will remain the same.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karnimangar) : You had just now mentioned the time taken in 1974-75 and 1975-76. In those years, all the hon. Members who are now here were not there. That is why, the time taken was 11 hours and the whole thing was over within 11 hours. This time, every hon. Member would like to speak on this Bill, because some of us were denied the opportunity to speak in some of the demands for grants. We should have an opportunity to discuss it.

it. My request to you and to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs is that the time may be increased to 15 hours.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is all ready 15 hours.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO : I want 15 hours only for general discussion.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : 15 hours are the total time for the discussion of the Finance Bill. In the previous year it was not 15 hours.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO : Let us not bother about the previous years.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Yes, let us not compare with the previous years. This year we have allotted 15 hours.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA (Delhi Sadar) : Instead of Monday, can we not have the voting on Tuesday ? I agree with my colleagues that this is a very important matter and every Member would like to speak on it. I think, you will permit us to speak on it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Every Member cannot speak !

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur) : There are more than 100 Amendments. If you reduce the time for clause-by-clause consideration from five hours to three hours, it will be difficult for the Members to move their amendments.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Those who have to move the amendments are only a few.....(Interruptions)

SHRI S. R. DAMANI : I mean, consideration of the amendments.

श्री कानन लाल कपूर (पुनिया) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत से लोग इन बिनाइस पर बोल नहीं पाए हैं, इस लिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि जनरल डिस्कशन के लिए 15 घंटे रखे जायें तो उस से कुछ लोगों को कवर करने का मौका मिल जाएगा ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You must know that we have other business also;

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH (Hoshangabad) : I would request that the Janata Government may make a departure from the old practice to mark our entry into the new era and increase the time to 18 hours, in the interest of Janata, in the interest of the people. It is very fair.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI MORARJI DESAI) : 'Janata' does not mean running riot.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I am sorry, Sir. The Prime Minister has wholly misunderstood me. There is no question of running riot here. He can deal with riots outside the House. There is enough power to deal with riots. But there is no riot here. I am sorry Sir. He should withdraw it.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I am not going to withdraw that.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : It is meaningless; he should be reasonable.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has not made any reference to you, Mr. Kamath.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : Why does the hon. Member take it on himself ? I have not referred to him. I only say that 'Janata Government' does not mean doing anything....

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : I am very well aware of what I am saying. I am responsible.

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : I am also aware of what I am saying.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH : So am I. This is not the way. Do not use the word 'riot'. (Interruptions) He should be a more responsible Prime Minister.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Kamath, you need not get excited about it.

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : If you are going to limit the total time to 15 hours, it will be better if you give 13 hours for general discussion and two hours for the rest. As you yourself have pointed out, clause-by-clause consideration will not take much time. The total time may be divided as 13+2, if the proposal of Mr. Kamath to extend the time is not acceptable.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have 13 hours for general discussion, 13

[Mr. Deputy Speaker]

hours for clause-by-clause consideration and half an hour for the Third Reading. That means, nobody will speak on Third Reading.

SHRI HARI VISHNU KAMATH:
You should be more reasonable.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR
(Quilon): There are, I think, about 200 amendments.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Every one need not speak on every amendment. Now we will go on to the Discussion.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY
(Mangalore): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I was yesterday dealing with the performance of the Janata Government during its hundred days of rule, and two days before that. I now deal with an important issue in regard to my constituency.

It is a sorrowful saga of the sea-men of the west coast, particularly of the Bengare Village in South Canara District of Karnataka State and the people of that area are facing dreadful sea erosion which has assumed an alarming proportion during the last few days. This is an island. On the western side of the island there is the Arabian Sea and on the eastern side there are two rivers, Nethravathi and Gurupur and, on the other side of the rivers the Mangalore city is situated, as well as the old Mangalore Port. In the month of June this year, this island has been reduced to the extent of three-fourths of a furlong due to turbulent sea erosion. Already about three-fourth of a square mile of precious land had been swallowed by the furious Arabian Sea during the course of 6 to 8 years. Now, if this trend continues there for another three or four weeks, half of the entire island will be washed away and, in such an event, there will be distinct danger not only to the Mangalore town but also to the old Mangalore port. Last year, already about 15 houses were washed away by the turbulent sea during the last few years. Not only that, a fish-curing yard as well as the newly constructed road and also a number of people have been affected. I submit that if timely action is not taken, definitely the people living there—about 6000 to 10000 in number—will be rendered homeless one day. That is why I am requesting the Government to take a serious view of this matter. Instead of acting after complete extinction of the island, I would request you to act now itself: let us not lack in ideas and let us not lack in foresight. Not only here but also on the entire west coast of Karnataka this erosion is taking place. I would therefore submit that certain timely action must be taken.

Now, coming to the performance of the Janata Government during the 100 days, yesterday I dealt with how you have given an incomplete Government to this country. Today I will deal with how you yourself have performed. You have become very popular so far as appointment of Commissions is concerned. The Janata Government is well known and is popular as a Government for appointing commissions. Secondly, you have not been able to provide employment to the common people, so far, but you were definitely able to provide employment to retired judges. These retired judges must be very happy about the performance of the Janata Government?

Now, I will give you an example of how you have acted in regard to the appointment of a commission of Enquiry so far as the Karnataka Government is concerned in order to topple the popular Government there. What does the Commissions of Inquiry Act say? Section 3 says:

3.(1) The appropriate Government may, if it is of opinion that it is necessary so to do, and shall, if a resolution in this behalf is passed by the House of the People or, as the case may be, the Legislative Assembly of the State, by notification in the Official Gazette, appoint a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of making an inquiry into any definite matter of public importance and performing such functions and within such time as may be specified in the notification.

"Provided that where any such Commission has been appointed to inquire into any matter—

(a) by the Central Government, no State Government shall, except with the approval of the Central Government, appoint another Commission to enquire into the same matter for so long as the Commission appointed by the Central Government is functioning."

This is important. This clause makes it clear that when a Commission has been appointed by Central Government, no State Government has any powers to appoint another Commission for the same purpose. Where any such Commission has been appointed to enquire into any matter by a State Government clause (b) says:

"... the Central Government shall not

appoint another Commission to inquire into the same matter for so long as the Commission appointed by the State Government is functioning, unless, the Central Government is of the opinion that the scope of the enquiry should be extended to two or more States."

The State Government has appointed a Commission to go into the charges and you have now appointed another Commission. Is it because the Central Government is of the opinion that the scope of the inquiry should be extended to two or more States? How could it be? There are no such charges involving two States. Therefore, the Supreme Court has clearly stated (A.L.R. 1969 Supreme Court) that if a statutory authority exercises its power for a purpose not authorised by law, its action is *ultra vires* and without jurisdiction. It is a *malafide* exercise of power in the eyes of law. The statutory authority, in the instant case, that is the Central Government, which has exercised its power for a purpose not authorised by law, not authorised by clause (3) of the Commission of Inquiry Act, its action is *ultra vires* and without jurisdiction. The Janata Government's action is a *malafide* action in the eyes of law. I would like to ask the Government, whether they have asked the State Government to refer any additional charges, which the State Government has not done, to the Commission before appointing it. You have not done that. I would further submit that Justice Grover, who is heading the Commission, is a retired judge of the Supreme Court. He had a prejudice against the Congress Government, because he had been superseded by other judge. Has the Government ensured that he would be free from any prejudice? The Government should not have this kind of attitude and must be very careful. What will the people think if they do like this?

Now, I would come to another area of your performance. Your actions have gone to the extent of demoralising the entire police force in the country. Today, there is a great concern in the country about the helplessness and inaction of the Police Department in dealing with the criminal offenders, dacoits and others. The entire country is apprehensive of the serious erosion of the law and order situation due to the demoralization that has crept in the rank and file of the Police Department consequent on the persistent and scathing criticism of the Police for alleged excesses during emergency. It is very essential that there should be revitalization of the police force and they must be allowed to act fearlessly and freely as well as finally without any interference in dealing with the criminals and offen-

ders in the interest of maintenance of the law and order situation as in the past. If the police fails to take any action, it will definitely lead to massive action not only by the law breakers, but also by the dacoits and other anti-social elements and criminals. The police hesitate to adopt the conventional methods of interrogation in dealing with the offenders and hardened criminals and they do not know what norms and interrogation methods they are required to adopt now. Under these circumstances the country must be careful and the government also must be careful in dealing with these criminals and anti-social elements. I submit there is a feeling of uncertainty and a feeling of fear that has gripped the entire Police Force in dealing with the criminals and other offenders. That is why I submit—I do not say that we must leave everything to the Police. I will not say that the Police brutalities should not be condemned, it must be condemned, but there must be a limit for our criticism. Not only that I will just ...

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have already taken 20 minutes.

SHRI JANARDHANA POOJARY : I will just refer to the criticism made in this House. The other day hon Member, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta, had stated that we had no tongue to speak and if at all we have got a tongue, it is on account of the Janata Party. He further stated that we have been taking constantly and regularly the name of Shrimati Indira Gandhi prior to the election and after the election we stopped taking her name. But shall I tell you now that because she believed in democracy and she believed in democratic institutions, she declared elections and because of the elections you are here. Still I tell you what was the position before the emergency in the country? The forces of right reaction and the extreme leftists had ganged up together with the common object to paralyse the government established by law as well as to overthrow it and subvert the democratic institutions in this country and further, as you know, the very fabric of democratic institutions in this country was threatened with extinction and then only emergency was declared. The common people were crushed under the sky-rocketing prices. In those circumstances the emergency was declared.

Not only that, I want to tell the hon. Members, and I am not afraid of saying that, that Shrimati Indira Gandhi is a great leader of the country. Even the world had also acclaimed her as a great leader. The defeat of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is infinitely a disaster for the country. I am sure one day the country will realise the mistake and that day is not far away.

[Shri Janardan Poojary]

The task of the Janata Government is to give food, to give shelter, to provide medicine, to give employment and to remove poverty. If you fail in this task, the people who have voted for you will definitely throw you out of office.

डा० बलराम प्रकाश (अमरसर) : वित्त मंत्री महोदय से जो रीयलिस्टिक बजट पेश किया और इस विधेयक में जो रियायतों की घोषणा उन्होंने लघु तथा छोटे उद्योग वालों के लिए की है तथा और लोगों के लिए की है और ऐसा करके उन्होंने जो उनको बचाया है उसके लिए वह बधाई के पात्र हैं।

तीस सालों से बिगड़ी हुई अर्थ व्यवस्था जिसमें दस सालों ने इसको और भी अधिक अमानक स्थिति में धकेल दिया था उसमें अगर कोई चाहे कि एक दिन के अन्दर आमूलचूल परिवर्तन हो जाए तो वह सम्भव नहीं है। जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने लोकतंत्र की पुनः स्थापना की है, इसको पुनर्जन्म दिया है, लोकतंत्र के अन्दर जनता की भांसा फिर से बनी है, देश में व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता फिर से आई है और लोकतंत्र जो संस्थाएं हैं वे सही ढंग से काम करने योग्य बनी हैं। उसी तरह से वित्त मंत्री जो ने अर्थ व्यवस्था को एक सही दिशा दी है। जिन कठिन परिस्थितियों में उनको काम करना पड़ा है, महंगाई बढ़ रही थी, उसका सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है। अभी मेरे मित्र ने कहा है कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी बहुत लोकतंत्रवादी थीं इस वास्ते उन्होंने चुनाव कराए। एमरजेंसी के कारण हालात उनके बग से बाहर होने जा रहे थे, महंगाई बढ़ रही थी। पिछले साल से इस साल तक के आंकड़ों को आप देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि दस प्रतिशत महंगाई बढ़ चुकी थी। जो रेट आक्र इकोनामिक प्रोथ है वह 1 परसेंट तक आ गया है। मनी सप्लाई 19 परसेंट और इनफ्लेशन 12 परसेंट बढ़ चुका था। इन हालात के अन्दर इससे

पक्का और कोई बजट नहीं हो सकता है। समाजवादी उषि की और यह देश बड़े जनता पार्टी ने जो जनता के सामने बांधे किए वे वह बूरे किए जा सके, उस दृष्टि से भी जो बजट पेश किया गया है वह बजट बिल्कुल ठीक है। हमने कहा था कि देश के अन्दर कृषि को प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए। ग्रामोद्योग और गांधी का जीवन स्तर ऊंचा उठाना है, और इस बजट के अन्दर जो प्लान का खर्चा है उसमें से 30.24 परसेंट आउटले कृषि के ऊपर, ग्रामों के जीवन को बेहतर बनाने के लिए, सड़कों के लिए खर्च किया जा रहा है जहां पर हिन्दुस्तान की 60 फीसदी जनता बसती है। वही नहीं पूरा रोजगार और काम करने का जो हमारा बुनियादी अधिकार है उसकी पूर्ति की गई है और रोजगार बढ़े उसके लिए प्लान के अन्दर इस साल के प्लान में 7,700 करोड़ ४० रखा गया है जो कि पिछले साल से 27 परसेंट अधिक है। मनु और कुटीर उद्योगों के लिए इस साल की रकम पिछले साल से 10 करोड़ ४० ज्यादा है।

मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि आज यहीं पर यह कहा गया कि भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री इस देश की महान नेता हैं, उन्होंने देश के लिए बहुत कुछ किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर महानता का तलब झूठ बोलना है तो फिर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी देश के अन्दर वास्तव में एक महान नेता हैं, सबसे बड़ी नेता हैं दुनिया के अन्दर जब हम जैसों के अन्दर थे तो रोख बयान करते थे कि स भी लोभ छोड़ दिए गए, और हम हैराण होते थे कि हम जेल के अन्दर क्यों हैं? जब कि एक लाख 60 हजार प्रायमी जैलों में बन्द थे तब श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के कौरैन प्रेसेज में बयान दिए जाते थे कि सभी छोड़ दिए गए। अगर अपनी कुर्सी पर बिपके रहने के लिए कोई भी पाप, कोई भी सिद्धान्त का खून किया जा सकता है, किसी भी नैतिक पतन की सीमा तक जाया जा सकता है तो

में मानता हूँ कि शिमिति इंदिरा गांधी से बड़ी महान नेता दुनिया के अन्दर कोई नहीं है, हिन्दुस्तान की ती बात क्या।

क्या इस देश के अन्दर नहीं हुआ ? बताना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले बस सालों में नैतिक पतन चरण सीमा तक पहुंचा। कोई भी ऐसा सिद्धान्त या जिसकी देश के नेताओं ने रक्षा की ? इसी सदन के स्पीकर श्री संजीव रेड्डी जो कांग्रेस के मेम्बर थे, उनका नामांकन प्रस्ताव राष्ट्रपति के लिये भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री ने किया, यह कांग्रेस के ही सदस्य थे, फिर उनकी पीठ में छुरा किसने भोंका ? उनको किसने हराया ? आत्मा की धाराज का गौरव लवा कर के अपनी ही संस्था के व्यक्ति को अपने ही हाथों नामांकन करने के बाद, किसने पराजित किया ? यह उनकी महानता थी ? यह नैतिक पतन का, अन्वय वहाँ से शुरू होता था। यह सब चीजें क्यों हुई ? आज देश की जनता इस बात की अपेक्षा करती है कि हमारे नेताओं का कोई आदर्श होना चाहिये। उनके मुँह से निकला हुआ एक एक शब्द सत्य होना चाहिये, उनकी कालम से की गई एक-एक चीज ठीक होनी चाहिये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस के लोगों ने उनकी नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने श्री संजीव रेड्डी का नामांकन प्रस्ताव करने के बाद उनको क्यों हराया ? इस प्रकार का काम कर के उन्होंने देश की जनता से ही नहीं, बल्कि अपनी कुर्सी और अपनी पार्टी के साथ विश्वासघात किया। आज देश की जनता ने उसका बदला लिया है। आज एक का पहिया पूरा घूम गया है और बड़ी माननीय संजीव रेड्डी साहब को 8 साल के बाद फिर के राष्ट्रपति के पद पर बैठाने के लिये प्रतिपक्ष के द्वारा सर्व-सम्मति के नामांकित किया गया है। देश की जनता ने उस विश्वासघात को बदला

दिया है। मैं तो अपने दिनों से कहूँगा कि उस विश्वासघात का बदला जो उन्होंने कांग्रेस के साथ किया, कांग्रेस का घूम किया, संस्था का खून किया, बस में नैतिक पतन को जन्म दिया, एक ऐसे राजनीतिक इतिहास को जन्म दिया जिसका उदाहरण दुनिया के इतिहास में नहीं मिलता। मुझे बतायें कि दुनिया के इतिहास में जहाँ लोकतन्त्र है, जनतन्त्र है, वहाँ कभी ऐसा हुआ हो कि एक संस्था के प्रधान मंत्री ने अपनी संस्था के व्यक्ति का अपने हाथों से नामांकन करने के बाद उसको परास्त कराया हो ? मुझे कोई बतायें क्या इसके लिये उनकी महान कहा जा सकता है ? आप बतायें कि देश के नेताओं को झूठे मुकदमों में फँसाने के लिये कौनसा हथकण्डा इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया ?

मेरे पास एक अजबबार है, मैं पढ़कर बताना चाहता हूँ। उन्ही दिनों में जब संजीव रेड्डी साहब का वाक्य हुआ, उस समय श्री बबू रामे पंडित, जो कि क्रांतिकारी हैं और गंदीविभाजक भगत सिंह के साथी रह चुके हैं, उनको पुलिस के इन्स्पेक्टर, सी० आई० डी० के इन्स्पेक्टर, डी० एस० पी० ने बुलाकर अपनी वी कि तुम यह ध्यान दो कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई के लड़के कांति देसाई ने रुपये दिये हैं, इंदिरा गांधी को मारने के लिये, नहीं तो तुम्हें हम झूठे केस में बन्द कर देंगे। इसी तरह से पहले शक्ति भूषण से मिलने गये, लेकिन उन्होंने कोई बात करने के बजाय सिर्फ इतना ही कहा कि अपनी ही जकरी मीटिंग में जा रहा हूँ, शाम को अजबय मिलें। मेरे पास बहुत सी विडेटेस हैं, लेकिन मैं उसमें जाना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जब पूछा कि किस प्रकार का ध्यान दें तो मुझे उत्तर मिला कि ऐसा बयान दो कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई अपनी सुपुत्र श्री कांतिदेसाई देसाई के मारफत क्रांतिकारियों को रुपये के रहा है कि इतिहास

[श्री बलदेव प्रकाश]

जी की हत्या कर दी जाये, जिससे मैंने बिल्कुल मना कर दिया।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप बताइये कि क्या यह इन्दिरा जी की महानता है, जिसके बारे में ये लोग कह रहे हैं कि वह इस देश की महान नेता हैं। देश की महान नेता वह नहीं होतीं जो अपनी कुर्सी को बचाने के लिये हर प्रकार का पाप करें। हम देश का महान नेता उनको तब मान सकते थे कि 12 जून को जब फैसला भ्रामा तो वह घावों पर बड़ी होकर इस्तीफा दे देती कि हमारे देश के विद्वान ने, कानून ने हमारी चुनाव-प्राप्तिका मान ली है, मुझे प्रधान मंत्री पद से हटा दिया है, मैं प्रधान मंत्री के पद से हटकर देश की सेवा करूँगी। अगर वह ऐसा कदम लेती तो हम भी उन्हें देश का महान नेता समझते, लेकिन उन्होंने ऐसा नहीं किया।

आज एक नया अध्याय शुरू हो रहा है। हमें इस बात की खुशी है। कांग्रेस के मित्रों को खुश होना चाहिये कि वह अन्दरे के बादल छंट गये, व्यक्तिगत शासन समाप्त हो गया, सभी तरह से सत्ता पर बने रहने का प्रयास खत्म हो गया। आज स्वतंत्रता से हम लोक-सभा में बैठे हैं। यहाँ भी धीरे बाहर भी हर विषय पर विचार कर सकते हैं, एक दूसरे की राय ले सकते हैं। लेकिन हम आज भी उसी दलगत राजनीति के कारण अगर उनको राजनीति में महान नेता प्रोजेक्ट करने की कोशिश करेंगे तो अपोजीशन के नाते भी कांग्रेस का भविष्य धूमिल है। देश की जनता उन्हें ठुकरा चुकी है, परे हटा चुकी है। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की तस्वीर महान नेता के रूप में रखी जायेगी तो कांग्रेस का भविष्य ही धूमिल होगा, इससे हमारा कुछ बिलड़ने वाला नहीं है।

कल कुछ बातें इस हाउस में कही गई हैं, उनके बारे में मैं बताना चाहता हूँ।

यहाँ मोनोपलीज का जिक्र थाया है। प्राइवेट सैक्टर का जिक्र थाया है। बम्हाण साहब ने कहा कि उनको बड़ी हैरानगी हो रही है कि जनता पार्टी के भिन्न-भिन्न नेता भिन्न-भिन्न बातें करके कन्फ्यूज कर रहे हैं कि वे प्राइवेट सैक्टर के पक्ष में हैं या मोनोपली को हटाने के पक्ष में हैं, बिग हाउसेज के फेवर में हैं या अगेन्स्ट में हैं, यह उन्हें पता नहीं लग रहा है। जनता पार्टी तो बिल्कुल साफ है। मैं उन्हीं से जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे कहाँ खड़े हैं। आज 30 साल के बाद अगर देश में मोनोपलीज है, बिग हाउसेज है, तो उनके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है, कौन उत्तरदायी है? क्या जनता पार्टी उत्तरदायी है? मोनोपलीज के बिग हाउसेज के अगर गवर्नरमन्त्री प्रासाद खड़े किये हैं तो देश में किसने खड़े किये हैं? पिछले तीस सालों की बम्हाण साहब की सरकार ने खड़े किए? आज क्या बम्हाण साहब यह धामा रखते हैं कि 30 सालों की मेहनत से खड़े किए हुए इन बिग बिजनेस हाउसेज को धीरे मोनोपलीज को जनता पार्टी की सरकार तीन महीने में धराशायी कर देगी? करेगी धराशायी। मैं बिश्वास से साय यहाँ सदन में यह कहना चाहता हूँ—वे मोनोपली हाउसेज जो इन के द्वारा खड़े किए गए जिनका 30 करोड़ का सरमाया था 1947 में धीरे जिनका आज छः छः सौ करोड़ का सरमाया है यह कांग्रेस की देन है, ये निहित स्वार्थ कांग्रेस ने खड़े किए हैं धीरे उनको समाप्त करेगी तो जनता पार्टी समाप्त करेगी। कोई भी धर्म व्यवस्था जीवित नहीं रह सकती जिस के अन्दर स्वतन्त्रता न हो, जिसके अन्दर की मोनोपलीज हों।

मैं आप को उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ।

पंजाब के धरंदर घाटें सिलक यार्नकी इंडस्ट्री है। उन को पैदा करने की मोनोपली थी

चीन हाउससेब के पास है जिस में बिरला भी है और सेनचुरी मिल वगैरह और भी है। हजारों भावनी एक एक दो लूम चलाने वाले उन पर आश्रित हैं। वे यार्न देंगे तो उन के लूम चलेंगे और मजदूर काम करेगा। बीस सालों से लगातार यह स्थिति यहां बनती रही है। जब भी यार्न की कीमतें उन्होंने बढ़ायीं अमृतसर और लुधियाने के अंदर हमारी वह घाट सिल्क की इंडस्ट्री बर्तम हो गई। यह मोहन धारिया जी को भी पता है और जो पहले इस के मंत्री रहे हैं उन को भी पता है। वे वहां आते रहे, हम उन के साथने अमृतसर की समस्या रखते रहे। वे मानते रहे कि इन मोनोपोलिस्ट्स से पीछा छुड़ाया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन यहां आ कर दूसरी बात कहते रहे कि इन मोनोपोलिस्ट्स के हाथ बड़े लम्बे हैं, हम इस में कुछ कर नहीं सकते। आज भी वही समस्या है कि जो यार्न 13 रुपये का है वह 20 रुपये में भी नहीं मिल रहा है। अमृतसर की यह इंडस्ट्री समाप्त है, मजदूर बेकार हैं, लूम बन्द पड़े हैं, क्योंकि मोनोपली है। मैं सुझाव देता हूं और मांग करता हूं अपनी सरकार से कि उन मोनोपोलिस्ट्स को समाप्त करने के लिए घाट सिल्क यार्न की एक फीक्टी पब्लिक सैक्टर के अंदर या कोआपरेटिव सैक्टर के अंदर वहां लगायी जाय जिस से यह मोनोपली समाप्त हो और मजदूरों को वहां काम मिल सके।

यहां यह कहा गया कि यह समाजवादी बजट नहीं है, कैपिटलिस्ट बजट है। यह बजट कैपिटलिस्ट बजट नहीं है। इस बजट में छोटे-छोटे तबकों को, लघु उद्योगों को और कांटेज इंडस्ट्रीज को सब से अधिक सुविधा दी गई है और पब्लिक सैक्टर के ऊपर भी सब से अधिक खर्च किया गया है। इंडस्ट्री के ऊपर कुल 384 करोड़ खर्च है रेवेन्यू बजट के अंदर और 1131 करोड़ खर्च रखा गया है कैपिटल बजट के अंदर। उस में सबसे

बड़ी मात्रा में जो खर्च रखा गया है वह पब्लिक सैक्टर के लिए रखा गया है। जब हम 80 प्रतिशत पब्लिक सैक्टर पर खर्च कर रहे हैं तो यह आरोप हमारे ऊपर लगाना कि हम पब्लिक सैक्टर को समाप्त करने जा रहे हैं, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं इस का क्या जस्टिफिकेशन है।

सब से अधिक खर्च होना चाहिए था बिलेज एंड स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री पर, जिस से हम अधिक से अधिक लोगों को रोजगार दे सकते हैं। उस पर कम खर्च रखा गया है, मेरी यह शिकायत है। केवल 48 करोड़ रुपये बिलेज एंड स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री पर रखे गए हैं और प्लान बजट के अंदर 5.62 करोड़ रखा गया है। कुल जो खर्च है वह 1131 करोड़ है। यानी बिलेज एंड स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री पर आधा परसेंट खर्च कर रहे हैं तो फिर कहां से बेरोजगारी दूर होगी। जब हम कहते हैं कि सबसे जल्दी बेरोजगारी दूर होगी तो लघु उद्योगों से दूर होगी तो हमें उसके ऊपर अधिक धन रखना चाहिए था।

अब मैं केवल चार पांच सुझाव देकर समाप्त कर रहा हूं। वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ राहत दी है। लेकिन एक हाथ से राहत दी है तो दूसरे हाथ से थोड़ी सी बापस भी ले ली है। उन्होंने इनकम टैक्स की एग्जम्पशन लिमिट 8 हजार से बढ़ा कर 10 हजार कर दी। यह ठीक है, इस का मैं स्वागत करता हूं। लेकिन दस हजार करने के बाद भी जो एग्जिस्टिंग रेट है वह दस हजार के बाद 8 हजार से ही लगाएंगे। वह दस हजार से नहीं लगाएंगे, 8 हजार से ही लगाएंगे। तो फिर राहत क्या मिली? राहत अगार देनी है तो बिलकुल स्पष्ट रूप से देनी चाहिए। एग्जम्पशन लिमिट सब हजार कर दी तो दस हजार के ऊपर से ही शुरू होना चाहिए। लेकिन अगार दस हजार से ऊपर धामवनी है तो 8 हजार से ही शुरू हो जायगा।

【भी बज्रवेव प्रकाश】

तो फिर 8 हजार का कोई खजाना ही नहीं रहे जाता है। फिर आपने सरचार्ज भी बढ़ा दिया है 10 से 15 परसेन्ट। मैं कहूँगा कि अगर सरचार्ज बढ़ाना ही है तो 25 हजार से ऊपर की इनकम पर बढ़ाना चाहिए 10 हजार या 8 हजार से सरचार्ज नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए। एक तरफ तो आप लिमिट 10 हजार तक बढ़ा रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ सरचार्ज भी बढ़ा दिया है इस तरह से राहत देने वाली बात तो जचती नहीं है। आप जो भी राहत में वह निम्नकुल स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए। उसमें किसी प्रकार की हेराफेरी वाली बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

एक दूसरी बहुत आवश्यक बात है जिसकी तरफ मैं मंत्री जी का ध्यान बिलाना चाहता हूँ। महात्मा ने इनकम टैक्स का टैट कम है। 1961 की आइना वार में महात्मा में कुछ नुकसान हुआ था, वहाँ की एकोनामी विस्तरव हो गई थी इसलिए सरकार ने कुछ राहत दी थी। लेकिन इस देश के और भी बहुत से क्षेत्र हैं जिनको मुद्र के कारण नुकसान हुआ है। मैं पंजाब के बाँटेर एरियाज की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। 1962, 1966 और 1971 के मुद्र में अगर किसी क्षेत्र पर बम गिरे तो वह पंजाब के बाँटेर विस्त्रिक्टस थे। वहाँ पर जितनी बरबादी हुई है उसका खयाला नहीं लगना जा सकता। अगर साहौर के बाँटेर से मीडियम रेंज गन से फायर किया जाये तो अमृतसर की इण्डस्ट्रीज के कम्पाउन्ड में बोली आकर गिरेगी। ऐसी स्थिति में क्या वहाँ पर बैठे हुए लोगो को एम्प्लेयमन्ट नहीं मिलना चाहिए। हमारे देश के जो लोग, जो प्रहरी उस सीमा पर बैठे हुए हैं वे मुसीबत के समय में उस जगह को छोड़कर नहीं जायें। उन्होंने अपने काम संभरे चामू रखे। बाँटेर के तीन जिले, अमृतसर, फीरोजपुर और गुरदासपुर को तीनों मुद्रों में जो हानि हुई है उसको ध्यान में रखकर विस्त बंधी जी को वहाँ पर कुछ न कुछ एम्प्लेयमन्ट कर देना चाहिए।

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इण्डस्ट्री पर कोई राहत नहीं दी गई है। वह एक करल इण्डस्ट्री है जिसमें नार्चो धातुनी काम कर रहे हैं। फ्रांसेस सरकार ने पहले इसपर एक्साइज ड्यूटी 1800 से बढ़ाकर 2360 व० कर दी थी और फिर 1975 में उसे बढ़ाकर 5900 रुपए कर दिया। करल इण्डस्ट्री पर इस मात्रा में एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाना कहाँ तक उचित कहा जा सकता है? क्या इस प्रकार से कोई करल इण्डस्ट्री उस देश में पनप सकती है? मंत्री जी को इसकी तरफ भी ध्यान देना चाहिए।

इसी प्रकार से पंजाब में शादी बूल की इण्डस्ट्री है। जो छोटे-छोटे काम करने वाले हैं वे बाहर से बूल इम्पोर्ट करते हैं। मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि जो लोग शादी बूल इण्डस्ट्री को बाहर से माल इम्पोर्ट कराते हैं उनको कन्स्टम ड्यूटी में 50 फीसदी की राहत दी जाये। यह छूट बहुत ही प्रावश्यक है क्योंकि देश में यह शादी इण्डस्ट्री केवल पंजाब में ही है। वहाँ की बूलेन टेम्सटा एल इस देश के गरीब भावतियों के लिए माल बना रही है। सरकार ने इस साल जो नीति अपनाई है उससे अमृतसर और बुधियाना की यह इण्डस्ट्री समाप्त हो सकती है। वह नीति यह है कि बूलेन फाइबर 50 फीसदी से कम होगा और काटन 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा होगा तो एडवोलेरम ड्यूटी लगेगी और वह काटन की ड्यूटी लगेगी। आप यह जानकर हँरान होंगे कि जिस माल में बूलेन 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा है उससे भी अधिक ड्यूटी उस माल पर लगेगी जिसमें बूलेन 50 फीसदी से कम हो जायेगा। इस प्रकार की एनालजी इस इण्डस्ट्री को ही समाप्त कर देगी। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से मांग करूँगा कि इस पर वे प्रबल विचार करें।

अन्त में मेरा निवेदन है कि हमने बहुत सी रियायतें, दी हैं, बिजली का काम करने वालों, स्वीच कमाने वालों की बात आपकी ध्यान से बाकव लिखत गई है। मैं आपकी ध्यान में लाने की कोशिश की थी

और फिर प्रारंभवा है कि प्राय इसकी तरफ ध्यान दें। यह यह है कि जो रेगुलेटर बनाने वाले हैं जो कि पंच के साथ सख्ता है, वे यह रेगुलेटर अपने छोटे छोटे मकानों में बनाते हैं। आपने इस पर भी एक्साइज इ्यूटी लगा दी है। हालांकि पंच पर और उसके साथ रेगुलेटर पर आपने पहले ही एक्साइज इ्यूटी लगा रखी है। वे रेगुलेटर बनाने वाले पंच बनाने वालों को अपने रेगुलेटर वे माते हैं और सरकार उनसे पंच पर भी इ्यूटी लेती है और रेगुलेटर पर भी इ्यूटी लेती है। अब आपने रेगुलेटर पर प्रलग स भी एक्साइज इ्यूटी लगा दी है। इसलिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से आग्रह करूंगा कि वे इस पर विचार करें।

श्री आर० एन० राकेष (बायल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस वित्त विधेयक के समर्चन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। कल और आज बिरोधी दल के सदस्यों ने बेलची काण्ड पर काष्ठी कीचड उछलवायी। लेकिन मैं उन साधियों से कुछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे पत्रलि में 16 हरिजनों को बिन्धा बलवि जाने की घटना को भूल गये? जहाँ तक बेलची काण्ड पर हमारे हीमिनिस्टर की रिपोर्ट का सम्बन्ध है खैर है कि उन्होंने सपन में वह रिपोर्ट पढ़ कर सुनाई थी कि उन्हें सरकारी अधिकारियों से प्राप्त हुई थी। सरकारी रिपोर्ट कलस थी इसलिये उनका बयान गलत ब्यापी है। जहाँ तक मेरे बिरोध पक्ष के साधियों के भांजुओं का सम्बन्ध है, उनके भांजु तो बैसे ही हैं जैसे कि किसी धर्मपत्नी के अपने पति से सम्बन्ध बिच्छेव हो जाने पर पुराने मधुर बिनी की याद में निकलते हैं। इसी तरह से हमारे बिरोध पक्ष के भाई अपने पुराने सम्बन्धों को लेकर आज हरिजनों की दमा पर, उनके शोषित होने पर भांसू बहा रहे हैं। पहले जब उनका हरिजनों से चोली-दामन का साध था उस समय तो भांसू बहाये नहीं, लेकिन हरिजनों द्वारा सम्बन्ध बिच्छेव पाकने के बाद आज भांसू बहा रहे हैं।

1971 में श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने कहा था कि मेरा बजट देश को नयी दिशा देने के लिए, समाज में क्रांति लाने के लिए, देश से गरीबी मिटाने के लिए है। उन्होंने समाजवाद का नारा भी दिया था। लेकिन जब गरीबी मिटी नहीं तो उन्होंने नसबंदी चला कर गरीबों को ही मिटाना शुरू कर दिया। मैं अपने बंधुओं से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा बजट उसी बुनियाद के आधार पर, उसी समाजवाद के आधार-शिला पर बड़े ही कर बनाया गया है। हमारे पीढी के नेताओं ने सदन के अन्दर और बाहर भी कहा है कि हम गरीबी को जाने वाले दस सालों के अन्दर मिटा देंगे। लेकिन हमारी तस्वीर इस सम्बन्ध में बहुत ज्यादा साफ नहीं है। हमें इसे साफ करना पड़ेगा। पूर्व में कामरूप की पहलियों से पश्चिम में काठियावाड़ की तरफों तक और उत्तर में हिमालय से दक्षिण में कन्याकुमारी की लहरों तक सारे देश में गरीबों को जिस ढंग से गोशियों का शिकार बनाया जा रहा है, हरिजन शोषित वर्ग को जिस प्रकार से मौत के घाट उतारा जा रहा है, अगर यही गति चलती रही तो पांच साल में कोई गरीब रहेगा ही नहीं। फिर आप गरीबी किसी की और क्या मिटावेंगे?

जहां तक देश में हो रहे जुल्मों की बात है अगर उसको मैं उठाऊंगा तो उसमें समय खग जमेघर और गृह मंत्री जी को उसके लिए सम्बन्धित जम्हो से सरकारी रिपोर्ट ब्यानी पढ़ेंगी। गृह मंत्री जी की सरकारी रिपोर्ट जो होती है वह सवेह से परे नहीं होती। इसलिए मैं उनके चुनाव क्षेत्र में बट रही घटनाओं पर ही सदन का ध्यान आकाशित करना चाहूंगा। माननीय मंत्री के चुनाव क्षेत्र बानपल के दाररी, लास कुरता, पीक बांग से मत एक धर्मल से 15 मई के अन्दर पांच हरिजन लड़कियों का बाटों ने हत्यारन किया, उनके साथ बिनबहाड़े बलात्कार किया और उनमें से दो की हत्या भी कर दी।

[श्री भार० एन० राकेश]

इस तरह से गरीबी को मिटाने की बात की जा रही है। जहां तक हरिजनों की हल्का का प्रश्न है, वे भी स्वयं गृह मंत्री के क्षेत्र में बेहद हल्काएं हो रही हैं। पिछले सप्ते को मैं मेरठ में था। वहां मुझे लोगों ने बताया कि वे 15 जुलाई के क्लेक्टरेट के सामने भूख हड़ताल करने जा रहे हैं क्योंकि वहां के जाट उन लोगों को जिंदा नहीं रहने दे रहे हैं। 12 जुलाई के नेशनल ट्रेड्स में छपे हेडिंग की ओर मैं इस हाउस का ध्यान आकषित करना चाहता हूँ—“Janta Maki s Jats heady Meerut Harijans fall prey to jungle law.”

पिछले तीस सालों में कांग्रेस ने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए क्या किया? कांग्रेस ने न उन्हें जीने दिया और न मरने। उन्हें इस हालत में रखा कि जिससे वे कांग्रेस को बोट देने की सामर्थ्य रख सकें। कांग्रेस ने हरिजनों को रोटी देने के लिए क्या किया? हरिजनों को भूमि देने का बहुत ढिंढोरा पीटा गया लेकिन बहुत कम लोगों को जमीन मिली। उत्तर प्रदेश में बोड़ी बहुत जमीन बांटी गयी। उस पर भी मामनीय होम मिनिस्टर के क्षेत्र में जिन हरिजनों को जमीनें मिली थीं उस पर उन्होंने अपनी गाड़ी कमाई और कड़ी मेहनत से फसल तयार की थी। उस खड़ी हुई फसल को अग्रेल के महीने में जाटो ने काट लिया। वह किस्ता मैं मेरठ के गांवपुरा, अमराला, मिरसूरपुर, नेबावा, चांदनेर, नयागांव, हिम्मतपुर, टेम्बरपुर आदि का बता रहा हूँ। पूरे क्षेत्र में जिन लोगों को इन गांवों में पट्टे पर भूमि मिली थी वह सब भूमि छीन ली गयी। वे लोग असहाय और बेकार कर दिये गये हैं और आज रोटी की समस्या उनके सामने है। उनके पास कोई पूंजी नहीं है। अपने घर, गहने-जर्तन बेच कर उन्होंने अपना सब जमा कर पट्टे की भूमि पर बोवाई की थी, पर पट्टा पाने के बाद वे जमीन और फसल सब से बेबखाल कर दिये गये हैं। मामनीय

वरण सिंह के चुनाव क्षेत्र के गांवों की ये सब बटनाएं हैं जहां पर हरिजनों को अपनी जमीन से बेबखाल कर दिया गया है। इस प्रकार से हरिजनों के लिए बड़ी भयंकर समस्या बड़ी हो गयी है।

उनकी बेरोजगारी को दूर करने की भयंकर समस्या है। इधर माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने बीड़ी पर भी शुल्क लगा दिया है। साढ़े तीन से साढ़े चार रुपये प्रति हजार के हिसाब से बीड़ी पर मजदूरी मिलती थी। जिन हरिजनों और गरीब लोगों के पास रोजी-रोटी का कोई साधन नहीं था, वे ही इस बीड़ी मजदूरी के भरसे अपनी जीविका चलाते थे। लेकिन इस बीड़ी पर भी शुल्क लगा दिया गया। फिर मालिकों ने एक रुपये प्रति हजार की दर से बीड़ी पर मजदूरी कम कर दी है। इस तरह से वित्त मंत्री का यह शुल्क मालिक पर नहीं मजदूर पर ही चोट कर रहा है।

जहां तक दिल्ली की बटना का सम्बन्ध है, प्रबन्धारो में आया है कि 25 भावनी मरे लेकिन जो मेरे पास रिपोर्ट आई है उससे मासूम हुआ कि 35 से भी ज्यादा भावनी मरे हैं। मरने वाले बहुत सारे लोगों की खबर को दबा दिया गया है। लेकिन इस सब की जिम्मेदार पुलिस है। हर बड़े शहर में पुलिस गरीबों से नाजत्यज शराब बनवा करके उनसे-फ्रायवा लेती है। क्योंकि वह गरीब हैं, बेरोजगार हैं, उनकी रोटी का कोई साधन नहीं है, इसलिए मजदूर हो कर ये शराब बनाते हैं और पुलिस भी उसमें हिस्सा लेती है। अक्सर पुलिस के ही दबाव में आ करके जहां शराब बनती है यह कांड होते हैं और गरीब तबके के लोग ही परेशान किए जाते हैं। इस उत्पीड़न को बन्द करने के लिये इस बजट में विशेष प्रोवीजन होना चाहिए।

जहां तक इस देश को ब... (ने की बात है) कोई जमीन है उसके फल पुर्णों को बदलने की जरूरत पड़ती है। तो हकीकत तो यह है

कि इस देश को बनाने वालों का इस देश में कुछ भी नहीं है। वह निधनता और अमानुषिक शोषण के बीच में अपनी जिम्मेदारी गुंथार रहे हैं। जिन्होंने इस देश की कच्ची सड़कों को पक्का बनाया उनका कुछ नहीं है, जिन्होंने इन महलों को ढाड़ा किया है उनकी झोंपड़ी भी ढाड़ी करने के लिये 30 साल के बाद भी कहीं जगह नहीं है। जो इस देश की धरती की छाती को पीर कर सारे देश को गत्ला देते हैं उनके बच्चे भूखे हैं। जो मिलों में एड़ी-बोटो का पसीना बहाकर सारे देश को कपड़ा देते हैं उनके बच्चे जाड़े और गर्मी में नंगे हैं। उनके लिए इस बजट में कोई प्रावधान होना चाहिए, विशेष प्रावधान होना चाहिए। साथ ही साथ यदि सही माने में गरीबों की रक्षा होनी है, उनकी गरीबी दूर करनी है तो जो गरीब मारे जा रहे हैं चारों तरफ, उनके पेट और आबरू तथा जानमाल के लाले पड़े हैं, उन पर जो चारों ओर जुलूम हो रहे हैं यह सब बन्द होने चाहिये। अन्यथा अगर वह नहीं रहेंगे तो गरीबी भाप फिनकी दूर करेंगे? गरीबों को दूर करके गरीबी हटाने का मारा श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने दिया था। यदि आपने भी वैसा ही किया तो हमारे ऊपर भी छींटे पड़ेंगे। देश से गरीबी दूर करने के लिए, भूमिहीनों को भूमि देने के लिए श्री हेमवतीनन्दन बहुगुणा की सरकार ने श्री अंगसदेव विशारव समिति की सिफारिशों को लागू करने की बात की थी। लेकिन कुछ बड़े-बड़े जमींदारों ने उसका विरोध किया था, और जनता सरकार से रिपोंट लागू करने की आज्ञा भी पर आज तो उसके भूमि चोरों की ही ऐसे ही लोगों को जनता पार्टी में चुनाया जा रहा है। जब तक देश से गरीबी दूर नहीं होती सोड्यूल्ड कास्ट और सोड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की तस्वीर अच्छी नहीं बनेगी, उनका उद्धार नहीं होना तब तक जनता पार्टी की सही तस्वीर देश से नहीं हो पाएगी। जिन निवेदित बोटों की बसोसत काँचिस

परजित हुई वह हमारे लिए भी कुछ जगहों पर पिछले विधान सभा चुनावों में हो चुका है। उससे हम को धक्का लगा है, देश के अधिकांश हरिजनों और सोड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और ट्राइब्स के लोगों ने जनता पार्टी को अपना विश्वास नहीं दिया है। जनता पार्टी उनके बीच में अपनी अच्छी इमेज नहीं बना पायी है। अच्छी इमेज बनाने के लिए जरूरी है कि गृह मंत्री जी अपने विभाग को दुस्त करें। और अगर दुस्त नहीं कर पाते हैं तो इस विभाग को मजबूत हाथों में दे कर के सारे देश के सोड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और सोड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों के हितों की रक्षा करें। अन्यथा मेरा यह अनुरोध है कि इस बजट में विशेष प्रावधान हो, जिससे जनता पार्टी की सही तस्वीर बन सके और जिन मुद्दों पर हम चुनाव जीते हैं, हमारे नेताओं ने बड़े-बड़े वायदे किए हैं, वह पूरे किए जा सकें और देश की गरीबी दूर की जा सके।

इन शर्तों के साथ मैं माननीय मंत्री महोदय के बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ और इतना ही नहीं, अगर इस देश की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए इससे भी अधिक धन की उम्हें जरूरत हो, तो उसका भी समर्थन करता हूँ। साथ ही साथ उपाध्यक्ष महोदय का भी धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे गरीबों की आवाज उठाने का मौका दिया।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Sir, Satyanarayana. He will speak in Telugu. Unfortunately, we do not have arrangements for simultaneous interpretation of Telugu speeches.

*SHRI DRONAMARAJU SATYANARAYANA (Visakhapatnam) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as a Member from the Telugu-speaking area, Andhra Pradesh, I am very happy to speak in my mother-tongue, Telugu.

AN HON. MEMBER : Sir, we cannot follow his speech. There is no interpretation.

*The original speech was delivered in Telugu.

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNAM (Pirapatti) : We, four of the Andhra M. P. submitted a letter to the Secretary to appoint an Interpreter immediately. Why did not the Government take any action on that? At least one Interpreter from Rajya Sabha can be asked to interpret. Will you please arrange it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The letter is there. We are going through the process. But at the moment we cannot have any arrangement.

SHRI DRONAMARAJU SATYANARAYANA : Sir, the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister is said to be a Janata Budget. But unfortunately it reflects the interests of the rich people, the industrialists and the landlords. It does not provide for the economic and social well-being of the common man. For example, if we examine the tax on bidis and suno-richhas, it will be clear that it is not a Budget for the common man.

It is said that the Janata Government will work for the economic development of the rural areas. But I doubt whether they can realise this objective when they are not able to pay attention to the far-reaching land reforms.

In this Budget the private sector has been given a lot of concessions. But no effort has been made towards the development of public sector undertakings which is detrimental to the industrial development of the country. The Government should take constructive steps for the better and efficient management of the public sector undertakings and they should establish industrial peace in the country. They should also take necessary steps for the welfare of the workers. If they do not meet the legitimate demands of the workers, production will be grossly affected. For instance, the workers of the Hindustan Shipyard at Visakhapatnam have been agitating for the increase in their wages. Already the production in that industry has fallen. For example, the production in October 1976 was 1440.3 tonnes, in November 1976 it was 1510 tonnes, and in December 1976 it was 1621 tonnes. But in January 1977 the production has fallen to 605 tonnes, in February 1977 it has fallen to 605 tonnes and in March 1977 it has fallen to 505 tonnes. Therefore, Government should take immediate steps to revise their wages.

The Government's decision to credit the amounts impounded under the Addi-

tional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit Scheme) to the Provident Fund accounts of the employees is not correct. At least if they deposit the amounts in the nationalised banks, they will earn 10 per cent interest.

Bonus is a recurring income for the workers. So, the Government should take a correct decision in this matter. Otherwise the workers will be very much disappointed.

Visakhapatnam has a population of 8 lakhs. So it should be upgraded as 'B' class city. Again it is not proper on the part of the Government to test the patience of the Andhra people by treating the establishment of a steel plant in Visakhapatnam, a matter of dispute. Already the former Prime Minister, Shrimati Indra Gandhi, has laid the foundation stone for the steel plant in Visakhapatnam. The State Government has also taken the necessary steps for the acquisition of land etc. for this steel plant. About 6000 acres of land have already been acquired and 4000 acres of land have been given to the Steel Authority of India. The State Government is also taking steps to acquire 8000 acres of land additionally. The Mahadragadda Reservoir has been completed for the necessary water supply to the steel plant. In these circumstances, the people of Andhra will not tolerate if anybody wants to shift this steel plant to some other state. I only appeal to the Government to ensure that the agitation launched by the Andhra people for the steel plant in Visakhapatnam with the slogan that the 'steel of Visakhapatnam is the right of Andhra' is not revived. In this connection, I am happy that the hon. Minister for Steel and Mines, Shri Biju Patnaik, has promised to visit Visakhapatnam and take immediate action after studying the situation personally. He is coming from our neighbouring state. So I hope that he will not disappoint the Andhra people on this issue.

Sir, the Janata Party has enumerated all its achievements after its coming into power in the book entitled "First 100 days in Office by the New Government". But it is clear that the Janata Government have not done anything except appointing various commissions for probe. Here I can say that the Janata Government has committed hundred mistakes in these hundred days of its rule. The law and order situation is deteriorating in the country. I may tell you that there is no security of living for the common man in general and for the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and other backward class people in particular. I warn the Go-

*The original speech was delivered in Telugu.

vement that the recent incidents of burning the harijans alive in broad day light in Bihar and the day-light murders in Delhi and the serious atrocities committed against harijans throughout the country are creating terror in the minds of the public and if they cannot be controlled, there will be chaos in the country and democracy will be completely wiped out in the country. The landlords are forcibly cultivating the lands given to the harijans by the previous Government. The Government must provide security to the harijans in this respect.

I would like to state that the Janata Party should not forget that it is not representing the entire country. The Janata Party was miserably defeated in the Southern States. The recent Lok Sabha elections are a proof of the difference in the thinking of the people in the North and South. After coming into power the Janata Party could not live up to the hopes and aspirations of the people. After the Lok Sabha elections, a change has come in the thinking of the people. Is it not proved by the defeat of the Janata Party in the Rae Bareilly constituency in the recent Assembly elections? I ask, the people have faith in the Congress policies. As our Party leader, Shri Chavan said, we will cooperate with the Government in all the programmes for the progress and well-being of the country. But the Government are thinking that their duty is only to condemn Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi every day. This is only to mislead the thinking of the people. The people of India are not doing this fact. I can assure the people that the Congress Party, even if it is in Opposition, will fulfil all the promises made to the people and it will symbolise the economic and social progress of the country.

Sir, Andhra Pradesh is a granary of India. This is an agricultural State. So I appeal to the Government that additional funds should be allocated for all the big projects undertaken in Andhra Pradesh. From the point of view of national welfare, the Government should pay their utmost attention to the development of agriculture in Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, I conclude by thanking you once again for giving me an opportunity to speak in my mother-tongue, Telugu.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I have no doubt that the hon. Member made a very fiery speech. But all we understood on this side of the Government is, since he has mentioned the name of the Janata Party several times, he must have praised us. That is all we understood. He took my name. I do not know whether he congratulated me or he abused me.

One personal explanation—Shri Chavan raised a point yesterday in his speech on the Finance Bill. While he was saying "I have all my praise for his progressive views" and I saluted him, nevertheless he said that I am trying to denude the heights of the public sector by saying that the steel plants in the public sector will not have budgetary support. Perhaps he has understood only one part of it. I meant budget support in the efficient running of the plant. The plants will not be allowed to go on incurring losses, so that continuously budgetary support is available, unlike the private sector where it is not available to them, and in the process become costly and inefficient. That point I did make.

But when it comes to the question of construction and expansion of the plants for national needs, budgetary support in the Plan is available. It is in the budget itself. So, Shri Chavan need not have any fear on that account.

SHRI A. MURUGESAN (Chidambaram) : Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on behalf of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, I wish to say a few words on the Finance Bill.

Sir, the Hon. Members of the Ruling Party have asserted that the first Finance Bill of the Janata Government has created dissatisfaction among the people of the country. Shri George Fernandes, the Industries Minister thundered on the floor of this House that the monopolies would soon be manacled by his Government. It is regrettable that from the same seat, his colleague the Finance Minister has shown his munificence to the monopolies in the country. Besides this bounty, the hon. Minister of Finance has introduced certain levies affecting the laymen of the nation.

13 hrs.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia pointed out some twelve years ago that the average wage of Indian worker was only 75 paise a day. It is now claimed that it has gone up to Re. 1. I do not know whether I should praise this achievement or belittle it. But, I am constrained to condemn some of the levies which have been imposed by our Janata Finance Minister, in particular the tax on *beddi*, the common man's only luxury. In the rural areas of our country, where 42 crores of our people live, there is no entertainment at all like cinema or circus. The rural people find some relaxation in smoking *beddi* from the rigours of daily life. I was surprised to read a statement made by our Prime Minister that *beddi* smoking was harm-

[Shri A. Murugesan]

ful to the health and this tax on *beddi* will reduce the health hazard to a great extent, because many people may leave the habit of smoking *beddi* on account of the price increase. Indirectly, the Prime Minister has conceded that the price of *beddi* would go up. Besides this, there is another problem which perhaps has not been looked into by the Finance Minister. Some 20 lakh people are engaged in this cottage industry and the fall in consumption of *beddi* may affect the livelihood of many lakhs of people. I wonder whether the Government have got any alternative plan of employment for these unfortunate people. In these circumstances, I request that the Finance Minister must withdraw the levy on *beddi* without pressure from outside this House.

The Janata Party during the recent elections announced that the CDS money would be returned to the employees and workers. After assuming office the first fiat was the Ordinance withholding the CDS money. A Bill was also passed by this House replacing this Ordinance. The Government has not introduced this Bill in the Rajya Sabha because of its inability to get it passed there on account of the Congress majority there. I appeal to the hon. Minister of Finance that he should emulate his colleague, the Labour Minister who has announced that bonus would be announced before the beginning of the Festival season. The Finance Minister should utilise this fortuitous circumstance and refund the CDS money to the workers before the festivals begin.

Our Finance Minister who was an I.C.S. Officer knows fully well that the middle-class people are the backbone of our society. The income tax exemption limit has been raised from Rs. 8000 to Rs. 10000. I welcome this. But, if the income increases even by a rupee, then income tax will be calculated from Rs. 8000/-. Besides this, the surcharge on income tax has been increased from 10% to 15% and this is applicable from Rs. 8000/- onwards. This action of the Finance Minister is like putting sweet in the mouth and simultaneously giving a slap on the cheek. The middle-class people are being mauled by the price spiral. The Finance Minister has refused to compensate them by increasing the Dearness Allowance. He also contends that if the CDS money is refunded, it will further fan the flames of inflation, resulting in prices of essential commodities soaring sky-high. I cannot appreciate the resources—raising mania of our Finance Minister in these circumstances. If the Janata Party does not

want to tread the Congress Path then its Government must protect the interests of the common people and the middle-class people by withdrawing the levies affecting their daily life.

The Janata Party leaders swear by the name of Janata. It is inexplicable to me how only a paltry sum of Rs. 20 crores has been provided for the welfare schemes of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes out of the proposed expenditure of about Rs. 15,800 crores in this year's budget. 20 Crores of rupees for the welfare of 12 crores of people—can anyone appreciate this in this House? More money must be allocated for the welfare of 12 crores of downtrodden people, whose welfare is one of the two points announced by our Home Minister only the other day.

Shri Madhu Limaye, the General Secretary of Janata Party expressed his fervent hope that his Government would remove the stranglehold of the monopolists on the industries. But he did not care to mention the programme of action of his Government for ushering in an era of hope and happiness for the have-nots of the country. The gap between the precept and practice is getting widened. The Janata Party Government's policy and performance are poles apart.

As the Demands for the Grants of the Ministry of Transport could not be taken up for discussion on the floor of this House, I take this opportunity of mentioning the imperative necessity for allotting adequate funds to the Government of Tamil Nadu for repairing, widening and maintaining the East Coast Road, which is the lifeline for the State's economic growth.

Sir, the Finance Bill is the potent instrument for pushing up the revenues of the Government. The income-tax, the surcharge, excise duty, customs duty, import and export duties are all in the Central sphere. Year after year, these are raised so that the Central revenues go up. The postal revenue, the railway revenue—the passenger fare and the freight are also in the hands of the Central Government. The foreign exchange earnings through the export of Tea, Coffee, Pepper, Jute etc. are also in the exclusive jurisdiction of the Centre. The deposits in the nationalised Banks and in the branches of State Bank of India are utilised for investment by the Centre. The Life Insurance revenue is with the Centre. The State Governments are left with only the Sales Tax and the Land Revenue, which hike the

prices of essential commodities and earn the opprobrium of the common people for the State Governments. The crime is committed by one and the punishment is awarded to someone else. The Central Government sucks away the juicy portions of a mango and throws away the seed to the State Governments. Four-fifths of the taxation revenue is in the hands of the Central Government and only one-fifth is distributed among the States. Out of Rs. 100/-, Rs. 80 is retained by the Centre and Rs. 20/- is distributed among 23 States. Can you imagine that the State Governments will be able to implement any social welfare schemes?

All the foreign exchange is in the hands of the Centre. In this year's budget Rs. 800 crores of foreign exchange will be utilised by the Central Government. The States which contribute substantially to the foreign exchange earnings do not get enough funds even for improving the crops and products that have such high export value. The State Trading Corporation, the M.M.T.C. and such other Central organisations earn huge profits in the export of commodities. The State Governments are mere silent spectators of the Central coffer overflowing with money. Even if one tolerates this, another action of the Central Government cannot be put up with. The Central Government debit the State Government and deduct it from the plan allocation by charging for even the aid of machinery given by friendly foreign Governments to State projects.

I can give the example of Kunda Power Project in Tamil Nadu for which the machinery was given as aid by the Canadian Government. Yet the Central Government deducted the cost of this machinery from the Plan allocation to the State of Tamil Nadu. This, no doubt, depletes the meagre resources of the State Government.

I would refer to another phenomenon. The recommendations of the Fifth Finance Commission have not been fully implemented. Now the Sixth Finance Commission has been constituted and it will take three or four years to submit its reports. In the meanwhile, the Central Government has raised the income tax surcharge from 10% to 15%. The share of the State Governments in this is arbitrarily fixed by the Central Government and it will no doubt be to the disadvantage of the Governments in the States.

I have to painfully point out that the State Governments seem to be the revenue collecting agents for the Central Government and some commission is given

them for this job. Sir, the question of money supply is in the jurisdiction of the Centre. The National Development Council is not given any opportunity to discuss this question. The Chief Ministers are kept in the dark. Yet, any increase in the money supply leads to rise in prices of essential commodities for which the blame is to be borne by the State Governments.

As if adding insult to the injury, the Central Government sanctions additional dearness allowance to its employees. The State Governments are unable to do so even when their employees resort to frequent strikes and go-slow processes. The State Governments realise their problems and yet they cannot help because of paucity of resources.

Sir, it is time that the Centre-State financial relations are based on a footing to the mutual benefit. If democracy is to take deep roots in the country, if federalism is to become the only fruitful way of administrative functioning in the country, then the Finance Minister must bestow his personal attention to this vexing question of Centre-State financial relations and draw upon his rich experience as the Administrative Head of the Finance Ministry for many years for resolving many issues in the interest of uniform economic growth throughout the country.

With these words, I conclude.

श्री अर्जुन सिंह मसीरिया (इटावा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके समय हिन्दी की एक पंक्ति उपस्थित कर के आपके माध्यम से अपने मन की पीड़ा और सदन की पीड़ा सासन और बिसेष कर के वित्त मंत्री महोदय के कानों तक पहुंचाना चाहता हूं। वह पंक्ति है "का पर कर्ष अंगार, पिदा मोर धांधर"। यहाँ पर वित्त मंत्रालय और वित्त विधेयक पर चर्चा हो रही है और हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी समय हैं। और यं आज ही नहीं, पिछले दिनों जब आम बजट पर चर्चा होती थी, वह सपातार यहाँ पर नहीं रहे। मैंने हमेशा देखा कि वह हमेशा अनुपस्थित रहे। वह हमेशा वित्त सचिव की तरह से, उनका अपराधी एक हल्का सा बस्ता ले कर आता है, 5, 10 मिनट रुक कर के बिला रुके हुए दुरन्त ही यहाँ से वापस जाते हैं मुझे स

[श्री अर्जुन सिंह जयौरिया]

रहा था कि शायद मान नीच बीजू पटनायक को जो कोयला मंत्री हैं उनको यहाँ पर इस चर्चा में हिस्सा लेने के लिये बैठाया गया है। उनसे मेरा निवेदन है कि काजल की कोठरी में कैसे ठु सयानो जाय, एक लीक काजल की लायिहै प सागि है। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस तरह के जो हमारे देश की लोक-तांत्रिक परम्परायें हैं उन पर अगर ठीक तरह से भ्रमल नहीं किया जायगा तो जनता पार्टी ने जो बचन दिये हैं और जो लोकतंत्रीय परम्पराओं पर भ्रमल करने के लिए विश्वास दिलाया है, जनता में और विवेक कर के जो हम लोक सभा के सदस्य हैं उनमें एक भास्वा टूटेगी। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मुल्क की संसदीय परम्परायें हैं उन पर भ्रमल होना चाहिए।

हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि जब हमारा देश आजाद हुआ तो आजादी के बाद जब सत्ता अंग्रेज के हाथों से निकल कर कांग्रेस के हाथों में आयी तो कांग्रेस के लोगों ने अंग्रेजों के दुर्गुण तो लिए, लेकिन उनके गुण नहीं लिए। इसी तरह से जब 20 मार्च को सत्ता परिवर्तन हुआ, 25, 26 मार्च को जब शपथ ली गई तो हमने सत्ताधारी दल के दुर्गुण तो लिए, लेकिन हमके उनके गुण नहीं लिए। इसी सदन में पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू की प्रधान मंत्री रहे हैं। उनके पास जब कभी भी कोई खत गया, जबर पंडित जी दिल्ली में हुए, तो उसका जबाब हिन्दी या अंग्रेजी, जिस भाषा में पत्र लिखा जाता था, उन्हीं के हस्ताक्षरों से शपथली के माध्यम से नहीं, अर्द्ध-नैतिक उस लीखबन्द पत्र को लेकर सम्मार्गित सदस्यों के यहाँ पहुँचा जाते थे। लेकिन आज दर्जनों पत्र भी जाते हैं, तो कुछ नहीं, ऐसा लगता है कि मंत्री सो गए हैं। हमारे मुल्क की जो मानदार संसदीय परम्पराएँ रही हैं, उन पर भ्रमल नहीं किया जा रहा है।

23. 26 hrs.

Sr. SON U SINGH PABLI in the Chair.

श्री बीजू पटनायक उपस्थित हैं, मैं उनके माध्यम से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो खत माननीय सदस्यों के पास से जावे, उसका उत्तर दफ्तर के शपथसिद्धों से ही नहीं, उसकी स्वीकृति तो भिजवा सकते हैं। उनका उत्तर उनके हस्ताक्षरों से जाना चाहिए, वरना यह मुनासिब बात नहीं होगी कि अपने घर के ही लखड़े खड़े हो जाय। मैं अब कुछ अधिक न कह कर जो वित्त विधेयक आज चल रहा है, उस पर कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

देश का बजट उस मुल्क का दर्पण, बीमा होता है। जिस तरह से किसी दर्पण में व्यक्ति का मुरझावा हुआ या मुस्कराता हुआ चेहरा दिखाई पड़ता है, उसी तरह से उस देश के बजट में उस देश की साधन हीनता या साधन-सम्पन्नता का दर्शन होता है। इस विषय में बहुत से सदस्यों ने हिस्सा लिया है, सत्ताधारी दल और विपक्ष, विपक्ष में कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों और उनके हसी हम सफर लीयों ने हिस्सा लिया है। कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्य इस विधेयक को पूंजीवादी कहते हैं। आज हमारे बिहार के एक मित्र परंजराहिर हैं, घुटनों तक धोती पहनने वाले गांधीवादी हैं और कुछ लोग इसे समाजवादी कहने से शर्मा रहे हैं, क्योंकि समाजवाद के नाम से उनको एलजी है।

अगर हम इस दृष्टि से इस बजट पर गौर करें, तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि न तो यह गांधीवादी है और न समाजवादी और न यह पूंजीवादी है। हमारे कुछ मित्र सवाल करेंगे कि यह गांधीवादी क्यों नहीं है? मेरा निवेदन है कि गांधीवाद को समझने के लिए गांधी-दर्शन को समझना होगा। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि हमारा देश गांधी का देश है। उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारे देश की गांधी की संख्या 5 लाख 75 हजार 721 है। हमारा देश आज गांधी में बसा है। मैं ऐसा बहकूक

करता हूँ कि गांवों को ऊंचा उठाने के लिये इस बजट में कोई भी विद्या या मार्गदर्शन नहीं है ।

श्री बीजू पटनायक : 30 परसेंट विद्या है ।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भवैरिया : क्या दिया है ? मैं उसका खुलासा कर रहा हूँ । मैं पटनायक साहब को बताना चाहता हूँ कि गांव में हमारे देश की 82 प्रतिशत आबादी बसती है । गांधीवाद का दर्शन अस्तोक्ष्य का है ।

श्री बीजू पटनायक . मालूम है ।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भवैरिया 82 प्रतिशत आबादी की जो कुछ भी इसमें आपने दिया है, यह समुद्र में एक बुद के बराबर है । इतना ही नहीं, जब आप देने की बात करते हैं तो आपने 82 प्रतिशत जनता की उपेक्षा करके 10 हजार रुपये तक की आयकर में छूट देकर सिर्फ 8 लाख लोगों को मुनाफा दिया है ।

अभी हमारे वित्त मंत्री महोदय अमेरिका होकर आये हैं बहुत, ही शानदार व्यक्ति हैं । वह हिन्दुस्तान का दर्जा रूस और अमेरिका की तरह से ऊंचा उठाना चाहते हैं । वह चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान की परकंपिटा इनकम अमेरिका और रूस की तरह हो जाये । इसीलिये उन्होंने 8 हजार रुपये से बढ़ाकर आयकर में 10 हजार रुपये तक की छूट दी है । इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि 10 हजार तक की छूट देकर उन्होंने 833 रुपये 33 पैसे प्रतिव्यक्ति एक व्यक्ति की आमदनी को माना है । वह आमदनी जो 833 रुपये 33 पैसे उन्होंने भागी है तो देश के आम लोगों की क्या आमदनी है ? इसी सदन के अन्दर जब हम विपक्ष में श्री प्रमोद शर्मा, साहब

सत्ताधारी वक्त में वे तो 1972-73 में उन्होंने इसी सदन में कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी के ताक़े बयालीस प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की लाइन के नीचे हैं और इस के बाद जो हिन्दुस्तान का व्यापार मंडल है, इंडियन बैंकर आफ कामर्स, उस ने अपनी जांच के बाद बताया कि इस मुल्क के अन्दर 43 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की लाइन के नीचे हैं । फिर इस देश के एक किसान के बेटे पंजाब के डा० मिनहास जो प्लानिंग कमीशन के मेम्बर थे, उन्होंने कहा कि 67 प्रतिशत लोग इस देश में गरीबी की लाइन के नीचे हैं । उन से भी आगे बढ़ कर अर्थशास्त्री जो बम्बई के हैं, श्री दान्डेकर जिन्होंने "पावर्टी इन इंडिया" लिखी थी उन्होंने लिखा कि 69 प्रतिशत लोग इस देश में गरीबी की लाइन के नीचे हैं ।

आज इस हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर 70 प्रतिशत वरो मेरिफिक एक समय धुआं निकलता है । जिस मुल्क के अन्दर सिर्फ 70 प्रतिशत वरो मे एक वक्त धुआं निकलता हो उस मुल्क के अन्दर आब सिर्फ 83 लाख लोगों को दस हजार रुपये की आय कर की छूट दे कर इतनी सारी जनता के साथ और पूरे मुल्क के साथ, मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर कड़ा शब्द है तो मुझे क्षमा किया जाये—आम जनता के साथ यह विश्वासघात किया गया है । वह उस की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए नहीं बल्कि मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि लोगों के मन को बिचाने के लिए ऐसा किया गया है । इस बजट के अन्दर संशोधन होना चाहिए और ऐसा संशोधन होना चाहिए जिस से गरीबी के मुर्झाए हुए चेहरे मुस्कराते हुए दिखाई पड़ें । जनता आप से यह अपेक्षा करती है । इसीलिए तीस वर्षों से जो लोग सत्ता में बैठे हुए थे उन को हटा कर जनता ने आप को सत्ता में बिठाया है । उन के चेहरे को मुस्कराता हुआ बनाना आप की जिम्मेदारी है ।

[श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया]

मैं आप से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यही गाँवों के बनाने का एक नक्सा है? यह देश जो गाँवों का देश है जिसे बनाने का भार आज जनता पार्टी के कंधों पर आया है उस जनता पार्टी की सरकार से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर अग्रर लोकतंत्र को चलाना है तो फिर इस देश के अन्दर शिक्षा को बढ़ाना होगा। आज शिक्षा के मामलों में देश की हालत क्या है? इस पर कितना खर्च कर रहे हैं? 5 प्रतिशत भी पूरे बजट का शिक्षा पर व्यय नहीं या था रहा है। पूरे मुल्क के पैमाने पर 30 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति साक्षर हैं जो सिर्फ पढ़ लिख सकते हैं, बैंक में कर्जा लेते समय जो सिर्फ दस्तावेज बना सकते हैं। यह मुल्क तीन हिस्सों में बंटा हुआ है। एक है पढ़े लोग, दूसरे हैं कम पढ़े और तीसरे हैं अनपढ़ लोग। पढ़े लिखे लोग 5 प्रतिशत हैं और कम पढ़े लोग हैं 25 प्रतिशत। बाकी 70 प्रतिशत लोग आज भी इस मुल्क के अन्दर निरक्षर हैं, पढ़े लिखे नहीं हैं। उन के ऊपर आप ने कितना धन व्यय करके उन की शिक्षा को ऊँचा उठाने के लिए या निरक्षर लोगों को शिक्षित करने के लिए क्या काम किया है? मैं आप से कह सकता हूँ कि इस दिशा में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। तीस वर्षों में इस मुल्क के अन्दर सिर्फ 30 प्रतिशत लोग साक्षर हैं। पहले के सत्ताधारी लोग सोचेंगे कि हम ने बहुत ऊँचा उठाया। लेकिन ऐसी बात नहीं है। जब अंग्रेज यहाँ से गए तो 17 प्रतिशत लोग साक्षर थे। आपके तीस वर्षों के शासन में 13 प्रतिशत लोग साक्षर हुए हैं और आज भी 70 प्रतिशत निरक्षर हैं। तीस वर्षों में 13 प्रतिशत साक्षर हुए तो एक प्रतिशत को साक्षर बनाने में सबा दो वर्ष लगेंगे। अगर साक्षरता की दिशा में यही कदम रहे तो फिर इस मुल्क को साक्षर बनाने में 158 वर्ष लगेंगे। यह हिन्दुस्तान 158 वर्ष तक प्रतीक्षा नहीं कर सकता है। इसी-

लिए मैं सदन के मार्फत और आप के मार्फत बित्त मंत्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस मुल्क को साक्षर बनाने के लिए ज्यादा धन खर्च किया जाय।

जहाँ तक पेय जल की व्यवस्था का सवाल है 5 लाख 75 हजार गाँवों में से सबा लाख गाँव ऐसे हैं जहाँ पेय जल की व्यवस्था नहीं है। 50 हजार गाँव ऐसे हैं जहाँ पर कि बिलकुल ही पेय जल की व्यवस्था नहीं है। 75 हजार गाँव ऐसे हैं जहाँ दो चार मील दूर गंदे नालों से पानी लाना पड़ता है। अगर गाँधीवादी या समाजवादी बजट होता तो जिन 8 लाख लोगों को आपने दो हजार की इनकम टैक्स में छूट दी है, भायकर में जो आपने 10 हजार तक छूट दी है वह छूट न देकर पैसे को इन सबा लाख गाँवों में पानी की व्यवस्था करने पर खर्च किया जाता। इस प्रकार पेय जल की समस्या को हल किया जा सकता था।

समापित महोदय : 8 लाख लोग हैं, 83 लाख नहीं है।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : आपके शब्दों में जो 8 लाख लोग हैं उनको प्रति व्यक्ति जो दो हजार रुपए की छूट दी गई है वह छूट न देकर उस पैसे से इस देश के गाँवों में पेय जल की समस्या को हल किया जा सकता था। वह दो हजार रुपए की 8 लाख लोगों को छूट न देकर उस रकम को गाँवों में जहाँ पर पानी की व्यवस्था नहीं है वहाँ पानी की व्यवस्था करने की कृपा कीजिए।

इस्पात और जाल मंत्री (श्री बीजू पटनायक) : दो हजार इनकम टैक्स की छूट नहीं दी गई है। दो हजार की इनकम पर दो सौ रुपये ही इनकम टैक्स होगा।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भौरिया : दो सौ रुपए प्रति व्यक्ति की छूट ही सही। दो हजार की इनकम पर जो आपने इनकम टैक्स की छूट दी है वह कितनी रकम होती है वह मैं यहाँ पर नहीं बता रहा हूँ। वैसे तो मुझे आपसे बहुत कुछ सीखना है लेकिन जो आप मुझे बता रहे हैं वह मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। इस रकम को पेयजल के समाधान पर व्यय कीजिये।

जहाँ तक बेकारी का प्रश्न है, वह मुल्क में बूँह बाये खड़ी हुई है। आज ही अखबार में आया है कि 25-30 वर्ष के नौजवान ने रेल से कटककर भारतमहत्या कर ली मैं खबर षड रहा हूँ :

“मृतक युवक श्री राम दयाल के पास एक लम्बा पत्र बरामद हुआ। उसमें उसने लिखा है कि इतना पढ़ने के बावजूद नौकरी न मिलने की वजह से और घर-खर्च न चलने की वजह से परेशान होकर वह आत्महत्या कर रहा है। मृतक के पास से बैला बरामद हुआ। युवक का पोस्ट-मार्टम कराया जा रहा है।”

यह युवक एम० ए० पास था। आज हमारे मुल्क में जो भयंकर बेकारी की समस्या है क्या उसकी तरफ कोई ध्यान दिया गया? मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि जो कुटीर उद्योग है, हाथ की दस्तकारी का काम है उसकी तरफ कोई विशेष ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। अगर ध्यान दिया जाता तो पटनायक साहब यहाँ स्वयं मौजूद हैं, वे जानते हैं, स्टेनलेस स्टील जिस पर पहले 320 रुपए कस्टम ड्यूटी थी उसको घटाकर 120 रुपए कर दिया गया था। अब उसे फिर 220 रुपए कर दिया गया है। 220 रुपए करने पर भी इस मुल्क में 8 करोड़ फारेन एक्सचेंज (विदेशी मुद्रा) की

कमी होती है। यह मुनाफा किसको होगा। यह सारा का सारा व्यापार टाटा के हाथों में होगा इस तरह करीब 5-7 करोड़ रुपए टाटा के हाथों में जायेंगे।

श्री बीजू पटनायक : नहीं जायेंगे।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भौरिया : सटेनलेस स्टील पर जो आपने 100 रुपए की छूट दी है उसके बजाये आपको 500 रुपए की ड्यूटी लगानी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ यह बजट न गांधीवादी है, न पूंजीवादी है बल्कि बुर्जुआ बजट है, हाथ-पाच बजट है। मुट्ठी भर लोगों के हित के लिए यह बजट बनाया गया है।

आखिर में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहत हूँ कि भदवानी साहब जो सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री हैं वे इन्दिरा गांधी शासन के गर्भ से जो एक वर्षसंकर भ्रोसाद पैदा हुई उसको अपनी गोद में खिलाकर बहुत खुश हों रहें हैं। वह नंपुसक भ्रोसाद है “समाचार”। आज तक हम इन्दिरा रेडियो कहा करते थे लेकिन हमें अब ऐसा लग रहा है कि यह भदवानी रेडियो बन गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ वित्त मंत्री जी भदवानी, रेडियो को एक कौड़ी भी न दे जब तक कि वह स्वायत्तशासी निगम नहीं बन जाता। आज कुछ ऐसे लोग जिनकी कोई सामाजिक और राजनीतिक दो कौड़ी की हैसियत नहीं है उनको आसमान में उछाला जा रहा है। उनको ऊपर उठाया जा रहा है, जो वास्तविक धरती के लोग हैं, उनको झुठलाया जा रहा है, सुलाया जा रहा है। समाचार की स्थापना से इस देश की पत्रकारिता कुटित हुई है। हमारा सुझाव और आग्रह है कि समाचार को समाप्त करके इस मुल्क में जितनी पहले जो समाचार एजेंसियाँ थीं उनको फिर से जन्म दिया जाए। उनका सला जो बाँट रखा है, उनके सलौं जर जो बूनी पंजा है जो कांग्रेस के समय डाला गया था और अब आपके समय में

[श्री अर्जुन सिंह मदीरिया]

भी पड़ा हुआ है, इसको हटाया जाए। पुरानी सभी एजेंसियों की फिर से स्थापना की जाए ताकि इस मुल्क में बुद्ध पत्रकारित चल सके और आपका काम चल सके।

श्री बीजू पटनायक : उनको बोलें।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह मदीरिया : हम तीस माल तक उनको कहते रहे हैं और अब आप से कहेंगे। जो सत्ता में होता है उसकी मूर्ति भंजन करना होता है। हमने तीस बरस तक पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की मूर्ति का भंजन किया है। और अब श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का नाम ले कर हम अपने को लज्जित करना नहीं चाहते। जिस को हमने पराजित किया है उसका नाम लेना इस समय मनासिब नहीं है। नाम आपका लिया जाएगा और यह देखा जाएगा कि आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

मैं तीन सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। राष्ट्र-पति भवन को समाप्त किया जाए। इसके स्थान पर मायुर्वेदिक शोध संस्थान की स्थापना की जाए ताकि मुल्क के करोड़ों लोगों को लाभ हो। यहाँ रिसर्च इंटीट्यूट बनाया जाए।

दूसरा सुझाव मेरा यह है कि स्टैनलैस स्टील पर आपने जो 220 रुपये झूल्क लगाया था उसको आपने 220 रुपये किया है। इसको आप 520 रुपये करें। जो इसको कम रखा गया है उससे मुट्ठी भर लोगों को ही लाभ होगा। मुट्ठी भर लोग ही स्टैनलैस स्टील में खाते हैं, चायद आप लोग खाते होंगे, मंत्री लोग खाते होंगे। जहाँ तक 82 प्रतिशत लोगों का सवाल है एक के भी घर में स्टैनलैस स्टील का कोई बर्तन आपको नहीं मिलेगा। इसलिए उस पर आप अधिक से अधिक कर लगाएं। दो सौ और दो हजार रुपये के बीच में आमदनी आप बाँधें। इससे

पंद्रह अरब रुपये की बचत होगी। इसकी मुवभात मंत्री जी आप अपने बजट के बेलन से करें। जो पंद्रह अरब की आमदनी होगी उससे हमारे देश की जो गरीबी है वह खत्म होगी, निरक्षरता खत्म होगी, देश गौरववाली बनेगा और दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों की बराबरी में यह मुल्क खड़ा हो जाएगा।

चाक समय कम है इसलिए इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI (Junagadh) : Sir, before I deal with the specific proposals in the Budget, I may make a few general observations.

Firstly, it is rather unfortunate that the Business Advisory Committee did not allocate any time for discussing the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs. It is well known that our Parliamentary democracy is based on the theory of checks and balances. There are three organs or branches of Government—the Executive, the Legislative and the Judiciary. Therefore, the Ministry of Law and Justice should not have been treated as only one of the various Ministries which number about 30. Law and Justice is an important and independent organ of the Government. It has happened this time but I hope that next time at least, times—sufficient time—will be allotted for discussing the Demands of this Ministry.

Now there was some discussion about a controversial matter. The Hon'ble Opposition Leader has stated in his speech that while the performance of some of the Ministers was good (and he paid compliments to them), the performance of some of the others was very crude. I do not know, whether in his vague allegation, any reference was intended to that portion of hon. Home Minister's speech, where he referred to the thinking and preparation of the previous Government about shooting down some opposition leaders in jails. A walk-out from the House was staged by the Congress Members because of that, and we read in today's newspapers Shrimati Indira Gandhi's refutation of that statement of the Home Minister. I would like to say something in this connection. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has not merely refuted that statement, but has gone on to observe that such

an idea could occur only to one who thinks on similar lines. The hon. Home Minister pointed out as a reason in support of his statement that the then Attorney-General had advanced certain arguments namely, that no citizen had any right to live, Fundamental Rights were suspended and that an attempt to a kind of preparation for such a thing happening. Now, she has stated that such a statement made by the hon. Home Minister is preposterous, outrageous, malicious and without any basis whatsoever. She might have or might have not entertained such an intention. (Interruptions). For the sake of argument, I will assume that she did not contemplate such a thing, she had no such intentions, but what is pertinent to note in this context is whether there existed a climate, whether there were circumstances which would justify such an apprehension or not. This is because such an apprehension was widely entertained in those days that anything might happen, any disastrous thing might take place. I do not want to go into the circumstances, but I would only refer to the climate, the circumstances that prevailed then. I do not want to refer to the circumstances under which emergency came to be imposed, whether it was a lust for power, or whether there was a real danger to the internal security, that aspect has been referred to the Shah Commission. Justice Shah has said that he might point that aspect also.

As we know, a number of national leaders, political leaders, leaders of opposition parties in Parliament and even members of her own party were arrested and put behind bars. Those who opposed the idea of emergency or those who said that it should no longer be continued were also detained. A reign of terror prevailed. It was a rule not of law, but a rule of one single individual. It was despotism and despotism of the worst type, namely, of the fascist type. What are the characteristics, what are the traits of a fascist type of dictatorship? "One leader, one party, one banner" is one trait. Have we not heard of that slogan? After the election the author of that slogan might have changed his views. Was it not shouted all over the country, 'India is Indira and Indira is India'? and do we not know in what terms the opposition parties were referred to during these days of emergency? They do not want to have any opposition party... (Interruptions). I do not want to name the then President of Congress who coined that slogan.

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Ruthlessness, cunningness, mendacity, meaning thereby telling lies, and resort to organized violence are some of the other traits of fascist regime. One Party with its dictator, despotism of fascist type and reign of terror and it is in that context that the plea, the argument advanced by the then Attorney-General has to be looked at. I do not want to suggest that the then Attorney-General had in his mind such an idea or plan. But the power to deprive a person of his life without a remedy to him to approach the court for threatened invasion of personal liberty or threatened deprivation of personal life was there. You could not deny that. Take an extreme example. Suppose a person who was empowered under the MISA to detain came to me and told me, 'I do not like your face. I will shoot you down tomorrow.' I could not have approached the court for giving me any relief. The court would say, "It is absurd. MISA does not empower him to do so. There is no law that you could be shot down on such a ground." The court would, however, simply throw up its hands in utter helplessness. If we were reduced to and if the situation was like that and in the atmosphere that prevailed then, could it not be said that there was material to justify an inference that something disastrous might have happened to those leaders?

I wish only to add this in fairness, it must be said that the argument was not that fundamental rights were suspended but the argument was that those rights existed intact, those rights were not touched, but no relief could be granted in respect of any contravention of those rights. That was the point of argument. But, so far as the people are concerned, this distinction was of no avail because substantially it mattered not whether the rights were suspended or only the remedy to enforce those rights was taken away.

It is highly deplorable that while denying this charge, Mrs Gandhi has gone to the extent of saying in so many words that such an idea would occur only to one. I am repeating it. I am reading from her statement, "Those who think along those lines..." The aspersion is clear and it is with regard to the Home Minister who said, who talked about it the other day, that such an intention was there. It was very regrettable that she should have allowed herself, permitted herself to make such a remark.

I come now to specific budget proposals. The Finance Minister in his speech pointed out that in order to

[Shri Naarendra P. Nathwani]

meet the expenditure, he was relying on a borrowing of Rs 800 crores by way of withdrawal of foreign exchange. In this reply he explained the mechanism by which a sum of Rs 800 crores was to be spent. He said it would be by way of importing consumer goods and capital goods. We know when this sum of Rs 800 crores was withdrawn from circulation in the country, the money would ultimately come in the hands of the Reserve Bank and it will be borrowed by the Government. Therefore, there is nothing to be afraid of. However, even after this explanation some doubt is lingering in the minds of some students of Economics. Reference is made to a weekly bulletin issued by the Reserve Bank of India.

MR CHAIRMAN: The other Minister is representing him. Please sit down.

SHRINARENDRA P. NATHWANI

I am thankful to the hon. Minister stressing this aspect—whatever I am trying to put through will be duly considered and conveyed to the hon. Finance Minister and this will receive his attention. I have got the latest issue dated 4-7-1977 issued by the Reserve Bank.

MR CHAIRMAN: Shri Sikandar Bakht will note down the points.

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI

I am referring to an article appearing in the special issue of the "Commerce" by Prof. C.N. Wakil. I am referring to what he has tried to point out. I am putting it before the hon. House so that the hon. Minister may explain it. There may be some good argument or good justification, I do not know. I am asking for clarification and explanation.

"MONEY SUPPLY

Factors effecting money Supply

Net bank credit by Government Sector,"—and Government Sector means Government—has borrowed from the Reserve Bank certain amount which is Rs 1221 crores more, in excess of the amount which was drawn by Government from the Reserve Bank by the end of March, 1977.

The implication is—during April, May, June and in the beginning of July, during these three months, Reserve Bank has lent to Government a sum of

Rs 1221 crores. This lending, in other words, borrowing by the Government from the Reserve Bank is popularly known as deficit financing. It is suggested that this large borrowings within three months is responsible for rise in price level. I do not know, it might be a normal thing. May be, in the beginning of the financial year, Government had to spend because recoveries due to the Government might not have been received. Moneys are coming in the pipeline. If I pay my income tax dues or other dues, gradually these reach the Reserve Bank. But if during these three months there has been an excess of Rs 1200 crores, could it not be said that it is responsible partly for rise in prices? There may be some explanation. As I was not able to get the information although I tried to find this out. So let the hon. Minister explain this figure as to what is the true position whether by the end of the year this will decrease or increase so that ultimately only Rs 800 represents the borrowing during the financial year.

I come next to the specific proposals for taxation. Here I will deal with two proposals only. One proposal is regarding proposed change in capital gains tax. The second is regarding carrying forward losses of sick units which come to be amalgamated with profitable units industrial undertakings making profits. These proposals are being criticised as being in the nature of favouring capitalists. Sir, I am not for capitalism. I am only interested in seeing that the industrial apparatus of the country remains in sound condition. Whether a particular industry is in the public or private sector should not concern us so much as whether it is in sound condition. You have to see that the industrial apparatus is in a healthy condition. Of course, next become to the question how the profits, if any, from it have to be distributed.

These proposed changes in capital gains tax and for carrying forward losses have a joint advantage. It is fashionable to talk that these proposals are intended to benefit industrialists, rich people and so on. But people who talk in those terms really do not know the correct position. They do not know the realities of the situation and approach the question from doctrinaire point of view. What is the real position of capital gains tax? Now certain concessions are given. Let me illustrate my point. I belong to the Janata party. I have to file my return showing my assets and I have a small flat in Bombay. That was constructed by a Housing Cooperative Society. I approached the

Secretary of the society to let me know the market price of that flat. He simply looked askance, winked at me, and asked me what is the matter. I said, "I have to file details of my capital assets, and I have to give the information correctly. He looked at me and said: "Don't you know? Who would show the real price? Of course transactions are taking place." He referred to one transaction which had taken place hardly 2 months ago, which, in effect, showed that the real price was not shown.

Therefore, regarding granting exemption from the capital gains tax in regard to transactions such as sale of lard buildings, jewellery and other articles, realities being quite different, and bearing in mind that this aspect of the matter is reflected in this proposal, nobody need any longer be apprehensive about showing real market price in these transactions.

Take for instance, carry-forward losses incurred by sick units. What happens is this. I do not find those who have criticised this proposal. I would have liked if Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan was present. I may tell her—I do not know whether she is aware of the real situation. What happens today is this. Suppose I am an owner of a profitable unit. Since I now find that the hon. lady Member is present, I would request her to listen to me. If I manage and own an industrial undertaking which makes substantial profits, what do I do with them? Generally they are tried to be covered up by entering into fictitious transactions with the owners or the management of a sick unit. Losses are incurred which are set off against the profits earned by the healthy industrial units. You would not know it. I happened to know about it because I had an occasion to handle some such problems as a lawyer. And, some matters came before me as a judge.

Therefore, according to my humble opinion, the greatest benefit of such proposals is that they take into consideration the real situation. As you know, during the last two previous years, the rates of direct taxation were considerably cut down. Did those proposals result in depreciation of net revenue from income-tax? Here I would say that that was not so. Nobody can suggest like that. Therefore, it is better to take note of the reality of the situation and deal with that and while you may and do get other advantages.

I would like to say one thing about

the capital gains tax, I find in paragraph 72 of the hon. Minister's speech wherein he says that at present the tax structure encourages investment in low priority assets. I have not been able to understand this argument. Suppose I am an owner of a piece of land. If that land investment is of low priority nature, how would that situation get changed, when I sell that land? I get money. The money which I get is certainly going to be invested in certain specified assets. In that respect, no doubt the money flow would result in certain changes. But, that is not the point here. When you say that it is a perpetual investment in low priority assets, those assets are referred to the lands, buildings and jewellery as well. How does that situation get changed? So, I fail to understand that statement in respect of proposal in the capital gains tax.

I now come to my next point. I have very little time left and so I shall try to finish it as early as possible. The suggestion that I would like to make is this. So far as charity is concerned, no doubt the limit has been raised now to Rs. 5 lakhs. According to me, that is good.

But, so far as investment in rural development programmes is concerned, there is no such limit left. I do not know why? No distinction should be made at all in this regard. What are the charitable objectives purposes? The definition of 'charitable purpose', and its scope is defined in the Income-tax Act. But, rural development has not been defined. There is definition which is an inclusive definition but not an exhaustive one. Rural development will also cover some of the charitable objectives. There might be some uncertainties. I am trying to emphasise the word 'uncertainty, because there would be needless litigation. Because the persons concerned with collection of income-tax would say it is a charity which does not fall within the purview of the expression? Programme for rural development. Can't we obviate that? Let the draftsmen advising the hon'ble Finance Minister deal with this aspect.

14 hrs.

Lastly, I come to the two amendments that I have moved. These amendments deal with provisions contained in Clauses 11 and 15. These amendments may appear to be mere formal or verbal. That is not so. There is an important

[Shri Narendra P. Nathwani]

Principal involved in them. Instead of leading an unlimited or wide discretion to executive officers I want the Government to lay down specifically the guidelines in the Act itself or the rules to be framed thereunder. It is open to the government to lay down the criteria or the principles which should govern the particular subject but do not kindly—for heaven's sake—leave wide discretion, with the executive as it will open widely the doors of delay, inefficiency and corruption. I will elaborate on this point at the time of the second stage of passing the Finance Bill.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the new Finance Minister has undergone certain novel exercises while replying to his own budget proposals yesterday. The modifications to his earlier proposals have been somewhat good and the responsiveness is welcome and heartening. But I must say at the outset that the habit of every Finance Minister spreading a very wide net and having so many excise duties on so many articles, no doubt, tempting but it is very harassing to the consumers, small men and the traders. Therefore, I would like the Finance Minister to look into this question and see whether he will not be further tempted to adopting this course of easy and quick method of laying overall general excise duties on a variety of commodities. It does cause harassment to one and all. I think this is partly based on mutual distrust of government, business community and traders and partly it is also harassment in the sense that as soon as the budget proposal comes out the Excise Inspectors go about the whole country as if all the businessmen are thieves. They hide something and do not pay the tax. This kind of treatment to businessmen—some of them may be blacksheep—is not good. The excise officers must be asked by the Finance Ministry to see to it that the honest and innocent businessmen are not harassed by sudden raids and rude behaviour. They ask them "where are your goods". "Don't do anything of your own. Give us the inventory." All these must change. That can happen only if the Ministry sends out instructions precisely that this thing should not happen. The Finance Minister has given some significant relief to handloom, textiles, stainless steel, film reels, etc. I am very sorry to find that he has left almost untouched bidi, khand sari, etc.

Khandsari is taxed heavily. Mr. Chairman, in your own constituency, that is, Khandesh, Khandsari is produced. One finds that Khandsari has been progressively taxed. Instead of giving encouragement and support, we find just the other way happening. M.P.s belonging to various parties and some of us have been writing to the Finance Minister in this matter. We made an appeal, wrote a letter to him. But there is no reply so far, much less giving any relief. I am very sorry for this.

Even the small manufacturers, like bidi and electrical equipment makers have not been spared. So, I feel that the Finance Minister should have a second look before he gets the Bill passed. Sir, I want to say a couple of points briefly. I hope the House will not charge me with making these points dogmatically.

First, I want to say that this whole climate of rules and regulations, restrictions and control, has been spreading in our country for the last so many years in such a way that it breeds a lot of corruption. The more there are rules, the more there are regulations, the more the power given to bureaucracy, whether it is in the Capital of Delhi or at the State Capitals or at the lowest level possible. Many of the people do not know even what kind of rules and regulations are there. If an officer says that this is the rule, the poor people will have to accept it. Whatever the officials say, they must accept it. Many of the rules and regulations must change because it leads to further corruption. It also leads to tax evasion which means loss of revenue to the exchequer. It leads to finding of loopholes for avoiding tax. It also leads to passing on the burden to consumers. If you tax the small industry or even the textile industry, ultimately the penalty goes to the consumers because the businessmen and the traders find out ways and means how swiftly to pass this burden on to the ordinary consumers who ultimately have to pay higher prices. Since the consumers in this country are unorganised, disorganised,—there is no union among the consumers—their voice is not heard. But the traders and the businessmen make their voice felt. I think the consumers must raise their voice, must speak with one voice.

Incorruptibility in our public life, in our political life has to be achieved. This section dealing with controls and restrictions has to be gone into with a view to making some improvements. We want to establish in this country

honesty, independence and integrity in public life. What I say is that the quality of political and public life can begin only in this Parliament by legislation in a manner which will make it possible for the creation of an atmosphere for a better quality of public life. It cannot grow in the opposite direction. May I ask many of my colleagues here whether they would not agree that the main difference between the previous Congress Government and the present Janata Government is precisely two-fold: (a) that this Janata party and the Janata Government are the people oriented and not power-oriented and (b) it is above corruption and nepotism? Ceasar's wife must be above suspicion. Therefore, I am sorry to say that I do not find in the last 100 day and odd this kind of two-faced image of the Janata Government and the Janata party that it is people-oriented and not power-oriented and that it is to see that corruption and nepotism are rooted out from political life and parliamentary life. This image is not coming up. Incorruptibility is the only trump card with which we went to the people last time. That is why people elected us; some of us were re-elected; some were elected to this House for the first time. It was the incorruptibility of the Janata party's face, its image, the image of many other parties, that gave hope to the people and the electorate. Are we going to keep that card, the card of incorruptibility, that trump card, only in our pocket and are not going to use it? I am glad that Shri Sikandar Bakht is here; but other ministers are not here to listen to what I say. Has this new face appeared, new picture emerged in the political horizon of new India, that is what I want to ask? The first 100 days of Janata government are creditable; the book produced by the Home Ministry is good. But it is only the beginning; it cannot be the end; you cannot stop here. The credit side is enormous; I am not unmindful of that. Freedom has been restored and regained; most of the prisoners have been released; the rule of law has been restored; fundamental rights are guaranteed; the civil rights commission has been appointed; democratic process has started functioning; the Press is free; what we say here can be published and people outside Parliament, people outside our country may know what is happening; what we say can go out; it is an open society.

But what is the debit side: The economic policy is not yet clear; the direction is not clear; steps are lacking. There are no measurable, concrete programmes in the economic, social, educa-

tional and other fields. Enquiry commissions are appointed one after another. It is good; enquiry commissions were needed because a lot has happened which needed to be brought out during the 19 months of emergency. Enquiry commissions are important. But one finds almost a spate of them; not a flood. It is inevitable. But let us not overdo this; let us not get bogged down. The thinking people in this country are getting sick at it; one hears all the time enquiry, probe, and this and that. They ask: what are you doing now? Let us dig up the past; but let us build the future also. It is all right to dig up the past upto a point. But more and more common people in India are wanting to see the way we build a new future. For that the economic duties and functions of a modern welfare state, socialist flavour, secular colour are very important things. The Janata government must embody and reflect them. The Janata party formation and its face are admirable. They came up quickly into emergency. But the hotch potch image must vanish and a harmonious personality should emerge. At the last Lok Sabha poll the Janata party's hop was to become a strong, united opposition party; that was perhaps their hope at the last Lok Sabha elections. Fortunately, by the grace of God, which means the grace of the voters of this country, the party which hoped to be a strong, united opposition party suddenly found itself, happily, fortunately and dramatically overnight, the ruling party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: How do you want it to be reflected in the Finance Bill?

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: Reflection must come in the Finance Bill in such a way that the Finance Minister's policies give hope to the downtrodden millions; the financial proposals are meant for them and not for the establishment, for the status seekers and for the status quo people. Coming back to the Finance Bill, I am glad that the Janata party has come into power; let them now rise to the occasion and let them not behave as if they are still opposition members. I am sorry to find that some of the ministers give the impression that they are opposition leaders, not ministers. We want the party together a good five years' time so that they can do well. In conclusion I should say that the constituents of the Janata party, separate wings of the ruling party, compartmental thinking and group strategies must go. I say this not in terms of criticism but in terms of the expectation of a large number of the people of India. I may be one of the few individuals in this House who are unattached. Most of the people in this country are also unattached. They are not attached

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to this party or that party. They are attached to their own individual interests and the progress of the whole country. Therefore, I say the unity of purpose, agreement on fundamentals and acceptance of commonly agreed policies and programmes—all these must now be reflected in the Finance Bill, in the Budget, in the sayings and doings of the Janata Party and the Janata Government.

Sir, all that I have said now, perhaps, may not be palatable to some of my friends in the Janata Party. But I must give vent to my feelings and I hope that they will take it in the right spirit in which I am saying.

Lastly, I would like to say a word or two about bureaucracy. Bureaucracy's value is undoubted. Without a right, good and efficient bureaucracy, we cannot function. I remember late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, sitting on the treasury benches in the good old days saying that the bureaucracy and administration in this country are excellent, efficient and good; and that is why we are able to carry on much in this country. But my point is that much waters have gone under the bridges of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. Bureaucracy's burdens have increased. It has increased in size, it has increased in growth, its domination has also increased. Lord Chief Justice Hewart of the United Kingdom in the thirties of this Century wrote a book called "The New Despotism." I hope bureaucracy will be kept under control by the Janata Government and its attitude towards people's welfare will be allowed to be changed. I want them to do it.

Yesterday, my friend, the Leader of the Opposition Shri Chavan said that he accepts his failure. At least now he has realised his failure. He has more time now to think about his failure. He had time only to think of his successes in those days.

Therefore, my point is that let this domination go and let the Janata Party do something which will make bureaucracy tuned to the new expectations and hope of the people.

Since I do not have more time, I will not say anything about the Constitution except that Government must quickly improve upon the distortions of the Constitution which took place in the last year: and anti-defection Bill must be brought very soon. As an independent, I am finding that the Janata Party train is getting very over-crowded, lots of people are joining the Janata Party and some of us who are not Members of the Janata Party are considered bad because we had not joined and those

who join, are considered good even if they are bad. That is not the way to look at the democratic polity of this country.

With these words, I thank you for calling me at this stage and may I say dealing with the law and order situation—Shrimathi Parvathi Krishnan was saying about lawlessness—that rule of law restored should not mean that licence is restored? I will close by saying that the slum dwellers, the landless, the harijans, the adivasis, the downtrodden, the urban poor—all these people in their teeming millions are hopefully and expectantly looking to the Janata Party, Janata Government and towards us all in the Parliament, whether we belong to this party or that party, for hope. Let us not fail them.

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNIAH (Tirupathi): Sir, I rise to support what my Leader, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Chavan had said yesterday about the Finance Bill for 1977-78. This Budget was described by Palkhiwala—I read a literature written by Palkhiwala—as a nutritive budget. But the common people are calling it as the Budget of a rich man. But as far as I am concerned, I would like to say that it is not a palatable budget because this is not going to help the common man to improve his standard of living. When I speak about the common man, I want to refer to what the Finance Minister has said in his speech last year. Speaking on the Finance Bill, he said "let it not be forgotten that the common man of this country is not minus agriculture or minus the people who live in rural areas. 70% of the people who live in rural areas are also common men." That being the case, most of the people who are living in the rural areas are common men. According to him 70% of them are common men. Among them 50% of them are the landless and poor harijans who have got social and economic problems. Their problem is a mighty one. It is closely associated with rural development and rural re-structure. The government is very much concerned about rural development and rural re-structure. What about Harijans? The Finance Minister in his budget speech made a passing reference to it without giving any idea as to what the Janata Government intend to do for the rural poor *viz.*, the Harijans, Girmans and backward classes. The Home Ministry's annual report deals with the welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes in Chapter V, but it is a stereotyped report. It does not say anything more than what was said last year. It copied down the activities of the previous Government. What the present government is going to do is not mentioned in this report.

The problem of Harijans is not only economic but also social. The problem of Harijans was very dear to Mahatma Gandhi and he was very much interested in the removal of untouchability. He said:

"To remove untouchability is a penance that caste Hindus owe to Hinduism and to themselves. The purification required is not of untouchables but of the so-called superior castes. There is no voice that is special to the untouchables, not even dirt and insanitation. It is our arrogance which blinds us, superior Hindus, to our own blemishes and which magnifies those of our down-trodden brethren whom we have suppressed and whom we keep under suppression. Religions, like nations, are being weighed in the balance. God's grace and revelation are no monopoly of no race or nation. They descend equally upon all who wait upon God. . . I do not want to be reborn. But if I have to be reborn, I should be born an untouchable so that I may share their sorrows, sufferings and the affronts levelled at them in order that I may endeavour to free myself and them from that miserable condition."

He opposed the award of the British Prime Minister who gave a separate electorate for Harijans. I am very happy that when the Janata Party came into power, all of them assembled near Mahatma Gandhi's samadhi and took an oath that they would follow Gandhism. But how many of them are sincere about following Gandhism? I wish the Prime Minister is more interested in the welfare of Harijans. Yesterday I read in the *Hindu* that he wrote letters to all the Chief Ministers advising them to take proper care about Harijan welfare. But I do not know how many Chief Ministers are going to follow that advice, especially in U.P., Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa where so many atrocities are committed on Harijans. The Harijans have been given certain constitutional guarantees. Article 17 says that 'untouchability' is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. A Committee was also appointed known as the Elayspermal Committee which submitted its report. In that Report it deals with the various forms of untouchability.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you want to bring all these things when you are to discuss the Finance Bill?

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNIAH: It is necessary because this Parliament consists of all sorts of people representing various interests. This body is greater than any other body in this country. This must be brought to the notice of this august

House so that they may consider at an appropriate time what we should do for these poor people and how we should help them in stopping atrocities being committed against these people. Therefore, I want to bring all these things to the notice of this august House. It will be very interesting to note that in spite of our Independence, in spite of the assurance given by Mahatma Gandhi, and in spite of the efforts of the leaders of our country in the past and in the present, this untouchability which is a blot on the Hindu society, has been practised. That is why I have brought this Report to read out to you to show what type of untouchability is there and how this untouchability has been practised. Under the head "Forms of untouchability", it is said:

"At Anantapur it was reported that in villages the Scheduled Castes are not allowed to sit in a cart when it passed through the streets inhabited by caste-Hindus".

Coming to Assam, it is said:

"Shri P. N. Hazarika, M.L.A. informed the Committee that 150 Scheduled Caste girls of Tinsukhia town, about a couple of miles away from Gauhati, embraced Islam due to ill-treatment from the caste-Hindus."

On Gujarat a chapter is written in this Report, but it will take much time to read all this.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are making very long points. But these are relevant to discussion at other places.

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNIAH: I am raising these points because we are considering the Finance Bill here and the Finance Bill is a consolidation of all points. As I said earlier, it relates to the socio-economic problem of the people who constitute one-fifth of the total population of this country. I represent the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes community. If I do not represent their interests in this august House, I will be failing in my duty. Therefore I am speaking to you with the relevant provision of the law that is there to serve them and we enacted the Untouchability Act of 1955 and to further strengthen it, we amended that Act by enacting a law known as the Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1976 under which there are so many provisions to deal

[Shri T. Balakrishnaiah]

with atrocities in respect of untouchability. Particularly there is a salient feature of this amended enactment which says that even when an officer fails to take action against any of the persons who commit atrocities on the Harijans, the Government can take action against that particular officer as an abettor. There is a provision to levy a collective fine. If the whole village consisting of rural rich or the affluent class indulges in atrocities on Harijans, action can be taken to collect fines from them and the aggrieved parties can be given compensation also. That is the salient feature of this amended enactment which has strengthened the Untouchability Act of 1955.

Many of the members on that side and some Members on this side were all agitated after hearing the atrocities committed on Harijans at Belchi, at Cuttack and so many other places. I am very much pained to read in the columns of the *National Herald* published on 11th July that the people in the rural areas who belong to the affluent class described the Janata Government as the Government of the rich, as the Government of the affluent class as the Government of the affluent class; and they celebrate the victory of the Janata Party. They say: "The Janata party is there; we can influence it. You can complain to whomsoever you like." Our friends on the other side say that they want to do justice to the people of this country. Are not these people deserving of justice being done by this government?

The reply given by the Home Minister the other day was not satisfactory, on this point. But I am very much pleased and I congratulate the Prime Minister for having taken prompt action by writing to all the Chief Ministers in the States to take stern action against those who committed atrocities on Harijans.

Various suggestions were made for improving the lot of Harijans. In this Finance Bill, we are going to re-structure the rural areas, and develop the agricultural community. There is regional imbalance with regard to prices of farm products i.e. between those produced in the North, and those produced in the South. In the South, we produce mainly paddy; whereas in the North they produce only wheat. The price of wheat was enhanced as soon as the Janata Party Government came to power; but the price of paddy has not been enhanced. The price of paddy to-day is lower than that it was earlier; and when the agriculturists who had invested on paddy, want to sell it at a lower rate, they are put to losses. How is this govern-

men going to tackle the regional imbalance with regard to the prices of food-grains?

We know that agriculture is an industry about which we cannot be definite. We cannot rest assured of income from it. When I was a young boy reading in the college, I read something about rural economics. What was stated in the books then is being taught even now. No change has been brought about.

Some friends are finding fault with the 20-point economic programme. They want to drop it; but they do not know how it has helped the poor people, particularly in our State. In Andhra, that programme was implemented sincerely by the Chief Minister. It helped so many poor people in getting loans, house-sites and so many other benefits such as rickshaws, taxis and scooters from the government.

The living standard of the poor people in Andhra Pradesh improved. This happened when that programme was implemented sincerely. I want to ask: what is the economic programme of the Janata party towards the common man? This government has failed even to arrest the price rise. Mr. Mohan Dharja has told us on more than one occasion that he has advised the business community to refrain from increasing the prices. Are they listening to his advice? He has said that he will start Janata bazaars in rural areas and bring down prices. He started them in towns. By doing it merely in towns and cities, is he going to arrest the prices? The prices of essential commodities have gone up. Today, the Postman oil sells at Rs. 15 per Kg.; gemelly oil at Rs. 12 per Kg.; groundnut oil at Rs. 11 per Kg., tomato at Rs. 4 per Kg. and beans at Rs. 4 per Kg. These are essential commodities required by middle class, lower middle class and common people. How is the government going to arrest the price-rise? The Janata Government is not thinking in terms of socio-economic development of the country. It has not spelt it out so far. I do not know; it may be too early for me to say this. They say that they have done something by giving freedom. They have no doubt given freedom; but how is it going to help the common man? You and I—we all in this House are concerned with freedom of speech, in order to criticize and abuse others. But the common man is concerned with his stomach, to see that he gets a square meal a day.

He wants that he should wrap his body with proper cloth, he should get shelter to lie in. Today the price of cloth is very high. I had been to a shop today and enquired the price of a cotton cloth. I was told that it is in the range of Rs. 10 to 15 a metre for an ordinary cotton cloth. Have you brought down the price of cloth?

Coming to the handloom weavers, in my constituency there is a large number of handloom weavers. Next to agriculture is the profession of weaving in our country, because it is providing occupation for a large number of people. While yarn was previously being sold at Rs. 65, today it is being sold at Rs. 105. Weavers come and complain to me that they are not able to earn their livelihood, because they do not get proper wages, as the yarn is sold at Rs. 105. When it was sold at Rs. 65 they were able to earn Rs. 8 to 10 a day, while today they are not able to get more than Rs. 3 to 4 a day. Many of the weavers are starving and so they are going to the cities and towns in search of employment. How are you going to solve this problem?

The Finance Minister is talking of power-looms, medium-scale industries, small-scale industries and industries which are going to be started by the rich people, the capitalists, and exemptions are being given to such people. Industries which are going to benefit the common man, or a large number of people, or industries which are run by the public sector, they are not given proper encouragement.

The budget speech does not say anything about the backward areas in the country. What is their programme for the development of backward areas, like Rayalaseema, which are only depending on rain, where they have no rivers? Rayalaseema consists of four districts in Andhra Pradesh where there are no proper roads or industries worth the name, while the neighbouring States are having industries. This particular region has no industry. Does this budget say anything about the backward regions in this country, where there is a vast area of land without water, where a large number of people are without employment? How are you going to solve this problem? I hope the Finance Minister will deal with these points in his reply.

I thank you for the opportunity given to me to participate in this debate.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA
(Forward) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the taxation policy that emerges out of

the Finance Bill clearly reveals a very conservative approach, though there is a sprinkling of some progressive measures, like the rural development allowance. It is very apparent that the taxation proposals are tilted highly in favour of the corporate sector and the affluent sections. This is a very disappointing feature of the Finance Bill, which is under discussion in this august House. This tilting of the Finance Bill in favour of the corporate sector is in sharp contrast with the plight of the common man and the middle class. The middle class has to rest content with the raising of the exemption limit from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000 and thus raising of the exemption limit is also done in proper grace because there is a rebate, and a clearer resort to the device of flexibility with regard to this exemption limit. If the income exceeds Rs. 10,000 the exemption limit will once again be not Rs. 10,000, but Rs. 8,000. There is also an increase in the surcharge from 10 to 15 per cent. As a result, we find that while some grudging allowance has been given to the common man, to the middle class, the Finance Bill gives several benefits to the corporate sector.

For instance, the investment allowance which was hitherto restricted to only a few selected industries, has now been thrown open to the entire gamut of industry. Further, there are also exemption from the payment of compulsory dividend. But highly objectionable is the approach of the Finance Bill to the concept of tax on capital gains. I am constrained to remark that the proposals in the Finance Bill have almost sounded the death knell of the concept of capital gains taxation. The capital gains tax was introduced not merely in order to earn some revenue. It has a social significance. When gains are realised as a result of the sale of a long term capital asset, these gains are consequent to inflationary process, and if the gains on the sale of capital assets as a result of inflationary conditions are subjected to any exemption, then I am constrained to remark that inflation which is a misery to the common man is turned into a boon for the privileged class and for the corporate sector.

This is a very conservative approach. Until recently many countries in the world had no such thing as capital gains taxation except perhaps Germany and the USA. It was in 1956, with a social objective in view, that the principle of capital gains taxation was introduced in our country, and it was in 1962 that France and the

[Shri G. M. Banatwala]

United Kingdom followed suit. It is rather astounding and most objectionable to find this amendment with respect to capital gains taxation that a total exemption from taxation will be granted if the proceeds realised from the sale of capital assets are invested in certain specified financial assets. I must, therefore, take serious objection to this most retrograde step that has been taken for granting exemption to the gains realised from the sale of long term capital asset.

The very concepts of long term capital asset and short term capital asset have been amended by the Finance Bill. When an asset is held for a period of 60 months, it is a short term capital asset. Those which are held for more than this period and are sold are subjected to capital gains tax. But here an attempt has been made in the Bill to reduce this period from 60 to 36 months; with the result that all sale of capital assets which have been held for more than only 36 months will get a certain concessional treatment. I must submit with due respect that this is nothing but encouraging speculative activity in the sale of long term capital assets, the definition of which has been sought to be amended by the Bill.

I must also say that clause 38 of the Finance Bill has introduced a most objectionable feature in our taxation policy. This clause amends the Voluntary Disclosure of Income and Wealth Tax Act, 1976 and gives further concession to tax evaders. It has been laid down in this Act that persons making voluntary disclosures were to pay their amount and make investment by 31st March, 1977. This Government has given them a further concession by providing that the unpaid tax can be paid and the necessary investment can be made upto 1st January, 1978 and that such persons can continue to enjoy the immunities provided under the Act. I must say that this policy of the Government is quite contradictory in nature. These are the persons who have committed the most heinous crime against the economy of the country. We are being told and it has been proclaimed from his usetops, that the Janata Government does not believe in a policy of forget and forgive, but I am constrained to note that this very Government is prepared to forget the non-payment of taxes by these tax dodgers and forgive them if they are prepared to pay 12% interest on the unpaid amount. I take very serious objection to the concession that has been sought

to be extended to these tax dodgers. I find that when this House was discussing the Ordinance regarding the Voluntary Disclosure of Income & Wealth Act, 1976, there was a motion for disapproval of the Ordinance, and strangely enough, Shri H. M. Patel, now the Finance Minister, was the person who voted in favour of that motion. Today it is the same Shri H. M. Patel who comes in a very convenient manner with all sorts of consideration of expediency of this House and tries to explain further concessions to the tax dodgers under the provisions of the Bill which he has found objectionable in this very House. I, therefore, have to say that convenient are the ways and the most expedient are the ways of those who today sit on the treasury benches.

It is most disappointing to see that the Finance Bill is immensely rich in providing scope both for evasion of taxes as also increasing the capacity to earn what is called black-money. I may explain what I mean by this. We have, for example, a provision under which it is provided that a sick unit can merge with a viable one and when the merger takes place, the losses of the sick unit can be set off against the profit of the company with which the sick unit is amalgamated.

Now, Sir, I shall respectfully submit that a tax saving value has been given to the sick units and those who are in the control of the sick units can utilize the extent of the tax saving capacity of the sick units for entering into a brisk trade with profitable concerns. Therefore, very naturally, a brisk trade will come up with profitable concerns in search of sick units in order to set off their losses against their profits and black-money, parallel money, parallel economy will get further spurt from such brisk trade.

I must also say that there is also a scope, as far as capital gains tax is concerned, to shift income from capital gains from one year to another year, and this scope for shifting capital gains from one year to another year will help manipulation of taxes by a number of concerns. Look at the provisions of the Finance Bill. The provision is that if the sale proceed on long term capital assets are invested in certain specified financial assets, then no taxes will be levied on capital gains provided that those financial assets are held for a period of three years; but if they are not held for a period of three years, then immediately capital gains tax will be levied. However, the capital gains

tax will be levied not with respect to the year in which the capital gains accrued to the concern, but during the year in which the condition was violated. In other words, a concern can very easily shift capital gains from one year to another year when the condition about investment is violated. This capacity to shift the income from capital gains from one year to another year will be a handy method for the manipulation of taxes.

I may briefly submit before I conclude that the Finance Bill not only does not take cognizance of the interest of the labourer, but I must say with a heavy heart that the provisions are anti-labour in character. For example, Clause 15 of the Bill talks about sick units being taken over by the profitable concern. But there is no provision whatsoever, that the profitable concerns, while taking over the sick units, must maintain the volume of employment that was enjoyed by the labourers under the sick units. No such conditions are there. It is interesting to note that while there are many other conditions, no such condition. In the interest of the labourers is laid in the Finance Bill.

There is also an extension of the investment allowance to the entire gamut of industry. This is a policy which till in favour of capital intensity in industry. It is a well-known fiscal truth that capital intensity is at the expense of the labour. Encouragement given to capital at the expense of labour shows the anti-labour policy that the Government has adopted—by throwing the investment allowance to the entire gamut of industries without any discrimination except in the case of a few specified low priority industries.

I may conclude by saying—though there are very many things to say—that the social objectives that are to be achieved from a policy of taxation have also been thrown to the winds; for example, by changing the concept of short-term and long-term capital assets encouragement is given to speculative activity, encouragement is given to take advantage of inflation which is in favour of the bourgeois class. Similarly also we find that there is a tendency towards favouring concentration of productive capacity by allowing exemption from payment of compulsory dividend.

I will now resume my seat with an appeal to this Government to reconsider the highly objectionable nature of the finance policy, the conservative approach that has been adopted by it, the scope that has been left for manipulation of taxes by tax-dodgers and

the advantages that the bourgeois class will reap in inflationary conditions from these proposals. I must also request that there should be a rethinking on such excise duties as on bids and other items. I wanted to speak on those items too. However, in deference to your bell, I am concluding. I hope that these matters which I have tried to place in brief before the House will receive serious consideration at the hands of the Government.

SHRIMATI PARVATHI KRISHNAN (Coimbatore): Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to say how disappointed I was hearing the Finance Minister's speech yesterday—he is not here; I hope, this will be conveyed to him—because I had hoped that there would be a more clear-cut line as to what the Janata Government is going to do, what is going to be the direction of the Government policy in order to eradicate poverty, in order to eradicate unemployment, as has been claimed by them to be their policy. It was not there when the Budget proposals were put before us. Therefore I had hoped that, after hearing many speeches here during the discussion on Demands for Grants, the Finance Minister would come with far more radical proposals but he has not.

In his speech presenting the Finance Bill, there is nothing to indicate to us what he proposes to do in order to mop up the large amount of tax arrears that are there. On the other hand, it was most disappointing even yesterday, when I looked up a question that was there on this matter, that the present Government continues in exactly the same way as the previous Government did. For instance, last year there was a question on income-tax arrears, and we were given these figures (this is as on 1975) the gross arrears were Rs. 926 crores and net arrears were Rs. 654 crores. Yesterday we have been told that the gross arrears are Rs. 873.56 crores and the net arrears are Rs. 569.84 crores. There is not much of a difference. In 1976 when we asked as to what was being done about collecting these arrears, this was the reply given by the then Government:

“Such of the steps provided in the Income-tax Act, 1961, as are appropriate to the circumstances of each case are taken for effecting recovery of outstanding demands.”

15 hrs.

Yesterday we were told something almost absolutely identical: “The income-tax Act, 1961 provides for

[Shrimati Parvati Krishnan]

several steps for enforcing collection and recovery of tax arrears." (It is just a play with words; the word 'ing' alone is different) and we are told that depending on the facts and circumstances of each case, suitable steps are taken by the Income-tax authorities concerned for the recovery of tax arrears." No indication has been given that something effective is going to be done in order to mop up these tax arrears—which invariably are those of the big business houses and those who belong to the highest income group because, after all as far as the working class is concerned, those who have come into the income-tax paying level and the middle-class employee, and others in service, certainly cannot evade tax. So, who are the people who are evading tax and from whom arrears of crores and crores of rupees are due? We have been told exactly the same 'what is the difference between 'tweedledum' and 'tweedledit' as far as this particular aspect of our national life is concerned?

Now, some of the other things I would like to refer to are the manner in which we have seen how, on the one hand, the working class has been severely affected by the Compulsory Deposit Scheme and by the refusal of minimum bonus of 8.33% by the Congress Government and the reactionary measures taken by them—which we have consistently been opposing—and, on the other hand, so far as large companies are concerned, the concessions given last year—most anti-national concessions, pro-capitalist concessions—such as the bonus share which continue. There is no change in regard to that effected by this Government which claims it is committed to remove poverty. We have seen how last year the companies increased their profits at a time when we were told that investment should be encouraged. It was said that, for attracting investment, more encouragement should be given etc. But where has this encouragement gone? It has gone to companies which were enabled to make more profits.

For instance, what has the Reserve Bank said? I will give you one or two figures. In the case of International Combustion, the pre-tax profit for the year 1976 increased to 60.21 lakhs from Rs. 41.47 lakhs the previous year and the Directors have recommended a 20% dividend and issue of bonus shares and right shares. In the case of Warner Hindustan, the Directors propose to issue bonus shares in the ratio of four shares for every five shares held, by capitalising Rs. 1.02 crores, and a total dividend of 25% in 1975-76 as against 23% in the previous year

has also been declared. Its gross profits of Rs. 154.42 lakhs show a marked increase of 31% over that for 1974-75.

Once after the other, one can take up these big companies and point out how their profits are going up and dividends are going up where as the labour cost is going down. What is that? Is it spent on labour? From the Reserve Bank Bulletin we see—I am not trying to make this a potential point but it is based purely on facts and figures—the wages paid to the workers are going down and yet we are told that money to the worker means inflation. How can we accept this argument? We have seen how, in spite of CDS inflation has gone up. Wage costs are going down but inflation goes up. Bonus is not given in the argument that there will be inflation and yet profits are all wed to it. This is what is happening.

Where is your radical departure—because, here you have the big companies getting away with it and, on the other hand, in the name of encouraging the rural sector and in the name of encouraging the small-scale sector, general excise duty on hosiery has been increased by 2 per cent. Hosiery is not only in the small-scale sector, as far as the industry is concerned, but it also serves the common man. It is the ordinary worker and the ordinary agricultural labourer who is now going to be made to pay more for the hosiery products he uses whereas ready-made garments which are used by the elite in the country have been exempted from excise duty. What kind of a Janata budget is this, when the Janata are forgotten? Both in terms of industry and consumers, the Janata are being ignored completely, but all our appeals are falling on deaf ears.

Many hon. Members have already referred to the question of duty on Bidis. A large number of us, all Members of Parliament, belonging to all parties and groups, have given a memorandum to the hon. Finance Minister requesting him that the duty on Bidis should be removed from his budget proposal, but we have heard nothing about it; no argument, not even a reference; all appeals seem to have fallen on deaf ears, whereas thousands and lakhs of people—particularly women, are dependent on this industry. Their livelihood is being affected, whether it be in Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu or Kerala. Today, it is the workers in the Bidi industry who have felt the first impact of the Janata budget. The first impact is a reduction of the limited meagre pittance that they have got. When you talk of people below poverty line and you talk of the increase of number of people

below that line, you want to increase that number still further within the first few months, with all your achievements of hundred days that you are trying to claim. Please go now and get the figures as far as these workers are concerned and you will know how many more have gone below the poverty line. Let us not have a cordile tears, let us have real action in order to help this section of the people, this unorganised section of the working class in our country.

Then, there is no indication of Government's policy as to what they are going to do about unemployment allowance which has been under debate in this country for quite a long time. The expenditure of Government should not only be stated in general terms, but it should be in the direction which will help to eradicate poverty, which will help to raise the general level of the people above the poverty line. Therefore, that direction has got to be there and we see absolutely no reference as to what is going to be done in order to prevent increasing unemployment and at the same time give some protection to the unemployed people by introducing an unemployment allowance scheme.

At the same time, as far as agricultural labour is concerned, unless and until you undertake very seriously and with all earnestness steps to implement the existing land reform legislation and at the same time give protection to agricultural labour in terms of credit and other facilities, it is no good talking about the removal of poverty in the country-side and talking about a rural-based orientation in governmental policy. Unless something concrete is done for the people who are being oppressed today and exploited in the vast rural areas of this country, how are you really hoping to change the face of this country economically?

Many hon. Members have already referred to the fact, how after the elections there has been a spurt of harassment, a spurt of exploitation and spurt of terrifying precisely of this section of the people, the agricultural labour, the vast majority of whom belong to the scheduled castes. atrocities against the Harijans are repeatedly brought to the notice of the Government and the atrocities committed against the Harijans are closely linked up with this whole problem of land reforms. Once you give protection to agricultural labour in terms of employment and against the exploiting sections and vested interests in the country-side, you would be able to bring about a total socio-economic change in the country-side which would help to overcome the poverty that exists there.

Sir, one of the serious problems that have dogging this country is the question of prices and there is no indication as to what is being done to have a wide-spread net work of public distribution centres of essential commodities for the common people.

The hon. speaker who spoke just before me referred to the manner in which prices of edible oils and pulses were increasing, the manner in which to-day there are run-away prices of even ordinary everyday vegetables and other essential commodities and, yet, there is nothing to indicate as to what is going to be done to overcome this. The only thing that we are told is that the C.D.S. arrears will not be paid to the working class because it may lead to rise in prices, it will lead to inflation and so on. Sir, this does not carry conviction to any section of the working class. An explosive situation exists there and it is no good all the time saying, 'Oh! Strikes are politically motivated. It is only because they are now able to strike freely that the workers are going on a strike.' No, Sir. There had been strikes throughout the country by the working class in various measures in all these years. We even had firings against coal workers in Madhya Pradesh only last year. Why is that feeling there? That feeling among the working class is there because they have been neglected, they have been exploited and they have been suppressed by the various economic measures of the past government and the continuance of that particular policy towards the working class by the present government.

Mr. George Fernandes, the Minister of Industry made what was, of course, a very good window-dressing, saying, 'We are prepared to take the workers into co-operation. We will give the sick units to the workers. We will give you every help. Let the workers run the sick sector. I would admire him much more, I would welcome him and I would applaud him if he said, 'Let the working class come forward. Give us your co-operation. Here you are take not a mismanaged unit, but a healthy unit and have a workers' sector.' But you want to give a dying man to the workers. Why not give a living man, a living child to the workers who will rear out of that living child a talented man who would be an example, a genius to the rest of the industry.

Therefore, this talk of workers' sector—we heard it also from Mr. C. Subramaniam last year in a different context and, we hear the same thing from Mr. George Fernandes and the Janata Government and you claim that it is something different, the working class cannot be bamboozled that way. Sir, the working class

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in this country is mature. It knows what it should do, when it should do so, the appropriate time, the appropriate action and it will not fail the people of this country. Therefore, they will see that they get their rightful demands.

For instance, what about the LIC ? It comes directly under the hon. Minister who has now graced the House with his presence again. Since I am sure that he is now not hungry any longer, he will listen with more patience. The LIC workers had a special gift given to them by the erstwhile Congress Government and what was that gift ? An agreement signed by them with the management an registered under the Industrial Disputes Act was rescinded by an Act of Parliament, a thing hitherto unheard of in the history of this country. It was opposed tooth and nail by the working class and at that time, we told the then government that they were going back on their commitment to the working class and that they were doing something that could not be condoned by any democratic forces in this country. Now, those who claim to have restored democracy have come to power. Why should you not restore the democratic settlement of LIC workers. I would like to know.

Last year, what was the position of LIC ? Here is what the report states "during 1975-76 the corporation completed new business of Rs. 5385.34 crores on 20.5 lakhs policies as compared to Rs. 3112.43 crores of new business completed during 1974-75 on 18.01 policies. About 66 per cent of the new policies were issued to persons who were insuring for the first time, and so on. The report goes on to say, "The total net income of the corporation during the year 1975-76 was Rs. 790.84 crores as compared to Rs. 690.02 crores during 1974-75. The premium income during the year was Rs. 588 crores..". Now, the LIC has been making profits steadily. Year after year it has been going up in thousands of crores, not just a small amount. And yet the L. I. C. agreement was annulled, which did not suit the Government policy on bonus. This question of bonus is not only for the working class alone. It is for the employees of L. I. C. also. Why do you not rescind that illegal or anti-legal legislation which was passed last year and restore to the LIC workers their right which they got through their labour and hard work.

So far as the General Insurance employees are concerned they have been discriminated against. General Insurance employees were earlier paying 8 per cent of basic salary, D.A. and Personal Pay towards provident fund as per the Government notification. Now

the Government has changed the rate of contribution—i.e., 10 per cent of Personal Pay, Special Pay. It comes to less than the statutory minimum rate which was earlier prescribed. The General Insurance employees have raised the issue. They have also raised the problems of their bonus. I had given notice of a Short Notice Question which the Minister refused—he seems to be allergic to such things. Perhaps, the Minister has no time to listen that or perhaps he does not want to hear them. If you stick to the original notification you will be getting Rs. 20,000 from the employees by way of compulsory savings and P. F. At the same time the employees will benefit because they will get more at the time of retirement. I hope the Minister will accept it. He will kindly see that the injustice that is there against the General Insurance employees and the L. I. C. workers is removed as speedily as possible because they are the two establishments directly under the Government. They are very important establishments because they create savings. They invest in public sector and other undertakings. They generate more and more investment and they generate more and more possibility of employment. So, they should not be neglected. These workers are in a vital sector of our national economy.

I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister the procedure under the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, with the scrapping of the Compulsory Deposit on Additional dearness allowance those earning more than Rs. 15,000 per annum will now have to start a new account. This procedure is a cumbersome procedure. I would request him to see if it is possible that those who earn salary over Rs. 15,000 p. a. and are members of the approved Provident Fund may be allowed to contribute that CDS amount to the P. F. A/C over and above their normal contribution to Provident Fund. This will be convenient for those who are paying and for those who are receiving. If he considers it an d makes it possible, then it will help a large number of Bank, Insurance and other salaried employees.

I would appeal him to exempt hosiery from the General Excise Duty of 2 per cent, and bring hosiery goods on a par with the ready-made garments. I would request him also to give relief to the bidi industry. It is necessary to give relief to the large number of small-scale industry owners engaged in hosiery and bidi industries and at the same time this will help lakhs and lakhs of employees engaged in the bidi industry throughout the country.

श्री राजेश्वर कुमार वर्मा (रामपुर) :
बिना बंधी की द्वारा प्रस्तुत बिना विधेयक

पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

कल सभ में विशेष रूप से कांग्रेस के माननीय सदस्यों के विचारों को सुना रहा हूँ मैंने बड़े ध्यान से श्री बहवाण द्वारा जो विचार व्यक्त किए गए हैं उन को सुना है। मुझे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता था कि इससे पूर्व वह कभी भी सरकारी पक्ष में नहीं रहे हैं। इस तरह से वह अपने विचार व्यक्त कर रहे थे। अनेक साथी जनता पार्टी पर इस तरह से प्रहार कर रहे थे जैसे कि जनता पार्टी कई वर्षों से सत्ता में बैठी हुई है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नब्बे दिन के अन्दर जिस तरह से हमको यह सरकारी धर बिया गया है यह धर इस हालत में बिया गया है जिसका फल उखड़ा हुआ है, दीवारें टूट रही हैं, बिड़कियां टूटी हुई हैं, दरवाजे टूटे हुए हैं और मकड़ी के जालों से यह धरा हुआ है। इस नब्बे दिन में हम अभी तक जाले को भी साफ नहीं कर पाये हैं।

हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने जिस तरह का वित्त विधेयक सदन में प्रस्तुत किया और अपर्याप्त साधन जो थे उनको देखते हुए कल जो संशोधन इस में प्रस्तुत किए और 22 करोड़ का और बाटा इस कारण से दिखाया गया है यह उनकी एक बहुत बड़ी देन है। जिनको उद्योग धन्ये कहा जाता है, छोटी इकाइयां कहा जाता है इससे उनको बड़ी सहायता मिलेगी।

पिछली सरकार के द्वारा देश के अन्दर जो परिस्थितियां उत्पन्न कर दी गई थीं जो आर्थिक ढांचा हमारे देख को दिया गया था उसको ठीक करने में, उसको सम्भालने में इस सरकार को महीनों नहीं कई

वर्ष लगेंगे। आप से तो यह छिया हुआ नहीं है कि 28 मार्च 1977 को हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया गया था उस में 6 अरब 32 करोड़ का बाटा दिखाया गया था। उस की पूर्ति के लिए हमें पेपर करेंसी का सहारा लेना पड़ेगा। बाटे के बजट को पूरा करने के लिए या तो देश के अन्दर फरदर टैक्सेशन करना पड़ता है या फरदर पेपर करेंसी छाप कर उस की पूर्ति की जा सकती है। दोनों ही अवस्थाओं में इनफ्लेशन ट्रेंड पाया जाता है। उसकी द्यौतक ये दोनों अवस्थाएँ होती हैं, दानों से देश में मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ती है जिसका दुष्परणाम मूल्य वृद्धि में सामने आता है और यह स्वाभाविक ही है। आज देश में मुद्रा स्फीति का जो ट्रेंड बढ़ा हुआ है उसको वजह से मूल्य स्तर ऊपर जा रहे हैं। इसके लिए जिम्मेदार आज की जनता सरकार नहीं है बल्कि पिछले तीस साल में जो कांग्रेस राज करती रही है, उसके जो कारनामे रहे हैं, उसका ही यह फल है जिसको आज देश की जनता को भुगताना पड़ रहा है। हमें देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को ठीक करने में वर्षों लगेंगे। इस के लिए मंत्री महोदय और हमारी सरकार प्रयत्नशील है और निश्चित रूप से मैं यह कह सकता हूँ कि हम उस में सफल होंगे। आप देखें कि मार्च 1977 के अन्दर मुद्रा स्फीति 15 फी सदी थी और पिछले चार महीनों में यह बढ़कर 17 फी सदी हो गई है। 20 मिलियन टन अनाज जो पिछले वर्षों में विदेशों से परचेख किया गया है उसकी देनदारी पेपर करेंसी की शक्ल में देश में आई। मुद्रा स्फीति के बढ़ने का यह सबसे प्रमुख कारण है।

मान्यवर, प्राइस इंडेक्स यदि 1970-71 में 100 था तो मार्च के अन्दर 145 हो गया, जुलाई 1977 के अन्दर बढ़ कर

[श्री राजन्द्र कुमार शर्मा]

कर 185 हो गया। यह सरकारी आंकड़े हैं। मुद्रास्फीति के यही कारण हैं। सब से बड़ा टारगेट हमारी सरकार का इनफ्लेशनरी ट्रेड पर बैंक लगाना होना चाहिये, अन्यथा मूल्य वृद्धि नहीं रोक सकेंगे। मान्यवर, जब तक हम देश के अंदर ब्लैक मनी पर रोक नहीं लगायेंगे तब तक देश के अन्दर बढ़ते हुए मूल्य स्तर को, मूल्य वृद्धि को रोक नहीं सकेंगे। इस इनफ्लेशनरी ट्रेड को रोकने के लिए हमें सख्ती करनी होगी। आज दिल्ली के अन्दर कनाट प्लेस में एक एक दुकान की 12, 12 लाख ०० पगड़ी है। यह सब ब्लैक मनी के कारण है। अगर इस को नहीं उखाड़ा गया तो हम अपने काम में सफल नहीं होंगे।

मान्यवर, बैंक के द्वारा जनता पार्टी ने बिजनेस कम्युनिटी को जो छूट दी है और क्रेडिट प्रीसिलिटीज बायी है उस के परिणाम स्वरूप बिजनेस कम्युनिटी नाबायज फायदा उठाने में लगी हुई है। लोगों की होडिना कैपेसिटी बढ़ रही है। इस को सरकार को रोकना चाहिये। क्रेडिट प्रीसिलिटी प्रोवाइड करने से जनता सरकार का यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि होडिंग कैपेसिटी के कारण प्राइस राइज करत हों। इस पर सरकार को तुरन्त अकुण लगाना होगा।

मान्यवर, सबसे प्रमुख समस्या आज देश के सामने खाद्यान्न पदार्थों के अभाव की है जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप हमें विदेशों से मंगाना पड़ता है और फ़ौरन एक्सचेंज देनी पड़ती है। इस पर रोक लगानी है। पिछले 30 सालों में जहाँ सरकार असफल रही है वह ग्रामीण क्षेत्र है जिसके अन्दर हमे कृषि पर प्राथमिकता के आधार पर ध्यान देना चाहिये था। लेकिन पिछले 30 साल से लगातार उस को इग्नोर किया गया है। आज भी हमारी सरकार ने कृषि के क्षेत्र में कोई विशेष योजनाएँ, जिनकी कि हम आशा करते

थे इस विल विधेयक के जरिये, नहीं देवी जिस ने ऐसा लग सके कि ऐग्रीकल्चर - प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ावा मिलेगा और जो यह एक लम्बे समय से समस्या चली आ रही है उस को सफल करने में कामयाब हो सकेंगे।

मान्यवर, कृषि के क्षेत्र के अन्दर मैं अपनी सरकार के सामने कुछ आंकड़े पेश करता हूँ जिससे अंदाजा लगेगा कि पिछले कई सालों से कृषक की क्या स्थिति है। 1970-71 में प्राइस इण्डेक्स को यदि 100 मान कर चलें तो 1976-77 में फ़टिलाइजर 178.6 हो गया, कीट नाशक दवायें, जिन के द्वारा फ़सलों को बचाया जा सकता है, 223.7 हो गई, बिजली के मूल्य में वृद्धि 175.8 हो गई, डीजल की 213 हो गई, लुब्रीकेशन आयल की 314, और ट्रैक्टर की प्राइस पिछले चार साल के अन्दर ढाई गुना बढ़ गई है जिसमें से 17,000 ०० 30,35 हाईस पावर के ट्रैक्टर पर सरकार टैक्स के रूप में ले लेती है, जो एक मध्यम श्रेणी के किसान के लिए संभव नहीं है कि वह उस को ले सके। आज एक ट्रैक्टर की कीमत 50, 60 हजार रुपये है जो एक मध्यम श्रेणी का किसान नहीं दे सकता। छोटे किसान की तो बात ही क्या। परिणाम स्वरूप उस बैंक से लोन लेना पड़ता है जिस को पेमेन्ट उसे सालों करना पड़ता है।

आज ही देश के अन्दर एक तिहाई से ज्यादा कृषि भूमि असांचित पड़ी हुई है जिसकी सिंचाई की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। आज तो जो सिंचाई की योजनाएँ चलाई गई हैं उनसे बड़े पैमाने पर कोई लाभ नहीं मिला, केवल कुछ अन्नो को ही लाभ पहुंच सका है। परिणाम स्वरूप आज भी हमारे देश के अन्दर नेचर पर निर्भर करना पड़ता है। मानसून जिस साल

फैल हो जाता है हमारे देश की स्थिति इगमया जाती है। जिस साल मानधून सफल हो जाती है, उस साल हमारे देश में पर्याप्त भनाज और गल्वा हो जाता है। भ्राज भावधय 1 है कि हम कृषकों के लिए स्माल स्केल स्तर पर छोटी छोटी सिंचाई की योजनाये चलाये जिस में प्रमुख रूप म कुण, पोखर और तालाब हो जिन में पर्याप्त मात्रा में जल को एकत्रित किया जाए और छोटे किसान भनाजकर जोरों में, भन-इकनामिक होन्डिज से लाभान्वित हो सक ।

भ्राज हमारे बैंकों के द्वारा किसानों को जो ऋण दिये जाते हैं, पम्पिंग सेट की शकल में मैं यह बताना चाहता ह कि इममें किसानों की बहुत हालत खराब है। बैंकों के एजेंट और अन्य कमचारी छोटे छोटे किसानों को बहुत परेशान और दुखी करते हैं। मेरे पास कई एक्स्पैरिन्स है, मैंने वित्त मंत्री का भ्राजी भी है। कि पम्पिंग मैट्स के एजेंट्स बैंक के लोगों से मिलने के उपरान्त ऐसा करते हैं कि न तो किसानों को रुपया दिया और न पम्पिंग सेट दिया बल्कि उस के नाम रुपया डाल दिया जाता है और उस में उस एपे की इस्टाल-मैन्ट्स मागी जाने लगती है। सारे देश में, विशेष कर उत्तर प्रदेश में ऐसी भयकर स्थिति बनी हुई है जिस के कारण भ्राज हम साइनर हरिरोशन के किसानों को लाभ पहुंचाने की स्थिति में नहीं हैं। जब कि साइनर हरिरोशन के माध्यम से थोड़े समय में ही हम एग््रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा सकते हैं। भ्रगर हम ने इस तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया तो निश्चित रूप से छाने वाले बर्ष हमारे लिये और भ्राक सिद्ध होने।

कृषि के क्षेत्र में किसान की प्रोडक्शन पेंसिटी की बढ़ाने के लिए जैसा मैंने बताया, हर देश के मूल्की में बूँटि हुई है।

लेकिन उस के विपरीत उस के अनुपात में वेहु के मूल्क में केवल 40 फीसवी बूँटि की गई है। जैसा हमारे साथी पैडी के विषय में कह रहे थे कि उस में हार्डली 20 फीसवी प्राइस रेज की गई है। जो कि भ्रपर्याप्त है। इस से सतुलन, बँलेस नहीं बना रह सकता। यदि भ्राज हम कृषक के स्टेटस, स्तर को नहीं उठावेगे तो हमारे एग््रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्शन को यह सैटेंबंक नगा रहेगा।

इसके साथ साथ भ्राज हमारी जनता सरकार के सामने जो भयकर समस्या है वह यह कि देश में एग््रीशियल प्राकडो के हिसाब से डेढ करोड व्यक्ति अनएम्पलायड हैं। जो कि हमारे सामने हाथ फैलाये खडे हैं, जिन को हमें रोजगार देना है, रोजगार नगरो में नहीं बल्कि रोजगार की व्यवस्था हमें ग्रामीण अंचल म ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में करनी होगी।

पिछले 30 वर्षों में कांग्रेस सरकार ने लघु उद्योग धंधों का नाम पर स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री के नाम पर जो दश में रचना की वह केवल कागजों तक ही सीमित थी। उम में ऐसे लोगों को लघु उद्योग धंधे दिये गये हैं जिन्होंने उस को वास्तविक रूप प्रदान नहीं किया। केवल कोटे के आधार पर ही रा-मैटीरियल पब्लिश कर के बलक मार्केट में देवा जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप जो रा-मैटीरियल के हकदार थे, उनको वह मात्र नहीं मिला और उन्हें ब्लैकमार्केट से रा-मैटीरियल खरीदकर इंडस्ट्री को चलाने की कोशिश करनी पडी। फाइनेन्सियल प्राबलम्स थ्रीड, पावर शार्टेज हर यूनिट के सामने बनी हुई है जिस के परिणाम स्वरूप वहा पर लैबर में अनरैस्ट-फ्रीएट होना बट-नैचुरल है। उन को समय पर रा-मैटीरियल सप्लाइ न होना, यह तारी डिम्बेसारी भ्रम्य हमारी जनता सरकार पर है। समय पर इन चीजों का उपलब्ध करवाया जाना, हमारे स्माल स्केल यूनिट्स को को खडा करना है।

[श्री राजेन्द्र कुमार शर्मा]

भाज उद्योग धन्धों के सामने जो सबसे बिकट समस्या है, वह मार्केटिंग प्रॉब्लम है। जो सामग्री वह तैयार कर लेते हैं, बाजार में बेचने के लिये उनके पास कोई सुचारु व्यवस्था सरकार की तरफ से नहीं है। जो कि फंडा-मेंटली हमारी मिस्टेक है। स्माल स्केल के यूनिट्स को अपने देश में खड़ा करने के लिये, प्रागे बढ़ाने के लिये जब तक हम उनके लिये बाजार की सुचारु रूप से व्यवस्था नहीं करेंगे, कोई कारण नहीं नजर आते कि हम स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री के यूनिट्स को प्रागे बढ़ा सकेंगे। इन सब कमियों को देखते हुए यही कहा जा सकता है जैसा मैं ने आप को बताया कि कांग्रेस सरकार की कथनी और करनी में जमीन आसमान का अंतर था। उन्होंने जो बात कही उसे वास्तविक रूप में देश के सामने लाने की कोशिश नहीं की। चव्हाण साहब ने यह बात कही कि हमें रूरल ऐग्री-कल्चर प्रॉमिप्टेड होना चाहिए लेकिन चव्हाण साहब 30 साल इसी कांग्रेसी हुकूमत में रहे, उन्होंने ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के लिए क्या देखा और क्या सोचा ?

मैं तो जेल में बन्द था लेकिन मैं यह ड्राये देख रहा था जो कांग्रेसियों के द्वारा एमर्जेंसी के दौरान किये गये। इंदिरा गांधी ने एक अभियान चलाया कि ग्रामीण अंचलों की ओर जाना चाहिए, उस में एक एक मंत्री की कार के धामे पीछे दस-दस कारें बली जा रही हैं और एक दिन गये तो दसियों दिन उस का अखबारों में प्रचार किया गया। ये तो इनके ड्राये थे

श्री एन० राम गोपाल रेड्डी (निजामा-बाद) : माननीय सदस्य क्षमा करें, उसी की वजह से 5 करोड़ से बढ़ कर 15 करोड़ टन अनाज पैदा हुआ।

श्री राजेन्द्र कुमार शर्मा : वह हमारे सामने है। हम उसको स्वीकार करते हैं। लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि भाज प्राप लोगों का कोई अधिकार नहीं बनता है कि हमारे ऊपर कीचड़ उछालें। हमें अपनी पूर्ण धनसुर नहीं मिला है। ये कांग्रेसी भाई आखिर किस मुंह से बात करते हैं। गीहाटी अधिवेशन के अंदर हमारे देश की गरीब जनता के खून-पसीने की कमाई को किस तरह में खर्च किया गया—जिस रेजीडेंस में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ठहरी थीं—टाइम्स आफ इंडिया 17 नवम्बर, 1976 के अनुसार केवल 14 लाख रुपये की लागत से वह तैयार किया गया था और बरसा माहब जिसमें ठहरे वह केवल 7 लाख की लागत से तैयार किया गया था। ये हैं हमारे समाजवादी भाई।

अपनी बात को समाप्त करने से पूर्व मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि पिछले तीस वर्षों की सरकार ने जो अन्याय किया वह प्रदेश स्तर पर किया। भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी बेशक उत्तर प्रदेश से थीं लेकिन उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ जितना अन्याय हुआ है शायद ही किसी और प्रदेश के साथ हुआ हो। अगर स्टेटवाइज लिस्ट में देखा जाय तो उसका 16वां स्थान है। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि वर्तमान सरकार इसके लिए एक कमीशन एप्वाइंट करे और देखे कि राजनैतिक स्तर पर जो निर्णय लिये गये हैं उनमें सुधार किया जाय। जिन प्रदेशों को परसेंटेज ज्यादा दी गई है उनमें कटौती करके बैकवर्ड स्टेट्स को प्राथ-मिकता दी जाय।

मैं एक ऐसे जिले से आता हूँ जिसका प्रतिनिधित्व सबैक में कांग्रेस के पक्ष में रहा है। सबसे पहले मौलाना अब्दुल कलाम आजाद वहां से चुन कर भाये थे। उसके बाद नबाब घराने का उस पर प्राधिपत्य रहा। इस बार वहां की जनता ने मुझे चुन कर भेजा है। मैं निश्चयन करना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर कोठी आसबाब पैलेस म्युनिसिपल लिमिटेड

के अन्दर 300 एकड़ के एरिया में खड़ा है। करोड़ों रुपये की सम्पत्ति खड़ी है। वह महल भ्राज खर्च हालत में है और गिर रहा है। मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री तथा दूसरे मंत्रियों से कहना चाहूँगा कि हम कोई भी निर्माण कार्य शुरू करते हैं तो उस पर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करते हैं। हमें इस स्थान को काम में लाना चाहिए और वहाँ पर कोई इंडस्ट्री खड़ी करनी चाहिए। मैं 1970 में एम०एल०ए० या नो मैन स्टेचनबुड के सारे एम० एन०.एड के साथ एक मेमोरेण्डम भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री को भेजा था कि स्टेचनबुड के अन्दर मेडिकल कालेज का प्रभाव है, इसलिए एक मेडिकल कालेज यहाँ पर दिया जाए। मैं कोई राय नहीं कायम करना चाहता। हमारी सरकार उसके ऊपर फैसला करेगी। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा—इस क्षेत्र की तीस सालों से अर्द्धूलना की गई है। वहाँ पर यह बिल्डिंग खड़ी है, इस बिल्डिंग को सही ढंग से काम में लाने के लिए कोई व्यवस्था करें। भ्राज कहीं घड़ी का कारखाना खोलना होता है तो करोड़ों रुपये निर्माण कार्य पर खर्च होते हैं। उस पैस के अन्दर वह कारखाना खोला जा सकता है या और कोई उद्योग लगाया जा सकता है। यहाँ से केवल 90 मील के फासले पर वह स्थान है। वहाँ पर केन्द्रीय सरकार का कोई बड़ा कार्यालय खोला जा सकता है या कोई अन्य कार्य प्रारम्भ किया जा सकता है।

अन्तिम बात कहना चाहता हूँ रामपुर के अन्दर बीड़ी का कार्य बहुत बड़े स्तर पर होता है। बीड़ी के अन्दर माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने ज्यादाती की है। मैं उनसे निवेदन करूँगा कि वहाँ की लेबर क्लास और गरीब लवके के लिये जो बीड़ी के काम में लगे हैं कुछ न कुछ छूट देनी चाहिए। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री राय अशोक सिंह (बिक्रमगंज) :
सभापति महोदय, मैं फाइनेंस बिल का समर्थन

करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। अभी इस सदन में भ्राज मूंद कर समर्थन और भ्राज मूंद कर विरोध करने की परम्परा चलेगी। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ संसदीय जनतंत्र में न भ्राज मूंद कर समर्थन होना चाहिए और न भ्राज मूंद कर विरोध होना चाहिए। अभी दोनों तरफ से इसी तरह की बात चल रही है कि अगर विरोध पक्ष के लोग कुछ सही बात भी बोलें तो हमारी ओर से उसका भ्राज मूंद कर विरोध होता है और हम लोग भी कोई सही बात बोलते हैं तो उनकी ओर से भ्राज मूंद कर उसका विरोध होता है। मैं समझता हूँ ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के शासन में सत्तारूढ़ दल द्वारा भ्राज मूंद कर समर्थन ने ही इस देश को धीरे-धीरे जनतंत्र से तानाशाही की ओर ढकेल दिया। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ इस सदन के सदस्य न तो भ्राज मूंद कर किसी सरकारी बिल का समर्थन करें और न ही भ्राज मूंद कर उसका विरोध करें।

अभी जो फाइनेंस बिल हमारे सामने है उसके बारे में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से अर्थ करना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें क्या खूबियाँ हैं उनको बे अपने भावण में साफ करने की कृपा करेंगे। किसी भी बजट की सफलता को भ्रांके के लिए दो बटबरे होते हैं। एक तो उसका कीमत पर प्रभाव और दूसरे इस समाज के अंतिम व्यक्ति पर उसका क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है। अगर कीमतों पर बजट का अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ता है, कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तो कहा जायेगा कि बजट अच्छा है। अगर कीमतें बढ़ती हैं तो कहा जायेगा कि बजट बुरा है। अगर कीमतें न बढ़ती हैं और न बढ़ती हैं, कम से कम स्थिर रहती हैं, तो भी कहा जायेगा कि कुछ हद तक बजट सही है। लेकिन जो बजट पेश किया गया है और जो फाइनेंस बिल हमारे सामने है उसका अंजाम यही होगा कि कीमतें लगातार बढ़ती जावेंगी।

[श्री राम प्रचोदना सिंह]

दूसरा बटवारा मैंने यह बताया था कि समाज के प्रतिम व्यक्ति पर बजट का क्या प्रभाव पड़ता है। महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि सरकार के किसी काम का या किसी योजना का प्रभाव समाज की प्रतिम सीढ़ी पर खड़े श्राद्धी पर क्या पड़ता है इसी बात से धाका जायेगा। जहाँ तक इस बजट का सम्बन्ध है, इससे साफ है कि कीमत बांधने के बारे में अभी तक कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। मैं चाहूँगा माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी अपने जबाब के समय बतायेंगे कि इस बजट के जरिए उन्होंने कौन-कौन से कदम उठाए हैं जिनसे कीमतें बांधी जायेंगी या और चटेंगी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कीमत बांधने और घटाने में भी अन्तर है। इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार ने लगातार तीस साल तक धोखा दिया। (सम्बन्धान) मैंने शुरू में ही कहा था कि प्रांख मूव कर किसी बात का समर्थन या विरोध नहीं होना चाहिए। पीछे दाम घटाने की नीति चलाई गई, बार-बार कहा गया कि सरकार दाम घटाना चाहती है। कभी-कभी शटके में श्रापात काल के दौरान दाम घटाने की नीटकी भी की गई लेकिन दाम घटाने से दाम स्थिर नहीं रह सकते हैं या दाम घट नहीं सकते हैं, वह बक्ती चीज होती है। दाम बांधने के अन्दर दाम का घटना भी अन्तर्निहित होता है। लेकिन दाम बांधने कैसे? आप कोई सिद्धांत अपनायेंगे तभी दाम बांध सकते हैं। डा० लोहिया ने बिल्कुल साफ तौर पर इस देश को और दुनिया को बताया था कि दाम कैसे बांधेंगे उन्होंने कहा था कि कारखाने से उत्पादित माल की कीमत लागत खर्च से डेढ़ गुणा से अधिक न हो और अनाज के दाम जो घटें या बढ़ें वे आना सेर के अन्दर हों। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि मान लीजिए एक गज कपड़ा बनाने में छः आने खर्च आते हैं, तो वह छः आने का डेढ़ गुणा यानी 9 आने से ज्यादा न बिके। अगर एक यूनिट पर 40 पैसे लागत खर्च आता है, तो एक्साइज ड्यूटी, डेलाई और

दूसरे खर्च जोड़ कर 60 पैसे लेना चाहिए। अगर पैसिलीन की सुई छः पैसे में बक्ती है तो 9 पैसे उस के दाम लगने चाहिए और इस से अधिक नहीं लिया जाना चाहिए। इस तरह की स्थिति अगर हम लाते हैं तो बहुत मुनासिब बात होगी। 10 पैसे जिस यूनिट का उत्पादन खर्च है, उस में 10 फीसदी एक्साइज ड्यूटी का, 10 फीसदी दुलाई का, 10 फीसदी और दूसरे खर्च का आप रख लीजिए और अगर 20 प्रतिशत उस पर मार्जिन आफ प्रॉफिट है, तो कोई कम नहीं है लेकिन पिछली सरकार ने पूँजीपतियों के मन ऐसे बिगाड़ दिये हैं कि वे 200, 300 और 400 फीसदी से कम मुनाफ़ा नहीं कमाना चाहते और इस तरह से जनता को लूटते हैं। खास कर दवा-दारू वाले लोगों को आप देखिये, जो एलोपैथिक दवाइयाँ बनाते हैं, वे कितना ज्यादा मुनाफ़ा कमाते हैं। अगर एक आइरन केपसूल पर लागत खर्च 3 पैसे आती है तो वे उस के लिए 75 पैसे बसूल करते हैं। कितने फीसदी मुनाफ़ा हुआ, जरा आप सोचिए। इसी तरह से पेंसिलिन की सुई पर अगर 5, 6 पैसे खर्च आता है, तो उस को वे एक रुपये में बेचते हैं। जब तक आप इस तरह के लोगों पर प्रंकुश नहीं लगायेंगे, तब तक दाम बांध नहीं सकते हैं और जब तक दामों पर कन्ट्रोल आप का नहीं होगा, पूँजीपति देश की जनता को लूटते रहेंगे। कभी-कभी बक्ती तौर पर वे चीजों के कुछ दाम घटा देते हैं लेकिन आम तौर पर वे ज्यादा दाम लेते रहते हैं।

दामों के घटाने के लिए और बढ़ते हुए दामों को रोकने के लिए जो दो तीन कदम सरकार को उठाने चाहिए, उन की ओर मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय को ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ। एक कदम है आम जनता की कब संकित को बढ़ा कर, दूसरा कदम है उत्पादन बढ़ा कर और तीसरा है वितरण व्यवस्था को सुधार कर मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने आम जनता की कब शक्ति को बढ़ाने के लिए कोई कदम

उठाया है। मेरा ऐसा ब्याज है कि जो मौजूदा व्यवस्था काम करने की है, उस से आम जनता की क्रय शक्ति कभी भी बढ़ नहीं सकती है और जब रोजगार के अवसर नहीं बढ़ेंगे, तो बेरोजगारी फैलेगी। इसका उदाहरण मैं आप को दे देता हूँ। फर्ज कर लीजिए कि किसी भावमी को 100 पेंसिलीन खरीदने की जरूरत है। जो मौजूदा बाजार भाव है, उस के अनुसार उस को 125 रुपये देने पड़ेंगे लेकिन अगर आप 5 पैसे का ड्यौड़ा साढ़े सात या छः पैसे का ड्यौड़ा नी पैसे के हिसाब से उस को खरीदें, तो 9 रुपये में आप उतने पेंसिलीन खरीद लेंगे। उसको बचत कितनी हो जाएगी? उसको 118 रुपए बच जाएंगे। इसी तरह कपड़ा और चीनी भी लागत खर्च के ड्यौड़े के आधार पर ही बाजार में बिकना चाहिए। जब यह होगा तो जहाँ कोई व्यक्ति दो सेर चीनी से पहले काम चलाता है वहाँ चार सेर चीनी से काम चलाएगा। पहले जहाँ एक कुर्ते से काम चलाता है वहाँ वह अब दो कुर्ते खरीदेगा। इस तरह जो क्रय शक्ति मुझे भर पूंजीपतियों ने खांच कर रखी हुई है वह जनता के बीच फैलेगी और ज्यादा चीजों की मांग करेगा। जब वह ज्यादा चीजों की मांग करेगा तो ज्यादा चीजें बनाने की जरूरत होगी। जब ज्यादा चीजें बनेंगी तो लोगों को ज्यादा रोजगार के अवसर मिलेंगे। इस तरह से कीमत भी घटेगी और रोजगार के अवसर भी बढ़ेंगे। लेकिन अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मौजूदा हकूमत भी इस तरफ नहीं सोच रही है। जो कांग्रेस की हकूमत के समय का बजट है, उसी तरह के बजट को इस हकूमत ने भी रखा है। बिल्कुल पुरानी सरकार के पवचिन्हों पर वह सरकार भी चल रही है। यह हमारे लिए बहुत अफसोस की बात है।

हां इतनी बात जरूर है कि मौजूदा वित्त मंत्री की कठिनाई है जिसको हम समझ सकते हैं। उनके पास बचत कम था। यह बजट कांग्रेस की हकूमत ने अपने लिए बनाया था और सोचा था कि हम माच में चुनाव जीत कर आ जाएंगे और बजट पेश कर देंगे। लेकिन अफसोस है कि इसको हमें अपना पड़ा। इसीलिए इस बजट में बुराया है और इसके लिए कुछ हद तक हम अपनी सरकार को क्षमा कर सकते हैं। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री को हम पूरी तरह से मुक्त नहीं कर सकते हैं। कम से कम इस बजट में विश्वास निर्देश तो होना चाहिए था। हम अगर कलकत्ता जाना चाहते हैं और उस गाड़ी में बैठते हैं तो उसमें इंजन भी कलकत्ता जाने वाला लगा होना चाहिए। यह न हो वह दूसरी जगह जाने वाला लगा हो। इसलिए इस बजट में कम से कम नीतियों की घोषणा तो होनी चाहिए। आपके बजट से यह तो लगना चाहिए कि आपके बजट का मुंह गांव की ओर है, आपके बजट का मुंह समाज के अंतिम भावमी की ओर है। मगर यह लगता नहीं है। क्यों नहीं लगता? वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि हम छोटे उद्योग, कुटीर उद्योगों पर बहुत जोर दे रहे हैं और यह इसलिए दे रहे हैं कि गरीबी को दूर करना है। लेकिन इसके लिए कितना रुपया रखा है बजट में? केवल 45 करोड़ रुपया। यह सारे बजट का करीब करीब आधा प्रतिशत है। इतना रुपया हम देंगे और कहेंगे कि हम गरीबी के लिए काम कर रहे हैं तो इससे बढ़ कर भुलावा और धोखा धड़ी का काम और कोई नहीं हो सकता है। यहां पर मुझको एक मंत्री का ब्याज सुनकर बहुत हैरत हुई। उन्होंने कहा कि दस साल में हम गरीबी दूर कर देंगे। भरे भाई, जनता ने

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

आपको पांच साल के लिए चुन कर भेजा है, दस साल की बात क्यों कर रहे हो। पांच साल की बात बोलो। पांच साल में हम क्या करेंगे, यह बताओ। अगर हमारे यहां दस करोड़ बेकार लोग है तो कहो कि हम पांच साल में पांच करोड़ लोगों की बेकारी दूर कर देंगे।

गरीबी दूर करो का क्या मतलब है? कांग्रेस हकूमत ने गरीबी की रेखा बनायी। एक कमीशन बैठा था उसने कहा था कि जिस व्यक्ति की आमदनी बीस रुपए मासिक से कम है, वह गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे है। ऐसे लोग इस देश में 45 करोड़ लोग है। इन 45 करोड़ लोगों के बारे में सरकार की क्या योजना है, मंत्री जी इसके बारे में सफाई दें। यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है। क्या दस साल के अन्दर बीस रुपए स बढ़ा कर इक्कीस रुपया कर देने पर गरीबी की रेखा के वे बाहर हो जाएंगे, क्या इस तरह से गरीबी दूर हो जाएगी? आपका यह कहना कि दस साल के अन्दर हम गरीबी दूर कर देंगे कोई माने नहीं रखता है। दस साल कहने का हक आपको नहीं है। आपको कहना चाहिए कि पांच साल में हम किस हद तक जाएंगे। आपको पांच साल के लिए मेंडेट मिला है दस साल के लिए कैसे ले लेते हैं। मुझे संजय गांधी की इस संदर्भ में बात याद हो आती है। पटना में तब श्री जगन्नाथ मिश्र ने उनके स्वागत का आयोजन किया था। वह वहां के मुख्य मंत्री थे। श्री मिश्र ने कहा था कि पचास साल तक देश का नेतृत्व श्री संजय गांधी करेंगे और इसके बदले में श्री संजय गांधी ने कहा था कि बिहार में दस साल तक नेतृत्व बदलने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप पांच साल के लिए चुने गए हैं आप दस साल कैसे ले रहे

हैं? मैं चाहता हूं कि आप बताएं कि पांच साल में आप कितनी भूमि में सिंचाई की व्यवस्था कर दंगे, दो करोड़ एकड़ में कर देंगे या पांच करोड़ एकड़ में, पांच साल में कितने करोड़ लोगों को काम देंगे। यह चीज आप बताएं तब तो समझ में आ सकता है वना वैकुण्ठ में बोलने से कोई काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

मंत्री महोदय कोई ठोस बात बोलें। आमदनी में और खर्च में कितना अन्तर वह रखेंगे? जहां तक आय की बात है राष्ट्रपति और चीकीदार के वेतन और सुविधाओं में मैं समझता हूं कि लाख का अन्तर होगा। गांव में जो चीकीदार होता है उसको कहीं पांच रुपया वेतन मिलता है और कहीं किसी दूसरे प्रान्त में दस रुपया मिलता है। बिहार में दफादार, चीकीदार पंचायत का अध्यक्ष हूं। सात साल तक हमने लड़ाई लड़ी है। वहां कम से कम सौ रुपया माहवारी तक में उनके वेतन को ले गया हूं। कहीं पांच रुपया है कहीं दस रुपया आज भी है। हमारे बगल में उत्तर प्रदेश में दस रुपया है। आपको यह बतलाना चाहिए कि अगले पांच साल में आमदनी में कितना अन्तर आप कम करेंगे, एक और पचास तक के आयेंगे या एक या सौ का अन्तर ले जाएंगे। हम जैसे लोग चाहते हैं कि एक और दस का अन्तर रहे ज्यादा से ज्यादा। लेकिन आप से यह नहीं बनेगा। आमदनी की बात आप छोड़ें। खर्च की ही आप लें। खर्च पर तो आप रोक लगाएं। एक आमदनी अधिक से अधिक कितना खर्च कर सकता है इसको तो आप तब कर लें। यह तो आप कर ही सकते हैं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूं कि दस हकूमत में

यह करने का भी वय नहीं है क्योंकि यह जो नौकरवाही बैठी हुई है यह इस को करने नहीं देगी। यह देश की दुरमन नम्बर 1 है। पूंजीवाही ने ज्यादा बढ़ी यह दुरमन है। ये जो सैन्टेरी, डायरेक्टर भादि बैठे हैं, लेबर सैन्टेरी या इंडस्ट्री सैन्टेरी भादि ये आपस में जब मिलते है तो आपको पता है कौसी बातें ये आपके बारे में करते है, मंत्रियों के बारे में कहते हैं। बहुत खराब शब्दों का इस्तेमाल यह करते हैं। मैं उनको यहां पर नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। ये आपस में कहते हैं कि वह जो आपका मंत्री है वह बन्दर आज कैसे नाचा वह उल्लू कैसे बोला। इस ढंग की बात करते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इसकी एक वजह यह भी है कि ये आप से ज्यादा तनखाह पाने हैं। आज मंत्री को महावार दो या ड्राई हजार मिलता है और इनको 3500 मिलता है। ये हवाई जहाज में जहां चाहे जा सकते हैं, ज्वाइंट सैन्टेरी डिप्टी सैन्टेरी जहां चाहें और जितनी बार चाहें हिन्दुस्तान का चक्कर लगा सकते हैं लेकिन अगर कोई मैम्बर पार्लियामेंट किसी जरूरी काम के लिए सदन के वास्ते जानकारी हासिल करने के लिए हवाई जहाज से जाना चाहे तो वह साल में दो बार से अधिक नहीं जा सकता है।

महोदय, देश में भ्रष्टाचार की जननी हमारे अफसरों के विषेवाधिकार हैं। यह सेंच पर बिरहा गाते हैं। वह चोरी करने जाते हैं और सय्तम स्वर में गाते हैं। आई० ए० एस०, आई० पी० एस० अधिकारी समझते हैं कि हम कितना भी भ्रष्टाचार करें हमको यह हुकूमत दंडित नहीं कर सकती है। ज्यादा से ज्यादा तबादला कर देना, पंजाब से लखनऊ, लखनऊ से मद्रास। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि सदन में प्रस्ताव आए कि आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० अधिकारियों के जितने भी अधिकार हैं, विषेवाधिकार हैं, उनको खत्म किया जाए।

और जब तक इन विषेवाधिकारों को खत्म नहीं किया जाएगा डेमोक्रेसी सही ढंग से नहीं चल सकती है, ड्यूक्रेसी ही चलेगी।

16.00 hrs.

सभापति महोदय, धनबाद इलाका ऐसा है जहां से कोयला मिलता है पूरे देश को। लेकिन आपको जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि 10 फीसदी लोगों को भी धनबाद कोलियरी के इलाक में शुद्ध जल पीने को नहीं मिलता है। वहां भरिया वाटर बोर्ड है जिसको बिहार सरकार फाइनेंस करती है, किन उस पैमाने पर नहीं कर पाती है जिससे वहां के लोगों को पानी मिल सके। इस लिए वित्त मंत्री महोदय से कड़ंगा शुद्ध पानी की एक योजना जो 15, 16 करोड़ रुपए की है उसको आप पूरा करें ताकि मजदूरों को और नागरिकों को पीने का शुद्ध पानी मिल सके।

SHRI C.M. STEPHEN (Idukki) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we are now practically at the end of the parliamentary exercise on the year's budget. I could not participate in the discussions and make my contribution either at the initial stage of the debate, or when the different Grants were being discussed.

But I was trying to catch the sense of the different sections and their reactions to the budget. I was wondering whether most of the Members from the Janata party who spoke, were trying to react to the budget as such, or were more obsessed with an eagerness to do a post-mortem on what had happened during the last 30 years. Even there, I could see a difference in their emphasis. Some hon. Members belonging to certain former constituents of the Janata party were speaking of the calamity that was brought to the country in the course of the last

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30 years. Some of them confined themselves to the last decade. A few others were satisfied with mentioning about the 19 months. Therefore, I felt that in regard to the developments in the country subsequent to the attainment of liberty by us, the reaction of the different constituents of the Janata party was different, depending on what their former stand was. That apart, this budget is important, because it will give a clue as to the way the soul and the heart of the Government will react to the problems of the country. Our effort should be to understand how they are visualising the problems of the different sections. The eagerness with which they are reacting to the different problems of the different sections would give an idea of the image of what is in store for us under the administration of the Janata Party. This budget would also give an indication of what the state affairs will be at the end of the next 12 months.

Now, going through the different proposals, a feeling is left in my mind that there is a very deep and very warm eagerness on the part of the Government to find out the problems of the higher strata of society, the well-to-do section of the society rather than the problems of the lower strata of the society. They are anxious about how the Charitable trusts must be operated, the difficulties that are faced by people who are operating under the Charitable Trusts Act, switchover must take place from the present inhibition; they are anxious to solve it. They are anxious to solve the problem of the black moneyed people, who evaded all the taxes. Under the emergency—it may be one of the excesses of emergency—the Regulations compelled them to declare their assets and to declare their escaped taxes with the condition that 50 per cent of the money must be deposited by a particular date. There are many who did not do that. The Janata Government is anxious to resolve the hardship of these black-marketeers and the black money holders, who were evading the tax and who under the compulsion of the emergency were forced to declare their evaded taxes. Now these things can be enumerated. There is an anxiety to find out the difficulties, not of the common man, but the difficulties of the persons who represent the higher strata, rather the highest strata. This is very clear from a cursory perusal of the proposals that are now before us.

Yesterday some pronouncements were made by the Finance Minister, and I must welcome some of the pronouncements. He, by a strange accidental omission, had omitted to mention small-scale industries for entitlement under the incentive scheme. He could very well forget it,

although encouragement of the small-scale industry is one of the basic planks of the Janata policy. When incentive was generalised to different sections, he applied it to everybody accepting certain categories. But he just forgot to mention that the small-scale industry would be entitled to that, irrespective of the product of the small-scale industry. By the Finance Act of 1976 the small-scale industry, irrespective of the product, was given this concession of 25 per cent of the cost of the machinery and the inputs as incentive allowance. But, when the original budget came in, that portion was left aside, just forgetfulness, because the eagerness is to find out the difficulties of the black money holders the black-marketeers, rather than the difficulties of the small-scale sector and the cottage industries people. Now the amendments have come; he has found it out and he has come to rectify it. The *status quo ante* as under the Congress regime is now restored.

So far as general incentives are concerned, there is a principle involved in it. Now the small-scale industry, whatever the producer, is entitled to 25 per cent. Then what remains is the large-scale sector. The question I am posing before this House is, for the extension of this incentive to the large-scale sector which is the residual sector, what should be the deciding criterion?

Government has resorted to a negative method saying that it will apply to everybody except those included in the Eleventh Schedule, and in that Schedule they have put in watches, hand tools and things that are produced in the small scale sector. They will not be entitled, but every body else will be entitled. This incentive allowance is to be given only to that sector which is of importance to the consumer, to the country particularly when it applies to the residuary section of the industry i.e., industry minus the small scale sector. The Wanchao Commission recommended that the incentive must be given on a selective basis. You will have to examine industry by industry and decide whether the product of that industry is of social value and then give the incentive, but that principle has now been given the go-by and 25 per cent of the cost of machinery is allowed to whatever industry you are starting except those included in the Eleventh Schedule. Anybody can avail of this. Is this in the interests of the country? Have we enough capital to be wasted in such a manner. Large-scale industry will come in only where there is profit irrespective of the social cost, and you are now extending this incentive to the large-scale sector. A slip is given to them.

Government is assuming power to amend this Eleventh Schedule. If in the Eleventh Schedule a particular industry is included, it will not get the concession; if it is deleted, it will get the concession. Is it a matter to be left to the Government to decide whether to give or not to give 25 per cent reduction of the investment? It is a fiscal measure which is the prerogative of this Parliament. Is it to be delegated to the Government? In principle subject to that. This is an encroachment on the basic rights of the Lok Sabha. They are now assuming powers to give or not to give whatever they choose to whomsoever comes. Any bureaucrat can do anything. That sort of delegation is certainly against all canons of fiscal law and I raise my voice of protest against such delegation.

Here is a clause regarding closely held companies. What is a closely held company? Everybody knows that if more than 49 per cent of the shares of a company are not given to the public but are controlled and held by not more than five persons, and if the shares are not listed in the stock exchanges, it is considered a closely held company. It is a family affair. There are provisions in section 104 and the sections that fall in the Income-tax Act which say that these closely held companies must distribute and dividend the distributable income. Why? Because, going into the hands of the well-to-do people, it will bring such people into the higher bracket and the treasury will benefit by that by way of increased taxes. The Finance Minister was very much concerned about the hardship of the closely held companies and so has said that they need not distribute, it, that they are discharged of that obligation. How the Finance Minister calculated how much loss it will cost the Treasury? They are fighting like leeches with respect to the excise duty imposed on bids. They say bids is bad and that the duty should be paid.

But with respect to the closely held companies, their hardship is taken into account and you say to them: "You accumulate your wealth; you collect your assets; you convert them into bonus shares; here is a heaven opened up by the Janata Government for you and all that."

This is in principle wrong. This is a device for circumventing the taxation laws. And here is an unashamed, open and unmasked assistance and support given to the closely held companies to keep that money with them in order to defraud the nation and the treasury. This is a highly retrograde step. I appeal to the Finance Minister to reconsider this.

The residuary position of capital gains tax now is that it is given the go by. There are two factors about it. Under the new amendment that has been brought forward, in effect no tax needs to be paid as Capital gains tax. If you keep your money for more than three years, that comes under long term period. If you keep for more than three years then you are liable to Capital gains tax but you need not pay capital gains tax provided you put the capital gains either in a savings account in the State Bank of India for a period of three years or you put it in company shares. This is the amendment you are bringing. If capital gain arises on a short term capital, then there is a liability to pay tax as speculative profits. The short term is 36 months. Regarding this 36 month matter, this is not a new matter. This is a matter which was gone into by the Wanchoo Commission and here is what they say:

"We have carefully considered this matter. We are of the opinion that such gain should not be treated on par with other income. Capital gains may be partly attributable to inflationary pressures and, in any case, represent income which has accrued over a period of time. We are, however, of the view that the qualifying period for which an asset is held to be eligible for such treatment should not be too short. The qualifying period for concessional treatment of gains from long term capital assets is five years in Finland and 10 years in Norway. For real property, the holding period is stated to be three year in Spain, 5 years in Austria and 10 years in Finland. In our country, the qualifying period of holding is 24 months only in all cases. Such a short period of holding encourages speculative deals instead of promoting capital formation and contributing to a healthy growth of the economy. We, therefore, recommend that concessional treatment of capital gains should apply only to capital assets held for more than five years. Accordingly, the definition of short-term capital asset will have to be changed."

It was in accordance with this recommendation that in 1976 a provision was incorporated that in order to be entitled to this concession, one must hold for a period of five years. Now, the Janata Government is giving back this 36 month period. You keep this for a longer period and then you are getting out of it provided you deposit it in a bank:

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The Wanchoo Committee had objected to depositing in the bank also. They are very clear in their idea that this should not be deposited in the bank. If it is deposited in a bank or in the shares of a company, it will not be allowed to this concession. On this basis, an amendment was brought forward. But these things are now given the go by.

We are, in fact, giving the go-by to the concept of capital gains tax which has been nurtured through so many years against the concentration of wealth. Now, by this device, by this three years business, speculation will be rampant and this is the picture that is emerging before us. They are again anxious about the capital gains people.

Supposing I hold cert in asset which is from 1954 onwards, how its capital gains is to be calculated. The estimated value of that asset as in 1954 has to be deducted from the value I am getting today and on that the tax will be levied. The new Government say, it is a heavy burden on them; it is difficult for the officers also. Therefore, 1954-1964, for that ten-year period, the capital gains accrued is given away. There will be no tax under ten years appreciation on the capital structure and you will calculate only from 1964. There is another bonus given by the Janata Government to the persons who hold big assets from 1954 onwards. Ten years appreciation is given away and no tax on that. This is what we are now coming to.

There is another item of rural development. In principle, it is acceptable. But let the Government consider whether they are opening out a gateway for all sorts of evasions. Are you very sure that sufficient measures and provisions have been made about it? Rural development welfare measures can be of two types. Now the proposal in their budget is this. I go to the rural area, put my money there for the purpose of constructing a road, a canal, something like that, and say a goodby and come away, and therefore, that is treated as an item of expenditure. I can understand that. Even there, a principle is violated, according to me, at the cost of the exchequer. Persons who are highly placed are put in a situation in which they can pose as benefactors of the society. At whose cost? At the cost of the exchequer. If it is treated as an item of expenditure, 50 per cent or 60 per cent of the item of expenditure is going out of the exchequer and at that cost this gentleman is posing as a benefactor of the rural area. Why not get that money and get it pooled in a development fund? Why not you yourself manage to develop the rural area with that fund and why you allow

that man to pose, at the cost of the exchequer, as the social benefactor? Why have you given him this new opportunity?

Now the most wonderful thing is about the other thing. A man goes to the rural area, put up a bungalow there; he purchases a property; he acquires certain assets in the name of rural development but he does not care to part with the ownership of the property; he keeps it there. You have made a provision here that he will be entitled to claim total exemption on the depreciation as if that asset is for the purpose of running his business. If he is purchasing property somewhere else, he is not entitled to get depreciation. By this provision, the big men can go to the villages, buy some property under the garb of rural development and claim depreciation on that, continuing depreciation on that. This is the new provision which is coming in here under the cover of rural development to help out people who are highly placed.

Now I am coming on to the question of amalgamation. My friend, Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan, has mentioned something about it. There are sick mills; there are sick units. Now the proposal is that if the accumulated loss, if the accumulated depreciation is more than 50 per cent of the paid up capital and if it is not a viable unit, in that case, it can be amalgamated with the amalgamating company. Then there are certain conditions specified. They have remembered every condition, but one they have conveniently forgotten. May I ask you for whom this amalgamation is going to be effected? Only to save the national asset? That may be one of them. But what about the safety of the workers? Is it not one of the factors? Is there any provision here for that? No; there is no provision. That is one of the amendments that is coming in. There is no provision here that you must take in all the workers with all their rights. It must be a continuing concern. There is no provision at all for that. The worker is forgotten. All minute conditions, you have put in. Why not put in this condition also that, when you are amalgamating, the workers who are working in the amalgamated company must also be taken in and that it must be without prejudice to their rights? That is conveniently forgotten; any company which has got the highest losses will have a premium. Here is a company with a large amount of accumulated loss and depreciation. Here is another company which is running at a high profit. If that is brought in and if this is taken in as an accumulated loss of the amalgamated company, then you will get a concession on that; that will be treated as your loss; you will treat it as a loss for quite a number of years. Your profits will be a dis-

ted against it. You will have sold your affairs by that time. The workers will be on the streets. The fellow will have pocketed the whole money and nothing will be left of it. There is no condition provided for that. My submission is this. All good intentions pave the way to the Hell—there is a proverb like that. The intentions are all right. Your facade is all right; your appearance is all right; but behind it there are other interests. Now the road is thrown open to the manipulators who can operate in a very safe manner. That is what I would say.

Finally, I come to charitable trusts. There was a time when the Public Accounts Committee went into the matter. This is one of the methods by which black money was created. That was their finding. The Wanchoo Committee went into the whole thing and the Wanchoo Committee recommended certain provision. They said that the profits of any charitable trust, not the corpus, must be invested only in certain securities specified there. Investing in company is one that they commented against very strongly. This is what they had to say :

"Apart from the points raised by the Public Accounts Committee, we considered several other issues pertaining to tax avoidance through charitable and religious trusts. A number of restrictions have been imposed on the investment of trust property. However, there is still some scope for investing trust funds for the benefit of the persons connected with the trust or for the benefit of the businesses controlled by such persons. In order to avoid this possibility, we recommend that barring the original corpus, there should be a total ban on trusts investing any of their funds in any business concern, including a limited company."

This was the recommendation. It was this recommendation that was incorporated in the Finance Act, 1976. Now the Finance Minister feels that it is not necessary; freedom is given to invest wherever they choose. That was not 'immediately'; a three-year period was prescribed. The Wanchoo Committee recommended a two-year period; the Select Committee recommended a three-year period, and the three-year period was incorporated in the Act. So, there was sufficient time for them to switch over. But they have not done. The Finance Minister has now chosen to give them another period of three years.

Here is another thing. Acharyaji of Janta Party in fiscal matters, Mr. Palkhivala, in his pamphlet, has made

some comments and I am bringing this to the notice of the House because I have my doubts about the purpose for which this extension is being granted. Mr. Palkhivala said:

"Mr. H. M. Patel, a member of the Select Committee, put in a minute of dissent taking the liberal view that the provisions recommended by the Select Committee with regard to charitable trusts were 'unduly onerous'."

Now we have an opportunity and therefore the minute of dissent is to be incorporated in the Act.

Finally, he says: that the Act required charities to liquidate all their equity investments in shares by 31st March 1978—otherwise their entire income would be taxable—and that "Mr. H. M. Patel has very rightly postponed the date of disinvestment by three years, so that the matter may receive fresh consideration in the meanwhile." The postponement is not for the purpose the budget professes. They know better what the ideas of the Government are and Mr. Palkhivala knows much better what this is for. He says "so that the matter may receive fresh consideration in the meanwhile." So, fresh consideration will be received by and by and, finally, these charitable trusts' business is going to be allowed to continue in spite of the recommendation of the Wanchoo Committee. May I remind those who were sitting on the front benches here in the last Lok Sabha and who are now on the other benches of the future which the opposition had created on that occasion against Government for its omission in regard to early incorporation of the recommendations in an appropriate Finance Act? It was as a result of that future that the Taxation Amendment Bill was brought in and these recommendations of the Wanchoo Commission were incorporated, but these are now going to be struck down and we are going to go back to status quo ante.

Now, coming to Bidis, Mr. Patnaik has said something about a thousand bidis for one rupee and so on, but the point here is the attitude of the Government. On Bidis you are to get Rs. 45 crores and the total out-turn of cigarettes, I am told, is about Rs. 600 crores and on that your taxation measure is going to bring you Rs. 10 or 12 crores. So, cigarettes have been safeguarded. The type used by the higher class has been safeguarded but not bidis which are used by the common

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man. You are forgetting that they are meant for the common man and you are adding 1%, 2% and 3%; it is going to go on. For heaven's sake give a go-by to that. Please extend to these poor people the same solicitude which you are anxious to exhibit in the case of closely held companies, charitable trusts, tax evaders who make declarations etc.

Now, enough has been said about matters concerning the working class but nothing has been done so far. Three months have gone by and though you were loud in your protestations about MISA, nothing has been done about it, you were loud in your protestations about CDS but nothing has been done about it. The peculiar position about CDS is that the Ordinance lapses on the 22nd of this month and then there is going to be an Act. In the meanwhile, the Opposition may succeed in defeating your proposal in the Rajya Sabha. In spite of that you are going to persist in your refusal. But after the Ordinance lapses and until the new Act comes, what is the position? You have still not paid the CDS. The Ordinance is to lapse within six weeks of the re-assembly of Parliament; it is going to lapse but you are not going to do anything about it at all. That is the totality of the picture that is before us. Merely talking about 'thirty years' business etc. is not going to take us anywhere. This is a national problem.

I was amused to hear Mr. George Fernandes asking why we could not make the country self-sufficient in watches. The HMT was being used to make it self-sufficient. He forgets that the HMT was reared in the meanwhile and expanded and there are two factories, one in Bangalore and one in Srinagar.

This he forgets. He says: Why didn't you make India self-sufficient in this. The whole basis has been laid and it is for him to take off to a brighter future. What is in store for us in the course of the year? This is what even Palkhivala has said:

"When we come to the end of the current financial year, shall we find inflationary pressures contained and the estimated deficit not increased?"

There are various factors which do not serve as propitious omens".

Then, he enumerates these, but he finds conviction in one thing and he says:

"But as against these factors, we have abundance of various essential items, and thus the picture is different from what it was in 1972-74 when inflation ranged in the wake of scarcity. Coal India is sitting on a pithead stock of more than 13 million tonnes. 1.5 million tonnes of finished steel valued at Rs. 225 crores, are awaiting buyers. 23 million tonnes of foodgrains are stored in conditions which are wholeheartedly approved by rats. And there is a mountain of coarse cloth awaiting disposal. If trade and industry—including the public sector—co-operate fully with the Government, the demon of inflation can and will be conquered."

My hon. friends were saying that they were clearing the Augean stable. Let them not forget this aspect of the matter that they have inherited 13 million tonnes of coal in the pitheads, 1.5 million tonnes of finished steel valued at Rs. 225 crores and 23 million tonnes of foodgrains. And, Shri Palkhivala has relied on this stock position in his expectation that in spite of the inflation spiral that will start as a result of these budgetary measures, because of the cushion that is supplied by these built-up stocks, there need be no inflation. Let Shri Palkhivala prove to be a true prophet and that is what the working class wants, but if he does not prove to be a true prophet, inflation is going to grip us as it appears to me the Government is not prepared to take stern measures against racketeers and the persons who are responsible for spiralling up the prices. If you feel that the smugglers can be converted into good souls just by the Jayaprakash Narayan touch and the black-market will end in this country, God alone can help this country. You have got to be firm, you have to deal with them suitably. And, there, we offered our co-operation, but the Home Minister has chosen to spurn it in a most shameful manner. Our co-operation was extended not for our own sake. It was extended because we knew that the country was facing certain problems. The Government will come and go; the ultimate masters of this country will decide, as to who should govern but whoever be there, the problems of the country are before us. It is a realization of that aspect that made the Congress Party offer its co-operation, but to spurn it in a fit of arrogant glory is not the method to run this country and solve the problems that are before us; the reactions will be terrific.

In the end, I would only appeal to the Finance Minister that he should try to look to the problems of the weaker men with the same eagerness with which he is trying to understand the problems of the black-marketeers, the tax evaders, the black-money men, who evaded the tax; let him show the same anxiety for the common man also. Otherwise, let him remember that the common man who put us from that side to this side, that common man can strike him back also. This is all that I have to say.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd):
Whether by the touch of Jayaprakash Narayan the black-marketeer will go or not, but my friend, Mr. Stephen, has forgotten that by the touch of the Lok Nayak, the protector of black-marketeers, the promoter of black-marketing in the country have gone out of their 30 years rule over the destiny of the common people.

16.41 hrs

[Miss ABHA MAITI in the Chair]
Here, I am really concerned about the attitude that has been shown by the hon. Finance Minister in regard to touching, not the luxury goods, but the essential for the common people of India, I mean, the bidi. Really, I can use the word, I am really shocked to see how soon the economic consideration has over-powered the consideration of political wisdom and also over-powered the consideration for the feeling of our common people. It is the common people who have fought with us to get out a tyrannical regime. I was really shocked to see that our government, the Janata government, have touched as a luxury good perhaps, the bidi. I am sorry to say that you have made it a luxury good, but at the cost of losing the goodwill of millions of our people on whose support we have come to this House and succeeded to uproot a tyrannical autocracy. I do not know whether hundreds of political meetings held by political forces inimical to the Janata Party could have succeeded to alienate the common people from the Janata Party as this one measure has done. The wisdom and the economic consideration for which the hon. Finance Minister has done this is only, yes, I use the word, only Rs. 45 crores to get into the coffers of our government. If our government has shown a little concern about the elimination of wastage from the different public sector concerns, the elimination of corruption and other evils from our financial institutions, we can get much more than Rs. 45 crores without touching, impairing and wounding the sentiments of the common people. I would beseech the hon. Finance Minister to understand what he has done by touching the sentiments of the common

people by imposing increased taxation on bidi. He should give a second thought over the issue.

We are talking of giving incentive for the growth of small scale industries. I will request the Minister again to see whether this increased taxation on cotton hosiery goods will not ruin the cotton hosiery industry, especially, in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu.

I might also request him to see what will be the effect of the increased levy of excise duty on export films (in the regional film industry... (Interruptions) I say it should be wholly eliminated. It will have a very disastrous effect on Bengali films, Assamese films, Punjabi films, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada films,—and all kinds of regional films will be ruined. It is not a question of reducing only, this increase in tax, I should say, should be eliminated.

I have to say a few words about my party. It may sound like a gingering note to my own party men, but I cannot suppress my own conscience also. Hundred days of our Janata rule is over. In our election campaign we have told the people about price-rise under which the people were suffering extremely that we are carrying the backlog of the economic sins and mischiefs of the Congress government. 'Give us sometime, we shall tackle the problem.' 100 days, although it is not an enough time, is undoubtedly a considerable time. But the attitude of the Government I am sorry to say is strange. We are giving Calling Attention after Calling Attention, Short Notice Question after Short Notice Question, making request after request every day to come out with the explanation about the rise in prices of the essential commodities and food articles but it is strange that the Minister has not come out with the statement. This post-trick like policy will not be helpful. Janata have given us power. We should come out and say openly about the steps that we are taking to protect their interest in controlling price rise.

I have made a survey about the soaring price of food articles in Delhi market. I did not rely on the figures of official statistics found in the library or elsewhere.

[Shri Samar Guha]
I collected the figures on my personal visit to the market.

Commodities	Food articles	
	Price per kg. as in April, 77	Price per kg. on 13-7-1977
	Rs.	Rs.
Wheat	1.30	1.50
Rice (Paraboil)	1.90	2.20
Rice (Basmati)	3.70	4.00
Urd Dal	3.80	4.40
Ahrar Dal	3.40	3.90
Chana Dal	1.50	1.90
Masur Dal	3.20	3.60
Mung Dal	3.00	3.60
Mustard Oil	11.00	15.50
Dhanias	9.50	11.00
Zeera	20.00	24.00
Sarisa	5.50	6.00
Tea (100g)	18.50	21.00
Potato	1.00	1.50
Dalida	11.00	12.40
Rahu fish	12.00	16.00

I have particularly chosen food articles and I have made a survey personally of the prices that are found in the markets. People understand what is happening in other parts of the country. For that reason I want to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister that we can say so many things. We can stuff people with jugglery of our statistics but the empty stomach and the anger generated out of hunger cannot console them or control them. You have to take into consideration the feeling generated out of anger against the Janta Party. I do not say that it will be possible to reduce the prices of the essential commodities drastically. You have to do something so as to make the people feel that Janta Government is very serious, the representative of the Janta Government feel for the people and they are going to control this price h/kw.

With these few gingering words I now come to some other basic issues. After having suffered the traumatic horror of the torannical rule for 20 months, we want to do everything necessary so that in future no devil can dare to dance over the fate of our Indian people, or curtail the democratic freedom of the Indian people. Undoubtedly we have taken certain steps to expose their activities of horror and atrocities which they committed in the Indian people. Three Inquiry Commissions have been formed. Of course, these are negative measures but they do assist in the little bit of recovery from this shock and we have done this for the restoration of our faith in democracy and freedom. But we want to ensure permanent security for the future of our democracy. We have to take certain positive steps. Recently the Janta party's Janta leadership is showing a little bit of an attitude of prevarication in the matter.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) : That includes you.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I am making an introspective analysis of myself; searching myself as well. As is known very well, not only in the Lok Sabha Elections but also in the Assembly Elections, we in our Manifesto, have assured the people that as soon as we came to power we would scrap the P. rty-Sec nd Constitution Amendment. But now some people have started poking the idea; some soft words are being used. Whatever Rajya Sabha may do, let it be brought here. Let us see what our friends do. Let them be exposed to the people. Let the people be the judges. That is the first act that the Janata Government should have done. Certain permanent measures have to be taken. We have held out certain promises that a certain Bill will be brought by the next session. Some positive measures, statutory measures, Constitution Amendment Bills, should be brought forward in this session itself. We have given certain pledges to the people. We have to honour those pledges. It is absolutely necessary for us to do these things because of the traumatic horror which people suffered during the period of emergency and we should bring back to our people the sense of security for the future in regard to democracy and freedom.

For that, I suggest that certain constitutional amendments in the form of Bills, in the form of some kind of a package deal, statutory measures should be taken by the Janta Party,

I therefore suggest that firstly the Constitution should be immediately amended to see that in future no Government gets an opportunity to expropriate the Fundamental Rights of the people by promulgating Emergency;

(2) Forty-second Constitutional Amendment and all other Constitutional Amendments passed during the Emergency should be forthwith scrapped.

If any new Constitutional measure becomes necessary, that should be done in a free atmosphere and with the consent of the people.

(3) Constitutional provision should be made to ensure complete freedom of judiciary;

(4) Right of *habeas corpus* should be preserved under all circumstances;

(5) Statutory measures should be adopted for maintaining freedom of press, except under the circumstances of external aggression;

(6) Statutory provision should be made so as to debar unauthorised persons from usurping or interfering with administrative authority;

(7) Constitutional provision of Article 356 should be so amended that no democratically elected State Government can be replaced by President's Rule, except under External Aggression, violent subversion of Constitution or wilful violation of Constitution;

(8) Immediate adoption of statutory measures for introduction of Indian Ombudsman which we call 'Lokpal'.

I want all these eight-point programmes for ensuring security—sense of security—in the minds of the Indian people so that in future no devil may dare to dance again over the fate of the Indian people and also in any way jeopardise their fundamental freedom.

Sir, the Janata Party has faced the people promising them that we shall enter into a new era of reconstruction and we shall really try to usher in a new concept of economy. I am acutely giving emphasis to this because 80 per cent of our population constitutes poor people. So, if you really want to formulate concrete plans or programmes there should be a massive programme for dealing with these people. In this connection I may draw your attention to the good services which my friends,

Shri Bosu has done yesterday. If you want to succeed really, then we have to tackle the problem of corruption, nepotism, malpractices etc. found in financial institutions of our country.

Sir, I do not want to go into them intotally—it is not possible for me to go into them; it is not possible to go into the present state of happenings in the financial institutions as a whole where there is corruption and motivated investment policy to favour a class of traders, business men and industrialists. It is known to everybody that in the banking institutions, L.I.C. and other financial institutions also, bad advance is made commercially; there is a colossal wastage of public money in the name of public relation, renovation of offices, purchase of furniture, travelling allowance etc.; there is nepotism and favouritism in recruitment of officers and there was top-heavy administration and misuse of power during emergency. Sir, I will make one case study and also give a few examples as to what has been done during the Emergency. Let us take the case of United Commercial Bank.

17 hrs.

Madam Chairman, conspiratorial advances have been made to industrialists. I will name a few of them.

Rs.

1. M/s. Keshav Vanaspati of Lucknow	50 lakhs
2. M/s. Hanuman Engineering Works, Lucknow	1.50 crores.
3. M/s. Somani Steel, Kanpur	2 crores.
4. M/s. Brad Burg Mill, Bombay and M/s. Kinison Jute Mill, Calcutta	10 crores.
5. M/s. Eastern Engineering Works, Dhanbad	10 lakhs
6. M/s. Bhavnagar Vegetable Products, Ahmedabad	4 crores.
7. Agricultural advances to non-existent parties at Aurangabad	65 lakhs.

[Shri Samar Guha]

All these cases were not done inadvertently. They were done in conspiracy with the beneficiaries. The wife of one officer used to purchase bills and those bills could not be repaid.

Madam Chairman, now I will give a few instances as to how vested interests have been recruited in this bank during the Emergency. I will give you the figures of staff before Emergency and the increase in the staff strength during the Emergency. The post of Chairman of the bank remained at one before the Emergency and during the Emergency. There were two OSDs before the Emergency and during the Emergency the number rose to three. There were two Deputy General Managers before the Emergency and during the Emergency the number rose to fifteen. There were four Assistant General Managers before the Emergency whereas during the Emergency the number rose to thirteen. There were four superintendents before the Emergency whereas during the Emergency the number rose to twenty. Likewise the number of Divisional Managers rose from four to nineteen.

The above increase in the staff strength has led to a monthly increase in expenditure from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 2.11 lakhs. The prescribed qualifications for these posts were post-graduate, Ph. D., etc. but matriculates, intermediates and mere graduates were recruited against these posts. All these people are favoured people. I have some more figures with me but I would not like to take the time of the House for mentioning those figures.

Madam Chairman, I would like to say that if the Government really want to adopt a new policy for re-generation of our national economy, particularly in the rural sector, then unless these financial institutions are overhauled, their organisation re-structured and also the policy of investment and advances strictly controlled, all our attempts will be frustrated by these financial institutions.

Madam Chairman, now I will say a few words about the rural economy.

The rural nationalised banks instead of giving benefit to the rural people have become an instrument of exploitation of the rural people. Sir, in reply to one of my questions yesterday, I had received

all the figures. I asked for the total volume of the amounts deposited with the Nationalised banks at the sub-divisional level and at other lower levels throughout India, during the year 1974-75. "The total volume of money deposited with the nationalised banks at the divisional level, its utilisation for advancing loans and other credit purposes through the financial institutions in the rural areas is given below." They have given fantastic figures. I do not want to give all the figures but I will just give the total deposited money and its distribution. In 1973, the deposit was Rs. 64,697 lakhs. Out of this, the advances made in the rural areas are Rs. 22,481 lakhs. That means about 1/3 of the total deposit was utilised for the benefit of the rural people. In 1974, total deposit was Rs. 81,613 lakhs. Advances made in the rural areas are Rs. 48,669 lakhs. That is about half of the deposit was utilised. In 1975, the total deposit was Rs. 101,298 lakhs. Out of this advances given were Rs. 53,592 lakhs. This works out to half of the total deposit. I have given the figures for the sub-divisional level only. If the district level is taken into consideration, then it will work out more. It shows that you have collected money from the poor people of the country. For the development of the rural areas, you are talking a lot. You are talking about improvement of agriculture and help to agriculturists and the peasantry. Unless you have the financial resources, it is not possible for you to help either the cottage industry or the small-scale industry or develop the rural areas. What are you doing in the name of nationalised banks? These nationalised banks have become an instrument to exploit the rural areas. I have given figures for three years. They have collected money from the poor people and utilised that money for the development of urban areas. They have invested that money in the urban areas for industrialisation but the big traders and the businessmen are not investing their money in the areas. The money deposited in the nationalised banks by the people in the rural areas is utilised for building up the monopoly industry, monopoly trade, monopoly business and superstructure of the capitalist economy.

Therefore, Sir, I want the hon. Finance Minister to give an assurance that all the amount deposited at the sub-divisional level—in the rural areas—would be used for giving loans or credit for the development of the cottage industries, small-scale industries, agro-industry and agricultural development in the rural areas. I would further request him that at least a fair quantum of the money deposited

at a level higher than the district level and sub-divisional level banks should be diverted for utilisation by the rural people.

Sir, the Government have expressed their views in the budget speech that they are thinking of a new dimension on economic development, particularly, rural-based economic development. In the budget the Government have made certain allocations for the development of cottage industries, small-scale industries, agro-based industries and also for the development of agriculture. I am sure you will agree that all these allocations have been made in a piece-meal manner, not in an correlated manner, not in an integrated perspective. I do not accuse you for that because we were accustomed to an orbit of a certain pattern of economic planning. It was a concept of the centralised economic planning. Now, we are talking a lot about devolution of political power and economic power. I would like to say to the Finance Minister that it is a challenging task. We have talked about Gandhism in public meetings, about Gandhian economy and so on. Even JP has talked a lot about that. But there is no concrete plan, or programme or objective or perspective. For that challenging task you should man your planning commission with experts having a different perspective. You have to restructure planning, and reintegrate and reorient its policy and programme. It is not possible for some economic experts to give a new shape to the economic concept or planning. For that I shall request you to initiate some kind of a national debate, a national dialogue all over the country so that others could participate in that dialogue and contribute their ideas about the new concept and the new dimension of economic planning based on the Gandhian concept of devolution of political and economic power.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) : In his budget speech the hon. Finance Minister says that the massive mandate that the people had given to the Janata party in the Lok Sabha election was not only a vote against authoritarianism but also a manifestation of the people's desire for reorientation and reshaping of our economic policies so as to bring about speedy elimination of poverty and destitution and he also said that the budget for 1977-78 was a first step, however small, in that direction.

We wish we could share that feeling. People looked forward to the first Janata budget with a great deal of expectation that there would be real reorientation

of the economic policies followed in the country so long because we have seen that 30 years of economic policies had resulted in getting more and more people below the poverty line, year by year. We had hoped that steps would be taken towards alleviating the sufferings of the common people of this country. Unfortunately our expectation has not been fulfilled to the extent we desired. That is why we feel that this is a budget without a focus. In his budget speech he further says that a significant consequence of low and unevenly distributed growth has been that the proportion of people living below the poverty line is high than what it was in 1960-61 and that available data shows that this proportion had tended to decline from 1968-69 to 1973-74 but in all probability the situation has deteriorated since then. The low level of purchasing power is a reflection of the critical state of the unemployed and under employed and the vast number of landless workers and small and marginal farmers and the *status quo* has disastrous implications for our future. He says that our people rightly claim for redirection of our policies to this task and the government is fully committed to it. We are really at pains to find out what the redirection of the policy is in the budget. We cannot avoid feeling that this budget is in the same mould that we had been experiencing for the last so many years. Still we find that the main beneficiaries of the budget and the taxation proposals are the rich and corporate sector. The availability of a larger investment allowance, greater exemptions, capital gains and new exemptions which had been granted are all directed towards benefiting the rich people and the corporate sector. The indirect taxation has a wider net on the common people and not even bidi and hosiery have been excluded from the sphere of indirect taxation.

Therefore, we would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister, what are the directions which we would call to be the reconstruction or the reorientation of the economic power that this Government has adopted, which is a substantial change from the *status quo* theory, that he himself has referred to, that was being followed by the previous Government for so many years. There are certain things which are very relevant today in the context of Indian politics and economy to which I would like to draw the hon. Finance Minister's attention. I am happy that he is here. One of the problems which has to be faced in this country is the problem of uneven distribution of growth and the consequent

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

tration of economic power in the Centre. I am again referring to his Budget speech, where the Finance Minister says, "another disturbing feature of the economic situation is the uneven distribution of growth which has accentuated regional disparities in the level of development. While a number of States have recorded impressive growth rates during the last fifteen years, it is also a fact and a matter for serious concern that in this very period, nearly 1/3rd of the districts have recorded factually no growth or negative rates of growth. This is a phenomenon which has a disturbing implication in the successful functioning of our federal polity." What are the ways out? What is the direction that has to be given to the economic policy? How can this uneven economic growth be solved, how can this uneven distribution of wealth be solved? Ours is no doubt a federal polity. The States are integral parts of the entire constitutional and political set up of this country. We take it that the Janata Party believes in decentralisation, not only of political power, but also of economic power. Then we would expect that when our Constitution conceives a certain federal structure, in effect, we should not have unitary form of Government with all the economic power concentrated in the hands of the Central Government.

I would request the hon. Finance Minister and through him the Government to give a more serious thought as to what the role of the State should be in future in the gigantic task of nation building and the economic regeneration of this country.

Out of the total plan outlay of Rs. 9960 crores, as much as Rs. 5021 crores i.e. a little more than 50% will be incurred by the States and the Union Territories. The comparable proportion for the year 1976-77 was below 48%. While the size of the State Plans will go up by about Rs. 1259 crores i.e., by 33%, central assistance for the State Plans will go up only by about 28%. That means there has to be mobilisation of resources. So far as the States are concerned, we have got the experience that due to years and years of misrule and wasteful expenditure on the part of the Congress Government, the economy of the State is in doldrums. This is more so in the States where Assembly elections were held. Realising that their days were numbered, the previous Government indulged in profligate and wasteful expenditure. In the State of West Bengal, the discredited Siddhartha Shankar Ray's Government

frittered away Rs. 50 crores in the last few days of its existence, by a number of tax concessions to the rich people and so on and so forth. Now, therefore, the problem that remains is that of mobilisation of resources. I would request the hon. Minister to look into this matter.

Therefore, the question of proper Centre-State relationship in the matter of distribution of economic power and economic wealth in this country has to be looked into in depth and that has assumed very great importance. The States are given great responsibilities in implementing plans. But where are the resources? Should they always look up to Delhi for financial backing? When there is a price rise due to increase in money supply, the States have no say in the matter. States earn foreign exchange. Have they any say in the matter of distribution and utilisation of the foreign exchange? No; they do not have any say in that. Therefore, the point is, in matters of nation-building, when the resources are available, should it be only in the hands of the centre? I am not saying this in a spirit of confrontation with the centre. But we feel that this is a matter where guidelines should be laid down, proper provision should be made and these decisions should be taken by proper discussion at national level. That is why the new Finance Minister of West Bengal has called for a national debate on the question of diffusion of economic power from the centre to the States so that there is proper involvement of the States in the implementation of the plan programmes and for everything Indian Airlines should not be the beneficiary, because the ministers have to make sojourns to Delhi every month for getting the funds. Therefore, I would like to find out from the minister whether he is thinking of setting up a forum for a review of the problems of the State and whether he will kindly tell us as to what the thinking of the Central Government in this matter is. In the context of talk of decentralisation of power, this assumes very great importance. We want to be a willing participant in the implementation of the plan. We want cordial relations with the centre. We are not against the centre. But when we say that we have a federal polity, we must have a federal structure in the true sense of the term. We must not continue to do what the previous government did, namely, having more and powers concentrated in the hands of the centre and people having to come to Delhi for every little thing like an industrial licence etc.

The next important point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the serious problem of price rise. The Finance Minister himself has taken the pains to mention it in his budget speech :

"Rising prices have further accentuated the hardship faced by the common man."

But, what is the solution? Between March 77 and June 77 there is an increase in wholesale price index to the extent of 3.8%. I know there are unwholesome legacies of the past, but three months have elapsed. You have to do something. The prices of essential commodities are increasing. What are you trying to do about it? Where is the direction in the budget or the financial proposals to show that an attempt is being made to tackle this problem with all the seriousness it deserves? As the Finance Minister himself has said in the budget, it is not a vote against tyranny only. It is a vote for economic independence and economic liberation from the clutches of big capitalists, traders, monopolists and landlords. He has adverted to the problem, but where is the solution? Whenever inflation is raging, we find that like the previous government, this government also is only thinking of ad hoc and piecemeal measures. There is no anti-inflation strategy. Like the previous government, this government also is trying to meet shortages by imports. If there is shortage of edible oils or cotton or any other commodity, import it. This is not the way to solve inflation because it results in extensive expansion of money supply.

Therefore, you cannot rectify one mischief by another mischief. By imports only you cannot solve the problem of inflation. During the Congress regime whose policies were decided by class bias, anti-inflationary measures meant passing the burden on to the common people of this country, and this resulted, as you all know, in the tax being levied on the ordinary people of this country in the name of combating inflation. A theory was at last propounded that if there is more pay packet for the workers and the common people, inflation will be more accentuated and we found how the employees' pay packet was impounded, how the workers, purchasing power was reduced, how there was wage freeze, how there was bonus freeze and how the CDS came. But even then the prices continued to rise. What is the policy of the Government so far as that is concerned? We would like to know from the Finance Minister whether it is still the view of the Government that according to them inflation is caused if

the common people of this country have the purchasing power. Is this the policy of the Government not to redeem its pledge given during the elections that CDS amount would be refunded? By doing this you are losing the credibility of the people of this country. You have promised many things. What about bonus? What about the LIC bonus? What about the other dues of the working class? The assurances given to the people are not being kept. Therefore, I respectfully submit that the deficit financing in the form it is practised now is welcome. From Rs. 72 crores, it has come now to Rs. 93 crores. The modifications that the hon. Finance Minister suggested are welcome. But still we want that bidis should be exempted from tax, the hoisery goods should be exempted from tax and the CDS amount should be refunded. Then the deficit financing will be more. We are borrowing Rs. 800 crores against the foreign exchange we have in this country. This is the position today. By this process you cannot control the price rise in this country. Therefore, we have found very unhappily that the same system of taxation of the poor and concessions to the rich is being followed. You have provided for Rs. 130 crores of new indirect taxation on the common people of the country in the form of excise duties and you have given concessions to the extent of Rs. 200 crores to the rich people in the country in the corporate sector. Therefore, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to give very serious thought to this matter. On the question of CDS and bonus I want that the pledges given by the Janata Party to the people should be redeemed. They had given an assurance to the people of this country and I can assure him that if this pledge is not redeemed, the working class will lose its faith in this Government—there is no doubt about it—and they cannot surrender their rights to their entitlements just because somebody in the North Block or the FICCI thinks that these amounts should not be granted. Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister to look into this matter very carefully.

With regard to small industries and rural programmes, please see that in the name of setting up of small industry you do not look at only the bigness of the concern. The big concerns may set up their ancillary units in the small sector. There is increase in the power of those big sectors. Therefore, we should look at the persons who are going to set up the industries in the small sector and not the big concerns which will get the benefit of it. In the rural programmes you cannot possibly succeed without a proper land reform,

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which is a far cry even now. We do not find any real effort being made in this direction.

With regard to unemployment, you have to tackle it more seriously. Some sort of allowance has to be given to the unemployed. You have promised that. Therefore, my request to the hon. Finance Minister is to give serious thought to it.

Specially with regard to price rise and the Centre-State relationship, I hope in his reply he will deal with these matters and let us know what the Government is thinking on these matters.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI (Jorhat): Firstly, I am happy that the hon. Finance Minister has made certain modifications while introducing the Finance Bill. But the whole budget is tilted in favour of the monopolists, big houses and big businessmen. It is an anti-Janata and anti-people budget. It is most disappointing. It has not inspired any section of the people. It would inspire only the big houses, the corporate sector and big businessmen.

I would like to quote certain views expressed by the economists. Mr. Balasubramanian, editor of the Eastern Economist has described the budget as having the same dizzy characteristics as the Janata party. The editor of the Statesman says that in the budget there is a notable absence of a new thinking on most of the important issues of fiscal policy. He says that the lack of decisive initiative during the last 3 months of Janata rule has created a suspicion that the proposed economic changes may not, in fact, be as radical as promised.

We have not seen any new departure in the budget, though the Janata party has made lot of promises to the people. The country has been making steady progress no doubt, in spite of the fact that it has passed through many difficulties, crises and digressions as well. We are proud that today, our country is capable of meeting all the challenges. The country has entered the industrial and economic phase and is in a take-off stage. The country which could not produce small machinery in 1941, is now capable of producing the most sophisticated weapons. Our Indian entrepreneurs have started joint manufactures not only in countries of Asia and Africa, but also in most advanced countries like U.S., Japan and Germany. We have got the third largest manpower in science and technology. Yet an attempt has been made by certain top leaders of the Janata party to paint a dismal picture of our economy and to

decry our own achievements. I do not want to claim any credit for the work of the Congress during the earlier years; but such credit must go to the Indian people, workers, peasants, scientists, doctors and others. By attempting to decry the Congress rule, you are decrying your own people, peasants, scientists and others. By decrying it, you have weakened the morale and self-confidence of our people. This will go against our own interests; and the nation cannot emerge stronger, if you do it.

With the change of government—it is for the first time in 30 years that government here has been changed. Changes did take place in many States, though the performance of the States was not satisfactory. We hope that in the Centre, the new government will do well; and I wish it well. But the performance in the last few months is not inspiring. It is most disappointing. It has not given any relief to the worker, poor, people, peasants or middle classes who have voted it to power. They were expecting much from the new government. The budget has not been able to give any relief to these sections.

The greatest beneficiary of the government's economic policy so far, is the big business; the corporate sector, monopolists; smugglers, hoarders and profiteers. They are the greatest beneficiaries of the Janata rule of 100 days. It is not the poor peasant, it is not the workers, it is not the middle classes who have got any relief. The burden on them has increased. Prices have been increasing like anything. All the Members have referred to it. Prices of essential commodities and of food-stuffs have been soaring like anything. And the government has not taken any steps. I do not see any determination on the part of the government. It has remained an idle and a helpless spectator. An impression has been created in our minds that there has been some sort of a collaboration between the Janata party on the one hand, and the black-marketers, hoarders and profiteers on the other. Just within a few days of your assuming power, the prices started rising, as if there is an understanding "you assume power; we will raise our prices and profits."

You are talking of the removal of the psychosis of fear. You have removed it and restored the political rights. But what about the economic rights? The psychosis of fear has been removed from the minds of the smugglers, black-marketers and profiteers, also. So, they have started indulging in their

nefarious activities, as if they are now free to do hoarding and profiteering. This removal of fear psychosis we could also do.

Yes, it is a fact that you have restored the political rights. I have no doubt about it. I will congratulate you for that. But, what about the economic benefits? People are more concerned about the economic benefits than the political rights. You have restored the political rights. It is easier; it can be restored by mere legislation. We also introduced all these rights, and people were enjoying all these political rights. It is not as if for the first time you have given the political rights. All long, for 28 long years, the people were enjoying these political rights. Even then people were not satisfied with our Government. Why have people changed us? Because, the people were not satisfied with us, even though we have done something for them. We had also made certain promises. But we have not been able to keep those promises. We have made a lot of planning also. In fact, the five year plans were made in order to help the poorer sections of the people, in order to raise the standard of living of the people, in order to remove poverty, in order to meet the unemployment problem. But we have not been able to solve all those problems. It is a fact that there has been more concentration of wealth, that there has been more disparity between the rich and the poor, the rich have become richer and the poor poorer. But, what is the policy you have enunciated now? Your policy also will make them more richer than what they are now, your policy will also lead to more concentration of wealth in the hands of a few people.

Then, I would like to deal with some other points. An hon. Member (belonging to the AIADMK was referring to the division of economic powers between the Centre and the States. As it is, the States have very limited resources even though it is the States which contribute a lot of money by way of export of materials. Yet for every small matter now they have to come to the Centre. That is the problem. That leads to wastage of both time and energy. I hope the new Government will look into the matter and see that the States also enjoy certain rights in the economic field.

Coming to rural industries, it is not as if we have not given any emphasis to small scale industries. We have given importance and emphasis to the small scale units. In order to substantiate this point, I would like to give certain statistics. In 1961 there were only 35,000 small-scale units. Now we have more

than 4 lakhs units, a very big increase. The banking facilities have gone up from Rs. 645 crores in 1972 to Rs. 1,260 crores in 1976, an increase of 95 per cent. The assistance of the State Finance Corporations has gone up from Rs. 54-14 crores in 1972-73 to Rs. 91-89 crores in 1975-76, an increase of 90 per cent. In spite of all this, who were the beneficiaries? Not the people for whom they were meant. It is not that we have not given any emphasis to the rural sector, but the benefit went to those for whom they were not meant. So, we have to change the whole attitude, the whole machinery. If you are having the same machinery which we have had, the same attitude for the people who are entrusted with the implementation of the policy, I do not think you will be able to achieve those targets. The way in which you are functioning raises doubts whether you are going to serve the interests of the people or those of the monopolists and richer sections of the people. A few days ago you have appointed the Taxation Review Committee with Mr. M. K. Pakiwalia as Chairman. No doubt he is a renowned lawyer, but his views, his commitments, are known to everybody. This is what he says about monopolies:

"Our demagogues use the word 'monopoly' in a savage, distorted sense".

Further, writing about the present Budget he says:

"What we call 'big' business is in truth pathetically small in the context of the modern emphasis on economic methods of scale and technological methods of mass production."

So, what we call a big house is a small house according to him. We know his views, his commitments, his links with the big houses. In spite of that, you have appointed him Chairman of this Committee. What can we expect from a man like him?

Then, I come to regional disparities. I come from Assam which is a part of the northeastern region, a most sensitive area, consisting of hilly areas. It is completely backward. During the British days also it was neglected; after independence, we did not get what was due to us. From this Government we have not got anything. Mr. Fernandes said the other day that during the British days thousands of miles of railways were constructed, but during the previous regime only 100 miles were constructed per year. But are you going to construct a thousand miles this year? You are not giving a single inch to the northeast region which consists not only of Assam, but of eight States.

[Shri Tarun Gogoi]

As you know, Assam is a State where flood has been an annual feature. Every year hundreds of acres of land are eroded, the paddy fields are damaged to the extent of thousands of acres and there is also loss of human life as also cattle. In spite of that, you have not made any provision for the control of the Brahmaputra. We have been demanding all along that the Brahmaputra Flood Control Commission should be taken over by the Centre, but I do not see any initiative on your part to take it over.

Only two States, Gujarat and Assam, produce crude oil which is a most valuable asset for the whole country. We have a grievance that this raw material has not been properly utilised. Millions of cubic feet of natural gas is burning and going waste, without being utilised. In the matter of refineries and chemical industries also, we have not got our share from the Centre. For a State with the largest reserve of crude oil we have the smallest refinery, with only 75 million tonnes. States which have not a drop of crude have got refineries with capacities of three and six million tonnes. Last year we were promised that the refinery at Bongaigaon would be expanded, but I do not see any proposal of this Government for such expansion.

You are talking of the rural sector, but you are not laying any emphasis on the distribution of land to the landless people nor have you given any importance to giving relief to the poor people. We might not have succeeded in that, but you do not seem to take any interest in it.

Shri Biju Patnaik talked about bidis, if, while he was in jail, he smoked bidi, it was just for fun. We are not talking of people who change from cigarette to bidi, but of people who cannot afford to smoke cigarettes. So, I am talking of those people who have no other alternative but to smoke bidi. Mr. Patnaik is earning lakhs and lakhs of rupees.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : I hope the hon. Member knows that bidis are produced in my State and Madhya Pradesh only. So, I have more knowledge about that than the hon. Member.

SHRI TARUN GOGOI : That is true, but he does not feel the pinch of the bidi smokers.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : But they still vote for me and not for you. I still get all the votes of the bidiwals.

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRADHAN (Deogarh) : Madam, Chairman, I support the Finance Bill. Any Government's duty is to provide the

people with cheap food and clothing for purchase. That is the primary duty for which the Government must collect money and for that there must be taxes. The Department which collects the money is the Finance Department and that is why, they have brought forward this Finance Bill.

I have very intensively heard the speeches of the hon. Members. Some say that it is a bourgeois Budget; others say, it is not befitting to the Janata Party's policy and hence it is not according to the Gandhian principle. I say that the purpose of this Bill can be interpreted in either way. Had there been any other party in power, I apprehend that they would not have given a better Finance Bill than this. So, although I have no quarrel against any of the speakers, yet I hold that they are not right.

The Finance Department is the Department that collects money through taxes and by minting money and printing notes. If this Department does not have control over finances, then there will be inflation. People rightly say that there has been much inflation and because of that price rise is there.

For the last few years there has been price-rise and hence it is very difficult on the part of the consumers to purchase goods. It is a true fact that there is a price rise and the Government's duty is to control this high-price. But how to control it. Is there any system? Is there any policy? There is no check on the part of any Government not only in India, but in the entire world to check inflation.

There is no old system of keeping bullion reserve either in the form of gold or silver or in any other form and therefore an order will be issued that money to the value of such and such extent should be minted or notes printed. There is no system not only in India, but also in the entire world. There is no control on the part of any Government to go on printing notes. If the Government does not have control on minting money or printing notes, this inflation coupled with price-rise is bound to come. It is obvious that the previous Government is responsible for this. But it is not the Government alone that is responsible for this inflation, is also caused due to misuse of money in various ways both by Government, Government agencies private institutions and individuals. Much money is embezzled in the form of donations, subscriptions, tips, bribery, and interception.

So in this direction, money is properly spent only 50% for production purposes and 50 per cent is misused, misapplied,

Therefore, whatever money is spent, whatever money is circulated in the society on behalf of the Government only, 50 per cent is spent well for production purposes. The calculation is that so much money has been spent and as a result of that the production would be so much, but because 50 per cent money is well spent, the production becomes not 50 per cent but 10 per cent less; the production is 40 per cent. When we spend 100 per cent money for a particular purpose, the production we get is only 40 per cent. It is the general rule of the market that when the production and the money circulation is equal, the price is controlled. When the production is too much and the money circulation is less, the price is very much lowered and it is very hard for the producers. When the production is less and the money circulation is double, triple or four times, there is a price rise and the consumer is hard hit as a result thereof. The producer or the seller dictates terms.

After Independence, thousands of crores of money has been spent for production purposes, but as is well-known to each and every person, that the money is ill-spent because of corruption, bribery, nepotism and favouritism the result is less production and more circulation to the consequence of spiral rise of prices.

As I have said earlier, only 50 per cent production is available in the market and a hundred per cent money is circulating. If the Janata Government wants to check the price rise, it must control the misuse of money by itself, by its partners, by so many companies, by so many corporations, by individuals, by officials, by political parties, by the private persons who are not connected with the Government at all and even by the persons who are taking money from the Government from the banks. I will give you one example. For the last so many years, in the name of small cultivators' scheme, money is given to the people. There is a fifty per cent rebate to dig wells. People take money, and we have the record which shows that hundreds and thousands of rupees have been lent out to small cultivators to dig wells to irrigate their files and produce so much rice, wheat, grains, etc. But if an inquiry is held, it would be proved that only ten percent money has been spent for that purpose, and only seven per cent production is available and the rest of the money has gone for nothing, has been ill-spent or mis-spent, in bribery, embezzlement and interceptions. How can any Government or anybody check the price rise under these circumstances? The hon. Members on the Opposition have been criticising that, within a period of three months, the Government has not been able to check the price-rise. Of course, the price-rise has not been so much as it

was two or three years back during the regime of previous Government. It rises and falls it is natural. Even if these people (opposition) come and sit here, and we (treasury benches) go to the other side (opposition) I will not criticise them, because I know this society well, I know the economics of, this society, I know the Government machinery well, so that I will not put the blame on any Government, why a particular Government, within a period of three months or even one year, are not controlling the price-rise. It takes a longer time to check price-rise. So, my point is that this Government must control the machinery in various branches, the government departments, corporations, and companies, and check corruption, embezzlement, interception with iron-hands to stop misuse of public money and thereby check price-rise and give happiness to the masses.

Again, this price-rise is due to the lethargy of individuals, lethargy of the masses. They take money; some have their own money, but they do not work, they do not produce what they ought to produce.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member may try to conclude. Only two or three minutes more.

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRADHAN: I should get more time. Some Members have been given 30 minutes. I have only begun; I have not spoken anything....

18 hrs.†

MR. CHAIRMAN: He can continue tomorrow. But if he wants to finish, he can take another two or three minutes.

SHRI PABITRA MOHAN PRADHAN: My appeal to the Government is that they must check corruption to the greatest extent, with all sternness, and if that is done, the price-rise will be checked and prices will come down gradually, not within one or two or three months, but it may take one year or two years or three years. Let it take three years or four years. I have no complaint. But this misuse of money is bribery, etc. must be controlled.

Now I come to the 'eradication of poverty'. Poverty cannot be wholly eradicated in any society. I am a sufficiently aged person and I have experience both of the society and of Government. I challenge anybody in the world to eradicate poverty fully. Neither a Communist society nor a Socialist society nor an

[Shri Pabitra Mohan Pradhan]

Individualistic society nor a Gandhian society and nor our Janata society can eradicate poverty cent percent. Smt. Indira Gandhi had said that she would eradicate poverty but she failed. Instead of poverty being removed, the poor were removed from the world. Finally, she has been removed. Nobody in this world can do it. You can improve the condition of certain persons but you cannot completely eradicate poverty; you can take it from me as the Gospel truth.

MR CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may continue next day.

The House stands adjourned till 1 O'clock on the 18th July, 1977.

18 00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, July 18, 1977 (Ashadha 27, 1899 (Saka)).