

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : It is the silence that is perplexing us... (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What do you expect me to do from the Chair? This is a thing which you should take up with the Speaker in his Chamber. Even so, I have allowed you. That has gone on record. That is enough.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Can I also go on record?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : What I want to say is that you are now the Speaker of the House. Would you be so good to convey to the Speaker that you are very anxious that the matter is brought before the House because the whole country wants to know what is behind the death of Mr. Nagarwala in the jail? This is really scandalous.

श्री शशिभूषण (दक्षिण दिल्ली) : अगर नागरवाला अपनी बसियत में इनका कुछ जिक्र कर गये हो, तो हमें वता दीजिए।

14.06 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET, 1972-73 GENERAL DISCUSSION—*Contd.*

SHRI K. GOPAL : I was talking about private money-lending which was prevalent in the villages. We cannot at this juncture do away with private money-lending altogether. Therefore, I suggest that any transaction which is of the value of Rs. 1000 and over should be registered. This will not only bring out the black money but also we will get income tax and we will also be alleviating the sufferings of the poor agriculturists.

Now, I come to the question of ceiling on incomes. To-day the amount of black money that is in circulation is estimated at Rs. 1400 crores. It may be much more. How are we going to bring it out? No legislation can bring out the black money. Therefore, I suggest a ceiling on both the rural and urban properties should be there and ceiling on incomes should also be there. Those who are employed, especially those who are No. 1 either in the commercial organizations or in Government service, should not get a salary exceeding

ten times the lowest paid in that particular establishment. This will bring down the disparity.

I am coming to the question of perquisites. Last year the Finance Minister said that a ceiling on perquisites to the extent of Rs. 1000 will be there. But do we have any effective machinery to assess the perquisites, especially, of those who are in commercial establishments? We should have an assessment and I suggest that we should have an effective machinery to assess the perquisites whether enjoyed by the executives in the commercial firms or in the Government service.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Also by the Ministers.

SHRI K. GOPAL : About educational concessions which you are giving to the Scheduled Castes and Backward Communities, I am not against them. I want them to continue. But, at the same time, a lot of other people and other castes are not enjoying any concessions. Therefore, I wish that the society be divided into two parts—Mental labour and manual labour. This is just a suggestion I am giving which can be developed. So, anybody who is economically backward should be given concessions. Otherwise, we cannot justify ourselves for extending concessions to those who are really backward.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour) : Do that in the next Elections for getting funds.

SHRI K. GOPAL : Another thing also. The distribution of essential commodities, especially foodgrains and other consumer articles should be nationalised. I say this because.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Should be free.

SHRI K. GOPAL : The paddy-grower is not getting a good price. He gets a lower price and the consumer also does not enjoy the benefit. But those who are in between the grower and the consumer enjoy all the benefits. That is why I suggest that distribution of all essential commodities and foodgrains and other consumer items should be nationalised.

I am coming to monopolies. We have been saying that we should discourage mono-

poly. We should not allow monopoly on anything, but, at the same time, we find the activities of some monopolists are not curbed, but, on the other hand, they are allowed to go scot-free with whatever they do. They are allowed to diversify. Industries like oil, tobacco, etc. should be taken into consideration.

As far as tobacco is concerned, I see the tobacco business in the country is in the hands of foreign monopolists and they are not able to give the consumer what he wants. I say this because when we impose the excise duty, tobacco has been classified into five divisions, the lowest category being Rs. 10 and below. We have imposed excise duties also but no foreign manufacturer is giving cigarette to the consumer at a fair price. To-day the lowest price of a popular brand is somewhere between 30 and 40 paise. Certainly, we can give the consumer a cigarette which costs 20 to 25 paise but the manufacturer is not prepared to do it. This I know very well because I was also connected with the tobacco industry for about 15 years and I know what is happening. I would make this request to the Finance Minister. When he impose excise duty, he should see to it, that the cigarettes costing 25 paise and 20 paise should be produced by these companies. At least 50 per cent of their production should be of this price category.

I come to my part of the country, Tamilnadu. I wish to say something about the match industry, which is facing a very grave crisis. More than a lakh of workers are employed in this industry. Till 1968, they had the band-rolling system and physical control over the matches. But in 1968, the Government decided to remove the band rolling system. According to them, they were importing paper worth about Rs. 80 lakhs. The overhead, I understand, came to about Rs. 1½ crores. Since 1968 they have done away with this band-rolling system. But we find that tax evasion is there. I want to make one suggestion and it is this. I suggest that either this band-rolling with physical control should be brought in or excise duty on veneers and splints should be there. The raw material is chloride which is consumed in the match industry. They can tax that commodity. This will result in avoidance of taxes.

The small industries are facing closure in Tamilnadu. Unless the Finance Minister

comes out with concrete proposals to relieve the suffering of the people, more than a lakh of workers will be thrown out of employment.

Finally, Sir, my friend from the DMK, Mr. Manoharan was giving a very eloquent and brilliant speech. But, I find, there is no substance in it. He was going on saying about the States autonomy, about more powers for the States and all that. I do agree with him that States should have more powers. He went on comparing Tamil Nadu with Bangla Desh and I do not know why he preferred to bring in Bangla Desh...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: He should have said, he wanted more money.

SHRI K. GOPAL: I do not know why he was going on comparing with Bangla Desh. In the same breath, he said, he did not want secession. After all, Sir, Bangla Desh issue was entirely different.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is a political question, not a budget question.

SHRI K. GOPAL: I also come from the same area and so I have to say something on what he said, Sir. He referred to two ministers as charity boys. He should have confined himself to the Budget. But he talked about so many other things. He talked about the Rajamannai Committee report. In the Tamilnadu State Assembly itself they have not discussed the Rajamannai Committee report so far. They have appointed another Committee to go into the details of the Rajamannai Committee Report. That itself, I think, shows that they have not seen the light of the day yet. Therefore, I do not know why he wants to quote the report of the Rajamannai Committee Report in this House. He wanted more powers for the States. This is a question which is not peculiar to Tamilnadu alone. All State Chief Ministers can sit together and discuss this. Instead of that, he is making the issue, as if this is something particular to Tamilnadu alone.

They have powers for lowering the ceiling; they have done it. They have powers to nationalise road transport; they have done it. They have powers to sell lottery tickets; they have done it. He talked as if he was making a concession when he said that he did not

[Shri K Gopal]

want secession. It is not on the issue of secession that they were voted to power. It is only because they gave up the demand for secession that they were voted to power. I appeal to the hon. Member Mr. Manoharan, who is a sober and learned gentleman. I appeal to his good reason, to give up all this sort of talking and go with the tide of the country. Thank you.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVAI (Rajapur) Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, by Convention any matter under the sun can be discussed in the debate on Budget proposals. The sky is the upper limit. I would, however, like to restrict my comments only to the economic and the financial consequences of these Budget proposals presented to the House.

MR. D. PUYY SPLAKIR You will be more effective that way.

SHRI PILOO MODY He believes in ceiling, Sir.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVAIL Government talks about ceiling but does not implement it, we do. I never expect Shri Piloo Mody's party to do that. This is the first post-war and the first post-election budget. Therefore, quite naturally, before the presentation of this budget, the entire climate in the country was surcharged with a mixed feeling, it was a feeling of hope and a feeling of fear. A feeling of hope, of course, only in the minds of those who had accepted the pious intentions of the Congress and hoped that the budget would be an instrument of implementing the professed socialist policies of the Congress. There was also the lurking fear that either on the one hand there would be high taxation or on the other there was the likelihood of a very heavy dose of deficit financing.

If we just look at the budget documents, apparently it seems as if the deficit financing is not of a very high order. But I must candidly admit that the so-called low deficit financing that has been actually mentioned in the budget documents is merely an optical illusion. It is apparent, and not real. Prior to this budget, mini-budget were presented, and the effect of all the earlier mini-budgets has already been incorporated in the budget that is presented over here. The resources that accrues as

a result of those mini budgets have also become part and parcel of this budget. Therefore, only apparently, the budget gives the impression that deficit financing has been reduced to a very small order. But if we look at the deficit financing and the burdens that are going to come up, we shall find that though by manipulation of accounting a low deficit has been envisaged, in times to come even this deficit financing will grow, and as the deficit financing grows, the inflationary pressures on the economy will also grow. There will be more rise in prices, and there will be dwindling of the living standards of the people. When the inflationary pressures grow because of the rise in prices, the non-developmental expenditure of the Government is bound to increase and as the non-developmental expenditure of the Government increases again more inflationary pressures would be exerted, and there would be more rise in prices and again there will be further dwindling of the living standards of the common people. I would like to draw this inference on the basis of facts and figures.

67 per cent or almost two thirds of the total expenditure of the Government has been on non-developmental expenditure. Here are the staggering figures. In 1950-51, the non-developmental expenditure of the Central Government was to the tune of Rs. 291.5 crores. In 1960-61 it was of the order of Rs. 541.5 crores. In the budget figures of 1970-71, it was Rs. 2152.9 crores. This is a trend that is likely to continue. Again there are levies on kerosene and cigarettes, on steel and aluminium products, and the increase in the freights and season ticket rates already proposed in the railway budget will mean additional burden on the common people, and as a result of that, the slogan of *Garibi Hatao* will really become meaningless to the vast masses. There is more than one reason for this.

The budget will not help in accelerating the income generation. The trend in the fall of growth-rate in the last few years is most astonishing. In 1969-70, the growth-rate in this country has been 6.8 per cent, and in 1970-71, it has come down to 3.7 per cent, and during the initial months of 1970 it was just 3 per cent. That is the picture that is being presented. There is every indication that the same trend may continue. Therefore, I feel that there will be no acceleration of the process of generation of incomes and wealth.

Look at the staggering figures of the backlog of unemployment at the end of almost every Five Year Plan. At the end of the First Plan, the backlog of unemployment was 5.3 million. At the end of the Second Plan, it was 9 million, at the end of the Third Plan, it was 12 million, and if we take the period 1966-1971 in the Fourth Plan, the backlog was 14 million.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Only registered urban unemployment

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATI Of course, there is also a concealed unemployment in the rural areas. If you take that into account—it is something like trying to find out what is the extent of the tax evasion, if you look only at the income-tax figures, what is avoided and which is mentioned in the papers is only one aspect of the problem, only the marginal aspect whereas what is actually submerged like an iceberg is substantially larger. These are the figures I have quoted from the Plan reports which are published by the Planning Commission. Therefore, I take it for granted that these statistics are reliable.

I feel there will be no acceleration of generation of income and the rate of growth is going to be low because one of the factors responsible for that, as stated in the Economic Survey, is under-utilised and unutilised capacity of production which is fairly large. We have been witnessing the spectacle of closure of factories and textile mills. While on the one hand, we are talking of *garibi hatao* and creating new employment opportunities in rural and urban areas, on the other, the quantum of funds made available for creation of job opportunities remains substantially unused. Industrial capacity remains largely unused and under-utilised. This problem also has to be tackled.

Apart from the various aspects to which I have made a reference while dealing with the call attention motion on closure of textile mills—I do not want to repeat all that—there is one significant aspect to which I would make a concrete reference. On one occasion, during the debate on the Bill on Industries (Control and Regulation) Bill, I had raised certain issues regarding closures. I raised the specific issue of the closure and liquidation of a very important engineering

undertaking Alcock Ashdown, as an illustration. I said on that occasion that there was a total lack of co-ordination between the Finance and Industrial Development Ministries on the one hand and the Departments at the State level. I was told there was co-ordination. When I raised this issue of the Alcock Ashdown undertaking which is defence-oriented and which was getting liquidated with the matter pending before the High Court, the Industrial Development Minister in this very House gave a very categorical answer to the pointed question posed by me that there is co-ordination between the various Ministries and departments. He also said that he proposed to convene a joint meeting of the representatives of the Maharashtra and Gujarat States and of the Finance and Industrial Development Ministries here to consider the issue of Alcock Ashdown. In spite of this categorical assurance on the floor of the House, no such meeting was convened and as a result the High Court permitted liquidation of the undertaking. Following that, the union in that particular industry has taken advantage of a legal procedure and has applied to a full Bench. The matter is still pending.

I have quoted this particular instance to indicate that when mills or factories are closed, even though they are defence-oriented, though the Government is committed to take over these industries and industrial concerns, in reality it is not able to do that. As a result, far from providing and creating employment opportunities to the rural and urban population, even the workers already engaged in these industries are thrown off.

In this context, I may make a reference to the cotton textile industry. Here we had the tragic spectacle of 81 textile mills getting closed down, rendering 51,000 textile workers unemployed. We must try to find out what are the root causes of this problem and take radical measures to see that it is adequately tackled. If textile magnates create some sort of artificial scarcity, they are guided by certain motivations, they want to pressurise the Government to see that the imports of cotton from outside are stepped up beyond proportion. By an increase in the import of cotton, they want to see that the price of indigenous cotton goes down. Thereby they want to increase the margin of their profits. With all these malpractices, sometimes when a mill here or mill there is closed down,

[Prof Madhu Dandavate]

Government takes it over, spends on it, puts it on a proper footing streamlines the machinery, and then they rationalise the machinery and then the mill is returned to the original owners. That is why the conspiracy on the part of the textile magnates continues, and so long as these things continue, it is not possible for the Government to see that the problems of unemployment are adequately tackled.

I would like to make a special reference to one very important aspect which arises out of this budget. If you look at the entire scheme of the levies if you look at the entire structure of taxation, you will find, as in the past, that the richer sections of our society are left by and large completely intact, the rural rich as well as the urban rich. I hope the Finance Minister would not be disturbed if I say that because, essentially, this is a government of the Kulaks, they have always safeguarded and protected the interests of the Kulak classes of this country. And as a result of that, they would never talk in terms of income-tax to be imposed on the rich agriculturists. Before the election, repeatedly assurances were given, and we were told that the matter was referred to the Raj Committee. As a result of that, no concrete suggestion has come forward, but protection has been given to them. As far as the corporate sector is concerned, it will be very interesting to study the reaction of various industrialists. They have just expressed a sigh of relief, they are not at all frightened by the socialistic professions of the Congress. They always tell us, let them talk of socialism and socialistic professions, but if they are formulating and presenting a budget of this type where, by and large the corporate Sector remains completely untouched, we will be quite happy about it. Therefore, they themselves are not frightened by the socialistic professions of the Congress.

No doubt in the agricultural field, certain levies have been imposed, but look at the nature of these levies. There is an increased levy on fertilisers, there is also an increased levy on the power-driven pumps. But on whom will be the incidence of this taxation? Permit me again to say that in the new order, that we want to build up, we want that the landless labour, the small peasant, the small farmer must be protected. But we have a strange type of a green revolution in the

country in which the green revolution is extremely green for the rich landlords, but it is completely barren as far as the landless labour and the ordinary peasant is concerned.

When this levy on fertilisers is increased, the burden will be unbearable to the small farmer. Again, by this levy that has been imposed on the power-driven pumps, the small farmer will suffer a loss. I have not the least doubt that this incidence of taxation ultimately will be actually carried forward to the common consumer. And, as a result of it, the disparity between the rich agriculturist on the one hand and the small farmer on the other is likely to grow.

There is so much talk about self reliance, and I am one of those who have always insisted that we must try to build up a self-reliant economy, a self-generating economy, so that there will be no aid coming from outside countries. Even when they say it is aid without strings, very often in the umbrella and the aid that are available to us, some sort of invisible strings are always attached to them. Therefore I think that the Government is rightly talking about self reliance. After the things that we have learned during the recent Indo-Pak war, the major stress on our economic orientation must be on self-reliance, but unfortunately in our country, self-reliance means self-deception.

I will just quote before you certain facts and figures. I am giving you the cumulative external assistance that we have got, up to March, 1968, March, 1969, March, 1970 and March, 1971. From the United States of America up to March, 1968, the assistance available was 56.7%, up to March, 1969, it was 55.6%, up to March, 1970, 52.2%, and up to March, 1971, 53.4%. You will find that the relative level of assistance from the United States of America had almost remained stable.

Then in regard to the USSR, no doubt the percentage of the quantum of help was less, but again it has remained stationary. From the USSR, up to March, 1968, the external aid available was 5.7%, up to March, 1969 5.8%, up to March, 1970, 5.8% and up to March, 1971 5.7 per cent—almost it is stable at the level of 5.7%. I do not want to quote the figures from West Germany, Japan and other countries. For years, it is clear, we

have been talking about self-reliance but probably it has meant only self-deception.

I hope a new orientation will be given to our economy so that self-reliance could be built up. Now, what are the implications of that policy? We cannot rely on foreign powers to give us aid. Again, we find that the private capital in this country is also shy—for obvious reasons. With the new and growing climate of leftism in the country, private capital is, in the coming years, bound to become shy and so the major emphasis will be on state mobilisation of resources for developmental activities. That will mean not only stabilisation of the public sector but actually expansion of the public sector. Though there is an urgent need to expand the public sector, the manner in which the public sector is being managed has given the impression to the opponents of the public sector that the private sector is synonymous with efficiency and profits and the public sector is synonymous with loss and inefficiency. On an average a rupee invested by the private investor earns a return of 7 paise, while in the case of the Government it earns only 2 paise. There is thus a loss of five paise per year on every rupee diverted by taxation from people to the coffers of the Government.

I shall give you an instance. The Government have invested about Rs 1100 crores on Hindustan Steel, which is about one-fourth of the total investment in the Government sector. It is reported that there was a loss in Hindustan Steel to the tune of Rs. 87 crores between April and September, 1970 despite the price rise given to it in January 1970. The causes are low production and under-utilisation of capacity. Underutilisation and unutilisation of capacity in industries cannot be tackled in a piecemeal manner. More often it is due to faulty distribution of the raw material to the industrial units. So, I would plead that the corporation must be entrusted with the responsibility of procuring raw materials and stocking it and ensuring equitable distribution of raw materials according to the needs of industrial concerns.

Similarly, there is the scheme for workers' participation in the nationalised industry. There was a debate on this subject while discussing the working of nationalised banks and the Finance Minister gave an assurance that Governments stood committed to give

representation to them on nationalised banks. But we find that because of certain lack of unanimity among the trade unions, this has not been implemented.

I know, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Bell is tolling for me.....

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have given you more time than what you should have.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: In a very cursory way, I want to refer to tax evasion and black money. The Wanchoo Committee report is there. Not that I am fully satisfied with it. One of our colleagues, Mr. Salve said that it was not a good document and it was full of contradictions. Of course he is criticising some contradictions and I would like to criticise some other sets of contradictions. It is not a very good report. But even so, in this report the dimensions of the problem of black money and tax evasion have been brought forward in an effective manner. In this country it says that there is an almost parallel black money economy and unless the stranglehold of black money on our economy is completely destroyed, it will not be possible for us to get rid of the dangers from which our economy suffers.

In the end I may say this. Government always talk of radical measures. Have they taken effective steps to bring about a ceiling on urban property, lowering of the ceiling on land and redistribution of land on a new rational basis? Unless these problems are taken up, resources cannot be built up.

I must say in conclusion that whenever we raise the issue of income-tax to be imposed on the agricultural rich, we are told that it is within the jurisdiction of the State Governments. Therefore, I would repeat my suggestion that the State-Centre relationship must be re-structured and all this taxation must be brought under the Centre, and after collecting income-tax, including income-tax on agriculturists, a definite portion of the taxes collected by the Centre should be allocated to the States for developmental activity in the various States. If this is done, many of the lacunae that exist in our economic policies today can be plugged.

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

To summarise, the major defects from which our Budget proposals suffer are further inflationary pressure on the economy, rising prices and dwindling living standards, inadequacy in the rate of growth and generation of income widening of disparity between the rich and the poor, failure to implement the *Giribi Hata* programme, failure to generate adequate surpluses in the public sector and further failure to expand this Sector, and thereby effect the policy of self reliance and giving a free hand to tax evasion and black money.

Let me conclude by saying that the Budget constitutes a fraud on the people and is a travesty of socialism.

SHRI SUBODH HANSDA (Mumbai)
After the historic achievement in the elections, the people of West Bengal and the people of India look forward to a brighter future, but the Economic Survey of 1971-72 does not show any bright picture. The growth of the economy has slackened in the last few years. This has been admitted by the Economic Survey. I feel that this is because the facilities that are required for economic growth were not provided uniformly throughout the country, particularly in the backward areas.

In West Bengal industrial production has suffered both in the public and the private sectors, and it is still suffering for want of raw materials as well as shortage of power supply apart from labour trouble and the financial crisis. It is true that in recent times there has been no dearth of orders in the engineering industry, but there is no sufficient supply of raw materials as well as power.

The Government of India has set up a financial institution to revive the sick and closed industries of West Bengal, but I find that it is not run properly to help those industries. In most cases we find—and there is a general complaint that this institution is helping the medium and big industries rather than the sick and closed industries. So Government should conduct a probe as to why the sick and closed industries have not been properly helped by this institution.

I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the financial crisis faced by the

small-scale industries in West Bengal. Particularly, there is a great shortage of power-supply in West Bengal and the progress of the village electrification scheme is also very low. This has a direct effect on agricultural production as well as on village and cottage industries in backward areas. Therefore, more allocation should be made for village electrification, particularly in West Bengal.

Government have declared certain areas as industrially backward throughout the country and for this purpose Government have set up Rs. 100 crores in the last year's budget but I do not find any sign of development, particularly in the districts of West Bengal. I do not find any industries coming up in these areas. I hope Government will take the initiative to set up small and medium industries in backward districts, particularly those mentioned in the last year's budget. It is an admitted fact that many of our basic industries like steel and fertilisers are not working to their capacity and many of them are losing concern. I do not think the people will tolerate such things for a long time and bear the burden of the losses. The minister should set up a committee to see that all the public sector industries run to their capacity.

There is much demand for fertilisers. But it is not available to the cultivators particularly in West Bengal. This is the season for burrow paddy cultivation and they are not getting any fertilisers. What is available in the market is sold at high prices. This adds to the cost of production of the cultivators. So fertilisers should be supplied at a controlled price to the cultivators for increasing agricultural production.

There is slackness in the production of the basic amenities of life and their prices could not be stabilised in the market. Every year there is a tendency for prices to rise. Government has failed in this respect. But I must give credit to the Food Corporation of India for having been able to bring down the prices of foodgrains by making them available through fair price shops. I suggest that Government should supply the basic amenities of life to the common people through such an arrangement, so that at least the prices may not rise, if they cannot be brought down.

In the last year's budget, Rs. 50 crores were allocated for the crash programme for

rural employment. But according to newspaper reports, only Rs. 3 to 4 crores have been spent and there is a big short-fall. I do not know whose fault it is. Those who are responsible for this should be punished. The amount for social welfare, which was Rs. 130 crores in 1971 has been raised to Rs. 240 crores this year. I would like to know whether the government have any machinery to check or see that the amount set apart for this purpose will be utilized for the benefit of the socially backward people. I have every doubt in my mind that the money set apart for the benefit of the tribal people, particularly in the tribal areas, is not used for their benefit at all. I come from an area which is particularly inhabited by the tribal people and I know their problems. I know that in many of the villages even the facility of drinking water has not been provided. They have to get water from the tanks or distant village. Then there is no provision for communication to open up the tribal areas. Neither have they facilities for primary schools or hospitals. All these things lead to frustration on the part of the people. All these tall schemes of housing facilities and for the landless, education and medical facilities, are mere hoax, so far as they are concerned. The educational facilities which they were enjoying since independence have been practically curtailed. I have seen in Bengal that the book, grants and hostel grants of the tribal boys have been cut. Educated young people belonging to the tribals are refused their proportionate share in the services on the ground of unsuitability. This policy is consistently being followed by both government institutions. While there is no dearth of publicity or planning for their upliftment, the physical performance is far below the target. This is a deliberate attempt on the part of the executive not to fulfil the target.

All these factors have given an incentive to the Naxalite movement in Bengal. If you will carefully watch you will notice that the Naxalite movement is confined to the tribal areas, particularly in Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. Though this movement has been temporarily suppressed, I have every fear that in the near future this movement may flare up. Therefore, these problems should be carefully gone into. Government should set up a commission to see and examine the tribal problems throughout the country, how far their problems have been redressed through national planning and to suggest ways and

means to solve this problem within a short period.

It is very surprising to note that on the 20th of this month the Health Minister has stated on the floor of the very House that it is very difficult to check the malady of adulteration. It is very strange together this sort of comment on the part of the Minister. If the government feel helpless because of the present law they should amend the law and somehow prevent adulteration which is a menace to the country.

The Finance Minister has taxed kerosene on two grounds; firstly, to reduce imports and, secondly, to stop adulteration with other products like high speed diesel oil. Even on these grounds I feel the levy is not justified. The Finance Minister cannot minimise the consumption of kerosene when there is a growing population and the government have not been able to provide electricity to all the villages.

Secondly, adulteration could not be stopped simply by imposing a few paise by way of tax per litre of kerosene. Therefore, I suggest that the Finance Minister should reconsider this, because this will affect particularly the common people of the villages and not the towns-people.

Many hon. Members have said about taxes on fertiliser, and pumps. It is true that there are big farmers or agriculturists, who can afford to pay the tax. But what about the small or medium farmers? I do not think they will be able to pay these taxes, particularly when the price of fertilisers is going up. In a way, I should say, it will rather discourage them from adopting better techniques or utilising the modern techniques for agriculture. Therefore, if at all a tax is to be imposed, I should say, agricultural income-tax should be imposed on big farmers, and not that the small farmers should be taxed.

SHRI MOHAMMAD ISMAIL (Barrack-pore) : What about aluminium?

SHRI SUBODH HANSDA : About aluminium I have nothing to say.

Lastly, I would say that in the last Budget, when the Bangla Desh problem arose, the Finance Minister imposed certain taxes, like

[Shri Subodh Hansda]

passenger tax or the refugee relief tax etc. At that time he had said that this was a temporary measure and that when the refugees would go back, this tax would be lifted. All the refugees have now gone back to Bangla Desh and I do not find any reasonable ground to keep this tax. Instead of naming it as refugee relief tax, I should suggest that it should be regularised so that the people should know that this is not a refugee relief tax but that this is a tax like any other tax, I hope, the Finance Minister will take note of this.

With these words, I heartily support this Budget.

SHRI S A SHAMIM (Srinagar)

Mr Deputy Speaker, I must admit at the very outset that I am not a Budget expert and I will not be able to throw light on the Budget from the technical point of view. Much light has been thrown by my learned friends on it. Some of them have called it a flop, others a stagnant budget. I call it a *status quo* budget.

The Finance Minister has opened his Budget speech with a reference to Bangla Desh and I find that this is a Bangla Desh oriented budget, and rightly so, because the emergence of Bangla Desh was an event which has given new dimensions to our commitment to socialism, secularism and democracy. My State in this context is very fortunate.

As far as Central funds are concerned, I have no complaint to make, I cannot say that we are not getting adequate funds. My complaint is that we are getting more funds than we are able to utilise. But the most important question is, what is happening to that money, which the Indian taxpayer is pumping into Kashmir, to prove our commitment in democracy, not only in Kashmir but in Bangla Desh as well.

Our commitment to democracy in Kashmir had started much earlier, that is, in 1947. I want to inform this House that during the last 25 years, in Kashmir we have achieved nothing, as far as the commitment to democracy and socialism is concerned. The Chief Minister very recently said that Kashmir has had the fairest elections so far. This, in itself, contains the admission that, this being

the fairest, the earlier elections were less fair or were not fair at all.

Secondly, what type of a fair election are we having in Kashmir? If our commitment to democracy is so strong that our armies were prepared to risk a war with Pakistan and walk into Bangla Desh to save the democratic set-up there, our commitment in our own country must be deeper. But what is actually happening in Kashmir? Whatever has happened in the past, the latest elections which are supposed to be, as the Chief Minister claims, the fairest elections were held when all the prominent political leaders are under arrest or internment..

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: What have the elections got to do with the Budget?

SHRI S A SHAMIM: Because the Bangla Desh levy which I am supposed to pay. (*Interruptions*)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, order. I am not shutting you out. There may be other suitable occasions to voice these feelings. But it does not seem to have anything to do with the Budget. That is my opinion.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: If you were to see and go through the speeches that have been delivered on the floor of the House during the last three days, if I were you, I would consider three times before uttering such words. (*Interruption*)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: It is my duty to guide the proceedings of the House. It is my duty to ensure a certain relevancy in the debate as far as it lies in my power. I am only saying that elections might be important to you but they are not relevant to the Budget. That is all.

SHRI S A SHAMIM: May I say one thing?

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: You carry on. If you want to be irrelevant within your time, you can be so.

PROF MADHU DANDAVATE: I agree with you that it should be relevant to the Budget. But unfortunate convention seems to be that even foreign affairs, policy matters, elections, etc. which come under the Motion

of Thanks to the President are spoken of on the Budget.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : As far as it lies in my power, I shall not be a party to that.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : The direct relevance of it is that the money which is provided in the Budget, the money which is provided for my State, is not being properly spent. It has not been properly spent in the past. My contention is this. Even the foreign affairs come under the Budget. Everything comes under the Budget. A reference was made by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Chou about Kashmir, I am in complete agreement with the Government of India, with the Prime Minister of our country, that no foreign power, however big the power may be, has any *locus standi* as far as Kashmir is concerned. Kashmir is an integral part of India and it will continue to be so. But as an Indian, I have the right to know whether what is happening in Kashmir is in national interest.

My hon. friend, Shri K. Manoharan, referred to the demand for State autonomy which has been attributed to him in the shape of separatist attitude. He was allowed to clarify his own position and his party's position. Here, I am to clarify the position of the people of Kashmir. There is a separatist attitude attributed to them. It is *mala fide*. It is to keep the people out of the mainstream. No less a person than Dr. Radhakrishnan has said that if there is any issue about Kashmir, that is between the people of Kashmir and the people of India. I quote :

"When we say that it is not for any foreign power to interfere in internal spheres, we at the same time recognise that if there are any troubles, any difficulties, in Kashmir, it is our duty to settle them to the satisfaction of the people of Kashmir."

I invoke the Indian Constitution I invoke the democratic institution in the country, and say that justice is not being done to the people of Kashmir. I do not demand democracy for Sheikh Abdullah alone, though the Indian Constitution gives him also the right to contest elections and to take oath of allegiance.

I say, you have liberated Bangla Desh from the tyranny and military rule of Pakistan ;

you liberate Kashmir from the vested interests you have put in there. My claim is that the tax-payers' money is being used in Kashmir against the interests of my country. It is being done by vested interests who are kept in power there by the Central leaders here. Not only that. It is said that fair elections have been held and that there has been 60 per cent poll and all that. May I again read a paragraph from what Sardar Patel has written ? I quote :

"I understand that elections are to take place in the near future in the State. No useful purpose will be served by holding elections for the legislature in the State when a large number of people who ought to be in the Assembly are debarred from taking part in these elections by being put in imprisonment."

So wrote Sardar Patel. To whom ? In a letter dated August 28, 1946 to the then Prime Minister of Kashmir..... (*Interruption*) This holds good even today. You might have got 92 per cent in the poll. I know how you managed it. I am glad that, at least on that front, integration seems to be making headway. Previously elections were rigged only in Kashmir, but now I am glad to join Mr. Bosu and Prof. Dandavate who have said that elections have not been fair... (*Interruption*) Integration seems to be complete here ; West Bengal now and maybe Bihar and some more States tomorrow.

15 hrs.

What I want to say is this. Sheikh Abdullah has made a categorical statement that he has brought Kashmir to India. He believes in the finality of accession. His quarrel is only on the quantum of accession, the amount of autonomy. Mirza Afzal Beg, Head of the Plebiscite Front, has also made such an assertion. you are prepared to have talks with Nagas ; you are prepared to have talks with Naxalites ; why not have a dialogue with Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah ?...

DR. KAILAS (Bombay South) : Hundred times there was dialogue.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : There is never an end to dialogue. It is the military junta, the military dictatorship, which says, 'no dialogue'.

[Shri S. A. Shamim]

You are old enough. I was not even born when you had a dialogue with Sheikh Abdullah. I have now come on the political arena...

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih) : What he says has as much relevance as the price of camel is to the working class cost of living index.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : I am not going to listen to what each one of them says ; they cannot assume the office of the Deputy-Speaker.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The only relevant thing in his submission appears to me to be this. What portion of the finances given to Kashmir should be returned to the Centre for uses in other parts of the country ?(Interruption)

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : That is a question of detail which I shall discuss with the Finance Minister.

My contention is that we have already wasted the whole money because we had a commitment in Kashmir for a democratic set-up. In every other part of the country you have a democratic set-up, but what about Kashmir ? The Chief Minister says that we have had the fairest elections, the previous elections being unfair. This is not only my contention. In 1967 the entire opposition said that the elections there were rigged. My contention is this. Why are you using double standards, one standard in our own country and another standard in another country ? Who are exactly the people who are not accepting Kashmir as an integral part ? Myself or those who are treating Kashmir differently ? It is the pride of the youth in Kashmir that India is a democratic, secular State. But where is democracy in this part of the country ? I have been seeing the image of India, the image of my State..... (Interruptions)

SHRI B. P. MAURYA (Hapur) : How do you say that the elections were not fair ? Have you been elected by unfair means ?

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : I should not have been here. My hon. friend proves my

point. I should not have been here ; Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah should have been here ; because he was prevented from coming here, I entered. That way, I am not a genuinely elected leader. Agha Syed Ahmed would not have been there ; Mohammed Shafi Quresbi would not have been there. You have prevented genuine people to echo the voice of the people of Kashmir in this Parliament. You have committed fraud on the people. Your Budget is a fraud. All your intentions are fraud. Your commitment to Bangla Desh seems to me to be a fraud ; unless you give democracy to Kashmir, you cannot talk of Bangla Desh...(Interruptions)

SOME HON. MEMBERS : You are a fraud. (Interruptions)

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA : He is casting aspersions on MPs... (Interruptions)

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : I know enough of it. It is a fraud on the people of India.. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order, order,

SHRI B. P. MAURYA : Is it fair to call Bangla Desh a fraud ? I say, he is a fraud.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : I say your commitment. I am in the Indian Parliament. I am governed by the Indian Constitution.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I think you have concluded your speech. I have warned you that all that you say is irrelevant to the Budget. Now, you please conclude.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM : I say, when I speak in this Parliament, I do not speak because of the pleasure of the Congress Benches. I speak because I have the inherent right.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Because I have allowed you...(Interruptions) Order, please.

Mr. Maurya.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Gauhati) : Sir, on a point of order. He has said that we have...

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU : Under what Rule ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Order please. Will you kindly sit down ? That is his opinion which has been strongly repudiated by the majority of the House. The matter should end there.

AN HON. MEMBER : It should be expunged.

श्री श्री० पी० श्री० (हापुड) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनतंत्र हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन का आधार, धर्म-निष्पेक्षता हमारा सिद्धान्त और समाजवादी ममज की रचना हमारा लक्ष्य बन गया है। जब इन तीन महान् सिद्धान्तों को लेकर हम चल रहे हैं, तो उनकी पूर्ति के लिए केन्द्र बहुत ही शक्तिशाली होना चाहिए। केन्द्र का शक्तिशाली होना बिल्कुल अनिवार्य है। मैं बाबा साहब डा० अम्बेडकर के उन शब्दों को फिर से दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि अपेक्षों की गुलामी में अगर कोई मव में बड़ी चीज हमें मिली, तो वह गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया एक्ट, 1935 था, जिसने केन्द्र को शक्तिशाली बनाया। काश, आजाद होने पर जो आजादी का त्रिल हमारे सामने आया, उसमें केन्द्र और भी शक्तिशाली होना ताकि हम इन सिद्धान्तों को मजबूती के साथ, शक्ति के साथ, पूर्ण रूप में लागू कर सकें।

एक माननीय सदस्य बजट के बारे में कुछ कहें।

श्री श्री० पी० श्री० : मैं अभी कहना हूँ। हम दोनों में फर्क इतना है कि वह बनावटी कम्युनिस्ट है और पैदायशी कम्युनिस्ट है।

कल डी० एम० के० के नेता ने फेडीरेशन का या फ़ेडरलिज्म के लिए बहुत ही लगाव दिखाया और हम पर बहुत कुछ चर्चा की। मैं इसके बारे में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन उनका यह तर्क मेरे जैसे इन्सान की समझ में नहीं आता है कि पार्लियामेंट भी शक्तिशाली हों और केन्द्र भी शक्तिशाली हो। ये दोनों ऐसी बातें हैं, जिनका आपस में मेल नहीं है।

इतिहास हमें मालूम है कि जब कभी भी हमारा केन्द्र कमजोर हुआ है, हमारी आजादी हम से छिन गई है और सदियों तक हमें गुलामी की मन्त्रों बड़ी मजा मिली है। हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश में फिर से वह इतिहास न दोहराया जाय। चाहे कोई किन्हीं ही बड़ी तारत क्यो न हो, अगर वह केन्द्र कमजोर करने का आह्वान करती है, तो वह देश की स्वतंत्रता को खतरे में डालना चाहती है। जो शक्तियाँ इसमें विश्वास करती हैं, उनको गमभीर लेना चाहिए कि आज इस देश का जनतंत्र, और उस देश की जनता, जो इस देश की मालिक है, टूटने वाली शक्तियों के साथ नहीं है, बल्कि जुड़ने वाली शक्तियों के साथ है और इन्हींके अग्र वे शक्तियाँ या दल केन्द्र को कमजोर बनाने का आह्वान करेंगे, तो वे कहीं के भी नहीं रहेंगे।

इस बजट को पेश करने के लिए वित्त मंत्री महोदय धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। मैं उनसे इस एक आधार पर धन्यवाद का पात्र मानना हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष उन्होंने 500 करोड़ रुपये का बहुत बड़ा बोज और इस वर्ष 183 करोड़ रुपये का बोज, अर्थात् कुल 683 करोड़ रुपये का बोज इस खूबी, नफामत और नजाकत के साथ डाला है कि वह बोज बहुत भारी होते हुए भी महसूस नहीं होता है। यह बोज उन जैसे मजदूर और शोषित समाज के चाहने वाले व्यक्ति द्वारा ऐसे अच्छे ढंग से डाला गया, वरना यह बोज वाकई शोषित समाज की रीढ़ की हड्डी को तोड़ सकता था।

लेकिन मैं बिना निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने मिट्टी के तेल पर जो टैक्स लगाया है, वह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। हम अपने दूर देहात में बिजली की सुविधा और दैनिक जीवन की अन्य सुविधाएँ नहीं दे सके हैं। यद्यपि हमारी योजनाओं ने हमें बहुत कुछ दिया है, उनके द्वारा देश में 108 मिलियन गल्ला पैदा किया गया है, जिससे हमारा देश खाद्य के क्षेत्र में स्वावलम्बी बन गया है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद दूर देहात की जनता अभी भी बिजली के प्रकाश से बहुत दूर है।

एक तो हम उन्हें आधुनिक जीवन दे नहीं पाते और फिर उनके ऊपर यह ज्यादा बोज डाल

[श्री बी० पी० मौर्य]

दे यह ज्यादा समझदारी की बात नहीं है। उन्होंने स्वयं अपने बजट भाषण में कहा है कि हिन्दू अनडिवाइडेड फेमिली एक समस्या बन गई है, टैक्स ईवेजन् का एक तरीका बन गया है। अगर एक हम बड़े चक्रग्रह को तोड़ा जाय तो इसी से 300 करोड़ की बचत हो सकती है। बड़ी ज़ामनी से वह इसे तोड़ सकते हैं क्योंकि हिन्दू अनडिवाइडेड फेमिली के नाम पर बहुत बड़ा टैक्स का ईवेजन् हो रहा है।

मेरी एक प्रार्थना उनमें रही कि मिट्टी कतल पर या इसी तरह से फर्टिलाइजर पर जो टैक्स उन्होंने लगाया है, उसको वह वापिस ले लें क्योंकि किसान पर ही इसका बोझ नहीं पड़ता, गरीब किसान पर जाकर उसका बोझ पड़ता है। आबपासी उसमें बड़ जाती है। इसी तरह से पम्पिंग सेट की बात है। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो इस बात में विश्वास रखते हैं कि राष्ट्र की आधी आमदनी खेती से हानी है। अगर हम खेती को जो देण वा सबसे बड़ा उद्योग है अतः छोड़ देंगे तो हम समूच देश का विकास कर नहीं सकते और बहुत ज्यादा तेजी के साथ वे जैसे कि दुनिया के राष्ट्र चल रहे हैं हम चञ्च नहीं पाएंगे। क्योंकि हमारी आमदनी का आधा हिस्सा खेती से आता है। लेकिन साथ ही साथ जहाँ मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ कि खेती पर टैक्स लगे वहाँ छोटे किसान को बिल्कुल इससे बचाकर रखना चाहिए। जो यह तरीका अपनाया है इसमें छोटे किसान पर भी अकुश पड़ जाता है। मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो हमेशा रहा हूँ और आज भी इसमें विश्वास करना हूँ कि दूर देहात के किसान को ज्यादा दिन तक टैक्स से बचा कर नहीं रखा जा सकता क्योंकि वहाँ राजा और मजदूर पैदा हो रहे हैं। वहाँ का बड़ा जमींदार आज राजा से भी ज्यादा अत्याचार करने लग गया है खेतिहर मजदूर पर। अगर उसको रोकना चाहते हैं तो देहात में बढ़ती हुई विषमता के ऊपर आपको रोक लगानी चाहिए।

आपने 125 करोड़ रुपया समाज सेवा के लिए रखा है। इसमें आपने आइटम्स को मिला

दिया है कि वही भी यह रुपया खर्च हो सकता है। मेरा अपना खयाल है कि अगर इसको इस तरह से छोड़ दिया जायगा तो गन्दी बस्तियों और झुग्गी झोपड़ी की जो समस्या है जिसको आपने मुख्य समस्या करके माना है वह हल नहीं होगी और दूर देहात के खेतिहर मजदूर को रहने के लिए अपनी जमीन पर उमका झोपड़ा खड़ा हो जाय इसके लिए भी आपने कुछ रुपया रखा है। अगर इसको आइटम्स में मन्नी में नहीं बरतेंगे तो उल्टी गंगा बहने लगेगी। वह रुपया दूसरी गंगा पर चञ्च हो जायगा। इसलिए मेरी यह प्रार्थना है कि उसमें खानीर से सक्ती बरतें कि मद दूरे न पाय।

जहाँ तक बाले बाजार का पैसा है उसकी आर विशेषज्ञों में भी ध्यान दिना है और मैं भी आपका ध्यान दिनाता चाहता कि बाले बाजार के पैसा में बहुत कुछ एफान्ट आ जायगी अगर बड़े किसान पर रास रणा दी जाय। यथाकि आज खेती करने का काम केवल बड़ किसान का ही नहीं रह गया है बहुत बड़े बड़े कृषाकार, बहुत बड़े उद्योगपति और बहुत बड़े-बड़े नाना भी खेती करने का ढाग करने लग हैं। खेती करने के आधार पर अपने अपने बाजार के धन को सफेद बनाने का एक तरीका उन्होंने बना लिया है। अगर आप बड़ किसान पर रोक लगाएंगे तो यह काल बाजार का धन जो साढ़े सात सौ करोड़ का करीब हो गया है और उनकी अमृत्य ज्वेठरी को लेग तो 1500 करोड़ से लेकर 3000 करोड़ तक जिस विशेषज्ञ बताते हैं, उस पर कुछ रोकचाम हो पायगी। ब्लैक मनी को रोखने के लिए और ईवेजन् आफ टैक्स के कटौत करने के लिए आज वक्त आ गया है कि हम शिक्षक नहीं, बड़े किसान के ऊपर टैक्स लगाएँ। जैसा कि हमारे कम्युनिस्ट नेता यह कह रहे थे कि कांग्रेस हम आधार पर टूट सकती है, मेरा अपना विश्वास है कि आज की कांग्रेस जो इतिहास की के नेतृत्व में चल रही है यह टूटने वाली नहीं है, यह जुड़ने वाली है। बड़े से बड़ा किसान इसको स्वेच्छा से स्वीकार करेगा कि देश के विकास के लिए अनिवार्य है कि हम देश को आगे बढ़ाते चले जाय।

श्रीमन्, जहाँ से चर्चा मैंने शुरू की थी, वही मैं आना चाहता हूँ। प्राथमिक शिक्षा जो है इसके ऊपर भी मैं ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। प्राथमिक शिक्षा पूरी हो जानी चाहिए थी लेकिन अभी तक हमारा ध्यान इसकी ओर गया नहीं। वैसे तो सविधान में 14 वर्ष तक के बच्चों को निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा देने का प्राविधान किया गया है। लेकिन 25 वर्ष की आजादी के बाद भी हम ओर अभी पूरे तौर से ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। अगर ध्यान गया तो हमारी गति नहीं लगी। लेकिन आज कांग्रेस पार्टी और कांग्रेस के नेताओं का ध्यान उस ओर गया है। इसी वजह से चुनाव के घोषणा पत्र में 11 वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए यह व्यवस्था रखी है और मैं यह आशा करूँगा कि जो धन रखा है प्राथमिक शिक्षा के लिए वह कम है, उसमें और भी ज्यादा बढ़ौतरी होनी चाहिए।

प्राथमिक शिक्षा में जहाँ तक शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स का मवाल है मध्य प्रदेश की रपट आपके सामने है। आप देखेंगे कि जो शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बच्चे हैं उनकी शिक्षा में 28 से 30 सैकड़ों की गिरावट हुई है। मेरा यह कहना है कि आप शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए राजनैतिक संरक्षण चाहे समाप्त कर दें लेकिन जहाँ तक शिक्षा का सवाल है जो शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के हैं उनकी शिक्षा अनिवार्य और निःशुल्क कर दी जाय। क्यों कि राजनैतिक संरक्षण ने शिड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शिड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स में वेस्टेड इन्टरेस्ट पैदा किए हैं। अगर उनको शिक्षा दे दी जाय इस तरह ज्यादा ध्यान आप लाएंगे तो मेरा विश्वास है कि देश का समूचा विकास हो पाएगा।

मैं आपका ज्यादा समय न लेते हुए फिर से वित्त मंत्री जी का आभार प्रकट करता हूँ कि उन्होंने बड़ी खूबी के साथ 683 करोड़ रुपये का बोझा भी उठा लिया और महसूस भी नहीं होने दिया। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि मिट्टी के तेल से, फटिलाइजर से और पम्पिंग

सेट से इस लेवी को समाप्त करें; और इस लेवी को समाप्त करने के बाद यह बजट जो हमारे आते है, यह बजट फैशन के बजट नहीं रहने चाहिए, अब एक धारणा की ओर जाने चाहिए। हमने थह निश्चय कर लिया है कि समाजवाद हमारा लक्ष्य है जहाँ से मैंने शुरू किया था, और जब समाजवाद हमारा लक्ष्य है तो हम कंट्रोल्ड एकोनोमी की व्यवस्था देश में लाना चाहते हैं। मिक्स्ट एकोनोमी की बात मेरे जैसे लोगों की समझ में नहीं आती। तो आज वक्त आ गया है कि चाहे बाचू साहब की रिपोर्ट हो या कोई और रिपोर्ट हो, अगर उसमें डायरेक्ट टैक्सों में कोई भी तब्दीली का सुझाव दिया गया है जैसे कि उन्होंने 75 प्रति सैकड़ माजिन रेट की बात कही है, मैं उसको गलत मानता हूँ। जब हम समाजवाद लाना चाहते हैं तो बिरला टाटा डाल्मिया के पहाड़ों को काटकर गरीबी की खाई को पाटना पड़ेगा। उसके लिए सम्पत्ति के बढ़ाने पर सीरियस रखनी पड़ेगी जैसा कि पिछले प्राविधानों में, इस बजट में और इसके पहले के बजटों से हो गया है। इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका आभार मानता हूँ।

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN (Buldana) : We have just emerged out of a period of a great crisis, a period during which our resources, both physical as well as fiscal were strained to their utmost. The influx of refugees and the outbreak of war with Pakistan were great calamities but we faced them boldly and successfully. Our economy responded well to the challenge. Our Finance Minister through additional imposts could mobilise resources to the extent of Rs. 500 crores in a full year.

With this background and the economic philosophy which we have accepted, I think the budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister is the best budget in the circumstances. Quite rightly, he has refrained from enhancing the existing rates of personal income-tax and introducing radical changes in the structure of taxation as a whole. He has carefully avoided relying heavily on deficit financing and limiting it to Rs. 375 crores during 1972-73. At the same time, he has succeeded in giving the budget a greater

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orientation towards welfare and social justice. This is indeed the main and striking feature of the budget.

The Finance Minister has recognised the imperative need to accelerate the pace of growth and social welfare and has, therefore, proposed to increase the budgetary provision for the Central and Centrally sponsored schemes from Rs. 1455 crores in 1971-72 to Rs. 1878 crores in 1972-73, that is, by Rs 332 crores or nearly one-fourth in a single year.

Taking the Centre and the States and the Union territories together, the total provision for the Plan next year comes to Rs 3973 crores, as against Rs. 3263 crores in the current year. This means an increase of Rs 710 crores in the total investment expenditure. Such a massive increase in investment is bound to remove industrial slack or the slack in industrial production and promote the rate of economic growth.

With the price level more or less under control, since there was an increase of only 3.9 per cent during the year in spite of the war and in spite of the tremendous increase in net bank credit to Government and in the supply of money in the hands of the people and the fairly comfortable foreign exchange position, there is no reason why the economy should not respond to this impetus or this stimulus of a step-up in investment.

The proposed investment will be spread over all the crucial areas of the economy, areas which react upon one another and are interdependent, areas such as irrigation and power, mines and metals, industry including petroleum, chemicals, steel and heavy engineering, shipping and transport, posts and telegraphs and railways. The rate of investment was 7.1 per cent in 1969, then it dropped to 4.8 per cent in 1970; during 1971-72, it threatens to fall even below 4 per cent. This is far below the growth rate envisaged in the Fourth Plan, namely 8.9 per cent every year. The industries mainly responsible for this fall in the rate of growth or production are industries manufacturing food articles, cotton textiles, wagon building, paper machinery, steel, chemicals and so on. This shows that the slowing down of production has been fairly pervasive.

The increase of Rs. 710 crores in the plan outlay in the public sector will also stimulate investment in the private sector. During the last so many years it has been our experience that increase in investment in the public sector acts as a catalyst for improvement in the private sector also.

Some critics have contended that in spite of this increase in investment, the economy will not be pushed up and economic development will not progress, on the ground, they say, that most of the projects contemplated will not come to fruition during the year. There is no reason to believe that the projects undertaken during the year will not fructify during the course of the year. I believe most of them are bound to come to fruition. The Finance Minister is quite aware of the need that the projects should be properly selected and implemented with sufficient speed.

He is also aware of the fact that mere provision of finance cannot keep up the momentum of progress. Even if there are delays—and delays should be avoided at any cost—I believe the investment expenditure will boost the economy and will set the economic multiplier into operation.

To achieve the objective of an increase in the growth rate, three important things are necessary to which special attention must be paid. First, there should be increased availability of raw materials. It is because of the insufficiency of raw materials that industrial production could not be increased in the last two or three years. To increase the supply of raw materials we have licensed mini plants in the steel industry and liberalised licensing policy. The second thing is that we should so orient our licensing policy as to see that industrial effort is expanded rather than contracted.

The third factor which has to be provided for is to see that the investment expenditure takes place according to plan. We have suffered from shortfalls in expenditures during 1969-70 and 1970-71. In 1969-70, it was Rs. 236 crores; in 1970-71, it was Rs 160 crores. During 1971-72 also, it is not expected that the total expenditure according to plan will take place. But the Finance Minister is aware of the need for increasing the tempo of investment expenditure. I hope the other Ministries which have projects under their

control will rise to the occasion, complete their projects in time and succeed in raising the investment rate to the level of 11 per cent of the national income which we reached in the last year of the Third Plan.

I come now to two very important aspects of the Plan. The first is the provision for certain social welfare schemes which also promote production potential. These schemes were first included in 1970-71 in the budget by our Prime Minister when she was also holding the Finance portfolio. For this purpose, we have provided an amount of Rs. 240 crores. These include schemes for small farmers, marginal farmers, landless labourers, clearance or improvement of slums in cities and providing employment to educated people.

Then we have also provided nearly Rs. 112 crores for water supply in the villages, improving the health conditions in the villages which are affected by guinea worms and cholera which is endemic in one-fourth of our villages in the country. These schemes are the most essential part of this budget; they will increase the welfare of the economically most disadvantaged sections of our population, they will shed a ray of light in the dark and unhappy lives of the most unfortunate sections of our people.

The third feature of this budget is that it has laid down clearly our objective of economic self-reliance. We have to be clear about the nature of self-reliance. It means that our exports should pay for our imports. It means that we should not rely on foreign countries for our economic development. We should see that our exports pay not only for our imports but also for the interest on previous debts and the instalments on capital payment. The problem is stupendous. But our Finance Minister is aware of the difficulties and he has promised that no effort, whether by way of provision of finances or otherwise, will be spared to accelerate the process of self-reliance through import substitution and export promotion.

An hon. Member on the other side said that our talk of self-reliance is self-deception. I believe the hon. Member did not get his facts correctly. During the last five years, we have reduced the reliance on foreign powers to a great extent. I would quote some figures.

For instance, in 1967-68, the gross help we received from foreign powers was Rs. 1,196 crores. The amount was reduced in 1971-72, to Rs. 778 crores. If you take the net aid, in 1967-68, we received Rs. 863 crores. and in 1971-72, it was only Rs. 328 crores. This shows that we are moving in that direction and this year we are determined to see that this process goes on more rapidly than before.

Then, doubts have been expressed about the price level. During the last year—

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Just a second; I was referring to the cumulative external assistance.

SHRI Y. S. MAHAJAN : Even the cumulative burden reflects itself in the payment of interest and instalments on capital. So, in spite of the cumulative increase in the total debt, our net reliance this year is Rs. 328 crores, whereas it was Rs. 863 crores in 1967-68.

There have been doubts cast about the price level. I am afraid some hon. Members are extremely pessimistic. Last year, as I have said, in spite of the war, in spite of the tremendous increase in the amount of money in the hands of the people, prices have increased only by 3.9 per cent. We want a stable price level, not a rigid level. A stable price level means a price level which varies in either direction to the extent of three per cent. It increased by 3.9 per cent last year. It is true that the prices of some commodities have risen enormously. I think the Government is aware of that—particularly the prices of oil, sugar, etc., and efforts are being made to see that these prices are controlled. If during the last year, our experience was not unhappy, I believe in the next year, when we rely upon a faster growth, there is no reason why our economy should not respond to the stimulus and the massive increase in our investment. If production increases and very likely it will on the agricultural front we are doing pretty well and on the industrial front also most of our difficulties are likely to vanish in the immediate future—if production responds, there is no reason why the price level should not remain stable.

There has been an increase in taxation on fertilisers and kerosene. I come from an area which is rural in character, and I know that

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we have been promoting the use of fertilisers by farmers, big and small. At the moment, fertilisers are used mostly by big farmers. Small farmers try to use them and get fertilisers by way of loans from co-operative societies, but our experience is that small farmers often sell them at a smaller price to the big landlords, and spend the money which they realise for other urgent needs. If one object is to increase the use of fertilisers, by imposing a tax on them, we will be discouraging the farmers from using them. This will act mainly against the smaller farmers whose productivity needs to be increased more than that of the bigger farmers.

With regard to the increased tax on kerosene, most of the villages have already got electricity—villages with effective leadership. The smaller villages and those which are in hilly areas which are poor and have no effective leadership only have to use kerosene for lighting in houses. Middle class people also use it as fuel for cooking. It is these economically weak sections of our people who will have to bear the burden of this increase in the tax. The hon. Finance Minister says that traders mix it with petrol. This means that for the malpractices of the traders we will be punishing the economically weak sections of our people. I hope the Finance Minister will think over it again.

I recommend this Budget for the acceptance of the House because it makes a thrust forward ; because it makes for an increase in the real rate of growth if the economy and in the welfare of the poorer sections of our people, and because it makes a big stride towards self-reliance.

SHRI M. M. JOSEPH (Peermade) : The Finance Minister has presented his budget for 1972-73 and says that it will promote growth and social justice. But what do we actually find ?

The poor man has to pay more for the essential commodities and Rs. 145 crores are to be collected by way of excise duties. The levy on kerosene accounts for nearly Rs. 30 crores. It will hit hard the common man who uses it for lighting and cooking purposes. Similarly the tax on chemical fertilisers and power driven pump sets will hamper the green

revolution in the villages. The taxes on these items have to be reconsidered and withdrawn.

I want to refer to the middle class and lower middle-class people in this country. Their percentage is high. Due to the indiscreet policy of the Government, more people are becoming poor. Government is creating more *garibis*, instead of *hataoing* it. I shall refer to the concessions given to the backward and scheduled Caste people. I am not against their getting them. Only I request you to continue them with some modifications. My friend Mr. Gopalan from the Congress side referred to this a few minutes ago. My demand is that the Government has to consider all the people, crores of people, who are economically worse off than those who belong to the scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The so-called Brahmins, Nairs and Maharajas and upper class people are becoming poor day by day. But the ruling party has continued the system with political motives. I request that these reservations and concessions must be made on economic grounds, and not on religious or community basis. Any person, be it a Hindu, Muslim or Christian or Buddhist, is an Indian after all. If a Hindu Harijan is converted into a Christian Harijan, how does his economic status improve or worsen ? It is the duty of the Government not to discriminate communities. So, I request that these concessions and reservations be made purely on an economic basis.

In the last year's budget speech I requested the creation of a coconut board on the lines of the Coffee Board or Rubber Board. Conditions for cultivation of coconut in the State of Kerala are getting worse day by day and the yield is dwindling. The price is going down day by day. Raising of cocoanut is not becoming fruitful. The same is the case with other cash crops like cardamom, pepper etc. I come from a plantation area. The Centre is getting more than 30 per cent of its foreign exchange from the cash crops export of Kerala. So, it is only just that a good percentage of this should be utilised for the betterment of these plantation industries in our State.

There is an acute problem facing my State, and my State only in India. This is the annual sea erosion. According to legend, Kerala was reclaimed from the sea by Lord Parasurama. No, the mother sea is annually taking back hundred of acres of sea coast

during the monsoon period. Thousands of people are becoming homeless every year due to this misfortune. Of course, the Centre is giving some aid during the period of calamity, but this is not a remedy. I demand that a permanent solution should be found by raising a permanent bund along the sea coast. This is a peculiar thing happening in my State only. No other State is having this kind of problem. The finances of the State are not sufficient to meet this enormous expenditure. So, I request that this problem of sea erosion may be taken up as a national problem. The Centre should meet the entire expenditure.

I am really glad to see that the Centre is taking interest in the problem of the educated unemployed. I request that my State should be given first preference in this matter because the number of educated unemployed is higher in my State than in any other State. Our State is facing acute unemployment problem. If more industrial units are established, a good percentage of unemployment can be solved, but the pity is that Kerala is ignored when major industrial projects are thought of.

In conclusion I request that the regional imbalances now existing should be wiped out.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA (Giridih) : At the outset, I must express my appreciation for what the Finance Minister has done in terms of tax effort, to maintain growth in the face of relative stagnation, through additional investment, and to hold the price line in spite of increased supply of money.

There are certain bright features in this Budget, e.g. Rs. 125 crores lump sum provision for rural water supply and rural homesteads and schemes for the educated unemployed; increase in the budgetary provision from Rs. 6 to Rs. 12 crores and from Rs. 3 to Rs. 6 crores to take care of marginal and small farmers; about Rs. 72 crores for drought-prone areas; and an increase from Rs. 11 to Rs. 21.5 crores for the nutrition programme. But like *Oliver Twist* we want more.

I happen to come from the Chota Nagpur region of Bihar. After 20 years of planning, Bihar is last but one in the list. When it comes to Chota Nagpur, which constitutes

40 per cent of Bihar in terms of area and 25 per cent in terms of population, the less said the better. We are having emergence of a two-sector economy. There is the automated sophisticated modern industry and a vale of tears nearby in a primitive economy.

I refer to village Dugda, to illustrate my point. You have the Dugda Washery of the Hindustan Steel, the Chandrapura thermal power station, of D. V. C. which is the largest thermal power station in Asia, the largest coal-quarry mines in Bermo and the Bokaro thermal power plant—in short an industrial complex is there. But what about Dugda, a village in Chandrapura police station, just a mile off? Their lands were acquired for the Dugda Washery, but the men were not given employment. There are 750 hamlets in various stages of disrepair. There are 350 fishermen, 27 tanks and there is at least one leprosy patient in each of 150 of these hamlets. These twenty years of macro-planning has passed them by without making a dent!

SHRI JAGDISH BHATTACHARYYA (Ghatal) : There is no quorum.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The bell is being rung ..

Now there is quorum. He may continue.

SHRI CHAPALENDU BHATTACHARYYA : Why and how has this happened? Were our calculations of econometric parameters wrong? Was the econometric model on which the entire planning rested wrong? If so, in what particulars?

I made a point last year and I propose to make it again. I am not satisfied that these various rounds of National Sample Survey give us the correct picture in depth. We have not got basic data of adequate coverage on many items and that has resulted, after twenty years of planning, in an uneven development of the various regions in India itself. In order to indentify the under-developed regions in a developing economy, we have to have various statistics of population, birth, death, migration, level of employment and unemployment, etc., *anchal*-wise or block-wise. In fact, a data bank should be opened and data made available here, so that we could frame policies on the

[Shri Chiplendu Bhattacharyya]

ground and not just have macro planning and let the State do it only. For in In-Depth study of economic change, we have to go at least to the block level, we cannot escape it.

I come from that region of Chotanagpur. There is a lot of thinking about unemployment and about the level of under employment, there are various figures given. But what about the committee on unemployment set up under Shri Bhagwati? He had recommended Rs 2,000 crores of investment during the next two years. Making allowance for the amount already provided in the previous budgets about Rs 780 crores mostly in the neglected rural regions as against this recommendation of Rs 2,000 crores the budget provision made by our Finance Minister does not go much far. It does not go very far and falls short of our expectation.

Then there is the question of helping self-employed people. I would revert to the four labour-intensive industries in our region namely, mica, shellac, silk and beads. I have to submit humbly that they have not got a fair deal so far. There is an export duty of 40 per cent *ad valorem* on mica which is a dead weight and the entire incidence of that duty has been passed on to the sweated mica workers on whose skill alone the entire export-oriented industry stands. There is talk of canalisation. Unless the entire export trade is taken over wholesale the canalisation process cannot be completed. During the last twenty years small self-employed mica men, who used to earn Rs 200 to Rs 600 P.M. on a capital of Rs 500 have been completely eliminated. So I humbly request the Finance Minister to give a fresh look to this aspect of the question.

Chotanagpur is primarily suited for growing of long staple cotton, soya beans, peanuts, citrus fruits and jack fruit. Recently we were told that 17 districts have been identified for growing of extra cotton. Now, we are spending Rs 100 crores of our foreign exchange for its import. In that context, who identified these districts? Why was Chotanagpur, one of the most backward of the regions, passed over? There is something wrong somewhere in our planning and in our identification of those regions,

Then I would come to the question of co-operative financing. These figures will partly explain why this region is backward. The following are the figures of overdues by Central co-operative banks in the various States: Andhra Pradesh Rs 110 crores, Assam Rs 5 crores, Bihar Rs 27 crores, Gujarat Rs 166 crores, Madhya Pradesh Rs 90 crores, Maharashtra Rs 251 crores, Tamilnadu Rs 110 crores, UP Rs 135 crores and West Bengal Rs 23 crores. This variation in the amount of money pumped through co-operative societies in various States has had a great effect on what is called the priming of the pumps. Our pumps were never adequately primed because of the shortage of credit and economy never got a helping hand.

Chotanagpur has a one crop economy and the income from one acre rarely exceeds Rs 50. They are condemned to perpetual poverty all the time. Glittering new towns have and will be coming up as the two sector economy—without any intermediate technology bridging the gap may be operating for decades together.

In order to change the situation, I have very humbly suggested that special efforts should be made and these crops should be grown so that the small man, the Tribal, the Harijans, the poor who lives in hamlets would be getting in lieu of Rs 50 an acre, Rs 500 an acre, that shall have to be another day in their lives.

They say that the only constant of history is change. I wish it were so for Chhota Nigpur. It has been so long the other way round. So far as Chhota Nigpur is concerned, the only change has been a stationary state of economy even regression.

15 51 hrs

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY *in the chair.*]

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा (जयनगर) जो बजट वित्त मंत्री जी ने हमारे सामने रखा है उसके सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने बड़ी स्पष्टता से कहा है कि विकास, सामाजिक न्याय, आत्मनिर्भरता, पूँजीनिवेश और साधन स्रष्ट, सब ऐसी प्रक्रियाएँ हैं जो कुछ हद तक और वास्तव में उस सीमा से काफी आगे तक जहाँ तक आम तौर पर समझा जाता है,

एक दूसरे को संबल देती है। हमें अपनी बजट सम्बन्धी और अन्य नीतियों में समुचित परिवर्तन लाकर इन प्रक्रियाओं की गति को तेज करना है। इस प्रस्तावना के बाद के बजटों के जरिए इन नीतियों को जो एक दूसरे से जुड़ी हुई हालत में है, आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया जाएगा, ऐसा कहा गया है। लेकिन पूरा बजट पढ़ने पर और सुझावों के ऊपर ध्यान देने के बाद एक बहुत बड़ी निराशा ही हाथ लगती है। जहां तक विकास का सवाल है उस प्रश्न पर बजट में भी और उसके पहले सदन में रखी गई आर्थिक समीक्षा में भी यही रोना रोया गया है कि औद्योगिक गति में हलाम हुआ है पिछले कुछ वर्षों में और इसके लिए हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़ों जन जो आवाज उठाते रहे हैं और पिछले माल के चुनावों में जो लोक सभा के लिए टूट थे, हार जाने के बाद भी उनके राजनीतिक प्रतिनिधि जो आवाज उठाते रहे हैं, इस बजट के जरिये पूरी तरह से उग आवाज को प्रतिध्वनित किया गया है, उसकी प्रतिध्वनि इस बजट में दिखाई देती है। वे कहा करते थे कि उत्पादन बढ़ाकर कारखानों में तभी होगी जबकि मालिकों को करों के बोझ से मुक्त रखा जाएगा और उनके मुनाफों पर कोई भी अकुश नहीं लगाया जाएगा। केवल उस स्थिति में उनको उत्साह होगा कि वे उत्पादन बढ़ाएं। यही कारण है कि जहां पिछले एक साल के अन्दर 683 करोड़ रुपये के नए कर लगाये गए हैं, और अभी इस बजट में 183 करोड़ के नए कर लगाए गए हैं, वहां कारखानों के मालिकों पर अत्यन्त नगण्य ही कर लगे हैं। इस प्रकार में— करों से उनको छूट दी जा रही है और ये वे तत्व हैं जिनकी आर्थिक व राजनीतिक विचारधारा वाले लोगों को परास्त करके शासक दल पिछले साल इतने बड़े बहुमत से शासन में आया है। ये लोग यह आप्रह किया करते थे कि करों में छूट देकर ही उत्पादन बढ़ाना सम्भव हो सकेगा या टिका रह सकेगा। प्रश्न यह है कि क्या केवल उनको करों से छूट देकर तथा उनके मुनाफों को बेलगाम रख कर देश का उत्पादन बढ़ सकेगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि यह वांछनीय भी हो तब भी इसको नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। मैं विदेशी बाजार के

बारे में अभी कुछ नहीं कह रहा हूँ लेकिन घरेलू बाजार के बारे में वास्तविकता यह है कि ऋण-शक्ति का ह्रास हुआ है। इसी वजह से श्री मोंगरजी देमाई जिन समय वह वित्त मंत्री थे उन्होंने कहा था कि सुस्ती आई है। मदी उन्होंने नहीं कहा लेकिन कहा कि सुस्ती आयी है। इस की वजह से चार साल तक योजना का काम बन्द कर दिया गया। विश्व बैंक के हुकम पर हमने दश को चार साल तक योजना से छूटी दे दी। प्रधान मंत्री उस समय भी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी थी। उस समय भी उनकी पार्टी को बहुत बड़ा बहुमत इस सदन में प्राप्त था। तब योजना को छूटी देकर हमको योजना विहिन बना दिया गया। चार साल तक करोड़पतियों को उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए पूरा प्रोत्साहन दिया गया। ऐसी स्थिति पैदा की गई कि चार सौ कारखानों को देश में बन्द होना पड़ा। यह 1968-69 की बात है। लाखों श्रमिकों को काम से छूटी दे दी गई और उनकी बेरोजगार कर दिया गया। इस वास्ते यह सब किया गया कि ऋण शक्ति का देश में अभाव था। तब हमारे करोड़पतियों ने ऐसी नीति अपनाई जो राष्ट्रहित विरोधी नीति थी। नीति उन्होंने यह बनाई कि उत्पादन घटाओ, मुनाफा बढ़ाओ। कम सामान पैदा करो और सामान को महंगा बना कर ज्यादा मुनाफा बढ़ाओ। ज्यादा माल होगा, मर्गों में जाएगा यह बात अनुभव में गलत साबित हो चुकी है। स्वयं उत्पादन बढ़ाने से माल सस्ता नहीं होगा और न हुआ है। उत्पादन घटा कर मुनाफा बढ़ाने की नीति जो उस समय थी, फिर उस नीति को हिन्दुस्तान के उद्योगपतियों ने चालू कर दिया और इस बजट के जरिये उनकी इस नीति का पूरी तरह से समर्थन किया गया है। केवल यही नहीं कि उद्योगपतियों पर करों का बोझ नहीं डाला गया, सिर्फ यही नहीं कि उनको लूटने की पूरी छूट दे दी गई है, लेकिन बड़ी निराशा की बात यह है कि बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद जो आम लोगों को आशा थी—और हम सब को आशा थी कि यह जो देश की सम्पत्ति है, बैंकों का जो रूपया है, यह वहां जाएगा, इसको वहां लगाया जाएगा जहां इसकी ज्यादा आवश्यकता है, यानी छोटे

[श्री भोगेन्द्र झा]

तथा मंजले उद्योगों के लिए, वह आशा भी पूरी नहीं हुई। चाहे राष्ट्रीयकृत बैंक हो या दूसरे बैंक हों या इंडस्ट्रियल फाइनेंस कारपोरेशन हो, यह जितना भी इन्स्टीट्यूशनल क्रेडिट का मामला है, उसका बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा अभी भी हिन्दुस्तान के करोड़पतियों के हाथ में जा रहा है, जो पुराने बैंकपति थे उनके हाथ में जा रहा है। इस माने में बैंक राष्ट्रीयकरण के बाद भी उनको रुपये के मामले में कोई दिक्कत नहीं हुई है। बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा—बैंकों का वे अभी भी ऋणों के रूप में हजम कर रहे हैं, देश का धन वे ले रहे हैं और देश की आम जनता के लिए, जन गण के लिए समाजवाद के शब्द का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है। यह सरकार समाजवाद लाएगी, इसकी आशा में इस सरकार से नहीं करता हूँ। इसकी मुझे कोई शिकायत भी नहीं है क्योंकि पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था में, पूँजीवादी तंत्र में एक पूँजीवादी पार्टी से यह आशा करना बेकार है—

एक माननीय सदस्य : हाथ क्यों इसके साथ मिलाते हो ?

श्री भोगेन्द्र झा : जान बूझ कर हाथ मिलाते हैं। यह अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि यह पूँजीवादी पार्टी है। लेकिन अमरीकी साम्राज्यवाद जो इस देश को हड़पना चाहता है, हम चाहते हैं कि हम दोनों मिल कर उससे मुकाबला करें, उस से देश की रक्षा करें। हम धोखे में नहीं हैं और चाहते हैं कि आप भी धोखे में न रहें। मैं यह भी स्पष्ट कर देना चाहता हूँ कि जब खतरा होगा हम आप से भी हाथ मिलायेंगे। देश के अन्दर जो देशद्रोही शक्तियाँ हैं, उनसे अगर खतरा होगा तो हम आप से हाथ मिलायेंगे लेकिन समझ बूझ कर मिलायेंगे। आपकी पार्टी पूँजीवादी पार्टी है, जहाँ तक पार्टी का सवाल है। यह नहीं 99 प्रतिशत पूँजीवादी पार्टी है। बल्कि शत प्रतिशत पूँजीवादी पार्टी है।

ऐसे भाषण किये जा रहे हैं कि समाजवाद इस देश में हम ला रहे हैं। आप समाजवाद न खा सकेंगे, इसका हमें पूरा भरोसा है और इसके

लिए आपके खिलाफ हमें शिकायत भी नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आग्रह यह करना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह आपके लिए सम्भव है कि जो देश का धन है, जो राष्ट्र का पैसा है और जिस को आप बैंकों या दूसरों के जरिये इन करोड़पतियों को देते हैं, उसको देना बन्द कर दिया जाए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन्हें आप कह दें कि आप कारखाने बनाओ, आप व्यापार करो लेकिन अपने पैसे से करो, देश के धन से मत करो। क्या यह कहने की हिम्मत इस सरकार में है? मैं समझता हूँ नहीं है। सारे देश का धन जमा करके उनको दिया जा रहा है और फिर भी भाषण हो रहे हैं कि हम समाजवाद लाएँगे। यह बहुत बड़ी प्रवृत्ति है जो राष्ट्रीय पैमाने पर हो रही है, समूचे देश को धोखा दिया जा रहा है। हमें चाहिए कि जो राष्ट्र का धन है, उसकी हम उनसे रक्षा करें। अगर यह सरकार हिम्मत करके देश के जिन बड़े बड़े उद्योगपतियों ने या करोड़पतियों ने बैंकों से ऋण ले रखा है या दूसरी एजेंसियों से ऋण ले रखा है, उनको कह दे कि एक सप्ताह या दो सप्ताह या एक महीने के अन्दर अन्दर वे उसको वापिस कर दें तो आप देखेंगे कि चीनी रुपये किलो या डेढ़ रुपये किलो बिकने लग जाएगी। अगर आप इस पैसे को उनसे वापिस लेते हैं तो सिमेंट, कपड़े आदि के दाम जहाँ आप लाना चाहते हैं, आसानी से वहाँ आ सकते हैं। शर्त यही है कि उनको बैंकों आदि से जो रुपया दिया गया है उसको आप वापिस ले लें। अगर आप वापिस नहीं ले सकते हैं तो केवल उन से आप इसकी मांग करें, एलान कर दें, आदेश ही दे दें तो आप देखें कि कीमतों में ह्रास आ जाएगा, कीमतों में कमी आ जाएगी देश का धन उनको देकर उनकी पूँजी को आज बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है और जन गण के लिए भाषण हो रहे हैं समाजवाद के। राष्ट्र की समूची सम्पत्ति उबको देकर उनको पूँजीवाद बढ़ाने का मौका दिया जा रहा है और जन गण को समाजवाद का नारा दिया जा रहा है। पिछले साल के लोक सभा के चुनावों, इस साल के विधान सभाओं के चुनावों, बंगला देश के सवाल पर शानदार विजय और पूर्ण राष्ट्रीय एकता के इजहार की पृष्ठभूमि में क्या सरकार से

यह आशा करना बहुत अनुचित था कि राष्ट्र के संचित धन को इन पूंजीपतियों को देने पर अंकुश लगाने की हिम्मत की जाती, या उस में कुछ कमी की जाती? लेकिन इस बजट में उम्का जरा भी मकेत नहीं मिलता है।

16 hrs.

इस बजट से यही संकेत मिलता है कि आम लोगों पर करों का बोझ डाला जा रहा है। इस से तो उस मौलवी की कहानी याद आती है, जिस ने एक वार ही सभी अण्डे लेने के लिए मुर्गी को मार दिया। 183 करोड़ रुपये में से 24 करोड़ रुपये को छोड़कर उत्पादन कर आदि के रूप में 159 करोड़ रुपये का बोझ आम लोगों पर पड़ेगा। इसमें उनकी क्रय-शक्ति घटेगी, उत्पादित माल की खपत में कमी होगी, वार-खानों का उत्पादन और घटेगा। इस स्थिति में हम बेकारी की समस्या को कैसे हल कर पायेंगे?

जनमंथ वाने पहले यह नारा लगाने थे—अब भी लगाने होंगे कि “हर हाथ को काम, हर खेत को पानी।” यद्यपि वे हूटिया और बोकारों का विरोध करते थे, लेकिन फिर भी वे हर हाथ को काम देने की मांग करते थे। जाहिर है कि सभी लोगों को सड़क पर भाड़ू देने का काम नहीं दिया जा सकता है। अगर देश में औद्योगीकरण नहीं होगा, तो लोगों को काम नहीं दिया जा सकेगा। इस से देश की तीन-चौथाई जनता की जब में पैसा नहीं होगा, उनके पाम क्रय-शक्ति नहीं होगी और माल की बिक्री के लिए बाजार नहीं होगा। इस प्रकार इस बजट के द्वारा हम देश की आम जनता की क्रय-शक्ति को घटाकर देश के औद्योगीकरण पर चोट की जा रही है। इससे यह साफ जाहिर है कि यह उत्पादन बढ़ाने और विकास का बजट नहीं है। यह तो विकास में—राष्ट्रीय पूंजीवादी विकास में बाधा डालने वाला बजट है।

देश में महंगाई की वृद्धि हुई है और होती चली जा रही है। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि कुछ मिलों ने कहा है कि महंगाई कुछ कम हुई

है। आज हम देश के विभिन्न हिस्सों में चीनी तीन, माढ़े तीन और चार रुपये किलो के डिग्राव से बिक रही है। वह तीन रुपये किलो से कम कही भी नहीं है। यह हम सरकार की नीतियों का परिणाम है। इस के मुकाबले में गन्ने की कीमत नहीं बढ़ी है। बहुत सी चीनी मिलों का समय में पहले बन्द हो जाना इस बात का संकेत है कि गन्ने के उत्पादन में कमी हुई है।

इस बजट में जो संतोष प्रकट किया गया है, वह स्वाभाविक है, लेकिन जो उग बेफिक्री का इजहार किया गया है कि अगर कृषि उत्पादन में कुछ कमी भी हो जाये, तो कोई खतरा नहीं है, वह समझ में नहीं आता है। कपाम, गन्ने, पटसन और तिलहन आदि के उत्पादन में कमी हुई है। हमें बाहर से माल मंगाने में विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करनी पड़ रही है। जहाँ तक पटसन का सम्बन्ध है, हमने दूसरी योजना के अन्त में ही उनका उत्पादन कर लिया, जितना कि तीसरी योजना के अन्त में करना था। उमको हम आगे नहीं बढ़ा पा रहे हैं। इसका कारण यह है कि पटसन और चीनी मिलों के मालिक बड़े इजारेदार हैं और बैंकों की नीतियों तथा कर्जा देने के माध्यमों पर उन का नियंत्रण है। इसी लिए वे पूंजी इकट्ठा कर लेते हैं, बिक्री के लिए ज्यादा उत्पादित माल नहीं बनाते हैं और उत्पादकों तथा उपभोक्ताओं को लूटते हैं। वे देश के उत्पादन को घटा रहे हैं। इस तरह चीनी, कपड़ा और पटसन मिलों के मालिकों ने एक तरह से देशद्रोह का काम किया है, क्योंकि देश में उत्पादन घटने की वजह से विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करके बाहर से माल मंगाना पड़ रहा है। इस बजट में उम नीति को प्रोत्साहन दिया जा रहा है। उम पर अंकुश नहीं लगाया जा रहा है।

इस संदर्भ में “सामाजिक न्याय” शब्द का गलत इस्तेमाल किया गया है। सामाजिक न्याय के मानी हम सभी समझते हैं। सामाजिक सेवा की बात एक हद तक ठीक हो सकती है, लेकिन “सामाजिक न्याय” शब्द का बेजा इस्तेमाल नहीं होना चाहिए। जहाँ तक सामाजिक सेवा का सम्बन्ध है, चौथी पंच-वर्षीय योजना में छोटे

[श्री भोगेन्द्र झा]

किसानों, सीमान्तक किसानों और खेतिहर मजदूरों के लिए 10 करोड़ रुपये खर्च किये गये हैं। पहले साल में इस सम्बन्ध में पचास लाख रुपये खर्च किये गये। दूसरे साल चार करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने का दावा किया जाता है और तीसरे साल दस करोड़ रुपये खर्च करने का अन्दाज है। इस तरह 106 करोड़ रुपये का एक बड़ा हिस्सा अभी खर्च करने को बाकी है। अभी तक जो दस, ग्यारह करोड़ रुपये खर्च हुए हैं, यह पहला अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी कि उनमें से आधी रकम रास्ते में ही गायब हो गई होगी इस विषाल देश में छोटे किसानों, सीमान्तक किसानों और खेत मजदूरों की आबादी तीन चौथाई से ज्यादा है। लेकिन योजना के पांच सालों में से आधा समय बीत जाने पर भी उन लोगों के लिए रखी गई रकम का नगण्य हिस्सा, दस प्रतिशत में कम, खर्च नहीं हो पाया है। इसमें जाहिर हो जाता है कि यह सरकार किस मुन्तैदी से सामाजिक सेवा कर रही है।

इसी प्रकार शिक्षित और अशिक्षित बेकारों को काम देने के लिए जो धनराशि रखी गई है, उसका भी इन्तेमाल नहीं हो रहा है। क्यों? क्या यह समझा जाये कि यह सरकार पूरी तरह से षगु है? बगला देश के सवाल पर हमने अपनी राष्ट्रीय नीतियों की और राजनैतिक तथा सामरिक विजय शामिल की है। क्या उसके बाद यह आशा नहीं की जा सकती है कि हम इन क्षेत्रों में मुन्तैदी बरतेंगे?

मेरा यह एतराज नहीं है कि इस बजट में 183 करोड़ रुपये के नये कर लगाये गये हैं। मुझे यह भी एतराज नहीं है कि इन दो सालों में 683 करोड़ रुपये के नए कर लगाए गए हैं। अगर जनहित में आवश्यकता हो, तो हम से भी ज्यादा कर लगाये जा सकते हैं और लोग उन करों को देगे। मुझे यह भी एतराज नहीं है कि देश की आम जनता पर कर लगाये गए हैं। अगर आवश्यक होगा, तो वे और भी कुर्बानी देने के लिए तैयार होंगे। सही नीतियों और सही मंत्रियों को चुनने में हमने बहुत सफलता हासिल कर ली है।

लेकिन एतराज की बात यह है कि गांवों और शहरों के करोड़पतियों और पूँजीपतियों को छूट देकर यह सरकार आम जनता पर बोट कर रही है। इस लिए आम लोगों को यह समझना है कि यह बजट देश के हित में नहीं है। सरकार चाहे आम जनता पर इस में दुगुना बोझ डाल दे, लेकिन अगर लूटी हुई सम्पत्ति को वापिस लेने के वाद ही आम लोगों की जेब पर हाथ डाला जाये, तो लोग खुशी में देगे। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया जा रहा है। इस बजट में तो यह मानलूम होता है कि पिछले सात लोक सभा के चुनाव नहीं हुए और कांग्रेस पार्टी नहीं टूटी। आज अगर श्री मोगरजी देमाई वित्त मंत्री होने, तो वह यही बजट रखते। यह तो श्री मोगरजी देमाई का ही बजट रखा गया है, श्री चक्राण का नहीं।

देश को स्वावलम्बी बनाने का जो सवाल है, उसके विषय में भी खतरे की घटी बज चुकी है। स्वावलम्बी होने के लिए देश का उत्पादन बढ़ाना होगा और उसके लिए वर्तमान क्षमता का विस्तार करना होगा। देश के बड़े करोड़पति टाटा, ब्रिटिश पजीपति यह माग कर रहे हैं कि उत्पादन में वृद्धि करने के लिए कारखाने उनके हाथ में रहे और उनको अपनी क्षमता बढ़ाने की इजाजत दी जाये। हाल ही में जो ब्रिटिश टेकनिकल मिशन यहाँ आया था, उसके साथ हमारे उद्योग मन्त्रालय के सचिव ने कुछ ऐसी बातों पर रजामन्दी जाहिर की थी, जो हमारी राष्ट्रीय नीतियों के विरुद्ध है।

ब्रिटिश पजीपतियों ने माग की है कि हिन्दुस्तान में हमारे कारखानों का विस्तार करने का मौका दिया जाये। इसके लिए वे ब्रिटेन से पूरे कारखाने मगाने की छूट चाहते हैं और हमारे उद्योग सचिव श्री लाल, ने शायद उसकी स्वीकृति दे दी है। कम्युनिके में वह बात स्पष्ट नहीं है। अखबारों से आ चुका है और सरकार की ओर से उस का खडन नहीं हुआ है। मे आग्रह करूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री इसका खडन करें। जो सडै-गले और पुगाने कारखाने हमारे देश में लाने का प्रयास हो रहा है, वह देश को स्वावलम्बी बनाने की नीति के विरुद्ध है।

देशी या विदेशी पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में जो भी बुनियादी उद्योग है, जो भी बड़े कारखाने हैं, उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये। जो बैंक देशी या विदेशी पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में हैं, उन सभी बैंकों का, तेल उद्योग और थोक व्यापार का भी राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाये। और मजदूरों का उम्र में पार्टिसिपेशन, मजदूर का प्रवन्ध में हिस्सा लेना, इसको सुनिश्चित किया जाय। इसके वर्ग शक्तता बढ़ाने के सवाल पर करोड़पतियों के मामले में हस्तक्षेप करना पड़ेगा। इसलिए यह पूंजीवादी बजट जो समाजवाद के वातावरण में आया है यह स्वीकार करने लायक नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री महोदय हम पर मोर्चे और सदन इसके लिए उन्हें मजबूर करे।

आखिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ, मेरा यह आग्रह होगा कि सदन के अन्दर सरकारी दल और बाहर के हम सभी लोग मिलकर इस बात पर जोर दे कि इस बजट में जनविरोधी पहलू जो है उसको हटाकर जनहित में उसको लाया जाय।

SHRI RAJA RAM SHASTRI (Varanasi)
Mr. Chairman, Sir, I welcome this Budget on social principles.

Sir, so far our economists were mostly debating the problem, what quantum of social welfare or social values should be imported into the economy so that the economy may not be hindered. That was all their problem, that is, they thought that social values are a sort of detriment to economic growth and the more we cater to them the more we are hindered in securing the growth of economy.

Recently, opinions have changed a little and very great economists like Mr. Gunnar Myrdal have spoken about this. You know, he is a great student of developing economies. He has come out with a verdict that, I quote him :

“Social reforms should be an integral part of the development plans. Greater equality is a pre-condition for speeding up production and development.”

This, Sir, is a good and a sound advice and I welcome the fact for this reason that for

the first time I notice in the Budget and in the Budget speech of the hon. Minister that this point of view has been clearly recognised. I quote the Finance Minister from his Budget speech. He said :

“By far the largest increase is being made in the provision for those schemes which combine an element of social welfare with future growth potential.”

He has allotted a total sum of Rs. 240 crores for rural water supply, rural home sites, slum clearance and improvement, primary education and schemes for the educated unemployed, etc. He has also bothered about the areas to which greater sum should be allotted, to backward States and also backward areas within those States.

This way, Sir, I feel that this is the first time that we notice in our economic history that social values have been incorporated and made an integral part of our economic growth. This was not the case so far. So far, our economists did try to allow some provision for social objectives but those objectives ran parallel to economic growth; they were never integrated into the economic scheme as such. They were never considered to be instrumental for the growth of the economy itself. The fact is, Sir, that mostly our economists were oriented by the British legacy. They were mostly following the line of the capitalist economies where more stress is placed on capital than on labour. They thought that capital should be encouraged and not labour so much because capital was the point with them. In our case, our wealth being more human wealth, the position is different. That is why in our developing economy, human wealth, human potential, the labour force, has more to be encouraged, and has to be given more incentives than incentives for capital. That is why we find that the vested interests are dissatisfied because they are not getting the incentives that they want. But in case we give them all those incentives, incentives are taken away from the labour side. That is our problem. This problem has also been recognised and the solution has clearly been delineated in the budget speech of the Finance Minister. This is also a very welcome sign. I would like to quote the Finance Minister himself on this point. He had said :

[Shri Raja Ram Shastri]

"Fiscal concessions for promoting industrialisation should not be general or across the board in character but should relate specifically to our social and economic objectives. Again, as far as possible, it would be desirable to provide incentives which encourage the use of those resources such as labour which are in abundant supply rather than of resources such as capital which will continue to be scarce for a long time to come."

This way, this budget is very welcome from the social point of view, the point of view of social objectives. We know that socialism cannot be brought about in a day or overnight. But a beginning has to be made. Socialism has been defined as equal opportunities. We know that we cannot provide equal opportunities to all the people in the nation immediately or within a very short time. My suggestion would be that in such a case, a beginning should clearly be made and manifestly be made, and the proper stage to begin with a real socialist economy is the child.

I stress the child because while we are catering for equal opportunities for grown-up people, children, before our very eyes, are losing certain opportunities for good. You know, Sir, that there are certain opportunities which come at a certain stage in life. Fundamental education, fundamental health etc. are important in the beginning of one's life. Once you lose the opportunity at that age, you can never regain these things in life. The only thing that you can do is to compensate for them or is to give substitutes for them. So, I say that a real beginning in socialist economy should be made in the field of child welfare.

I notice this trend also in this budget. A lot has been done in this budget for children. But I find that the objective is not very much manifest; it peeps through a veil and does not come out into the open. For the children, a little more has to be done.

Another thing that would satisfy me in the socialist line would be that every quantum of economic growth should be judged also by social criteria. For instance, a certain village or a certain area may be developed or a certain industry may be developed some-

where, and a certain amount of growth may be achieved in a certain area or in a certain field of life. While bringing about that growth, we should also see whether it has achieved any social objectives or brought about some social equality in the process, because social objectives do not come over one's head; social objectives should be woven into the structure of the economy, in the very process of economic development, in the process of bringing about that development. The very process of economic development should be socially oriented, and oriented towards an egalitarian society. When you go to build something, say, a dam, you should see that the people employed are not discriminated against. Or if there is discrimination, it is in favour of the poor people, for the local people, people who have lost their lands or who have suffered or sacrificed for the development projects. These things have to be taken into consideration because only then we can say that we have really integrated social values into the economic structure, into the very process of economic growth. Unless these two things are done, I do not think we are very clear in our objective and that we put the priorities straight. Although these things are there in the budget—I feel, their presence there is not manifest. I would like that they should be more manifest and more explicit.

I would draw the Finance Minister's attention to one point regarding my constituency, Varanasi. I have just received a telegram which reads:

"Exorbitant enhancement of excise duty on metallic yarn, tariff, custom duty on raw materials has been made. The metallic yarn industry is a new small scale industry coming up in Varanasi. It is already suffering under heavy taxation. Further enhancement will result in total closure causing heavy loss and unemployment and will encourage smuggling. Varanasi traders have already submitted a representation against previous imposition of duties with expectation of relief and they are facing a fresh severe blow. I request reconsideration and reduction in the existing duty to save this industry from being ruined".

The Finance Minister has visited Varanasi and has seen the plight of the small scale industry people and cottage industry people.

I hope he will have mercy on them and do something to relieve the burden on their heads. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. A. KADER (Bombay—Central South) : The Budget is an instrument through which one looks at the performance of the previous year, the position of the present year and plans for the future. Last year the budget was presented twice, one a provisional budget and then the regular budget in May. At that time, although our borders on the eastern side were humming with refugee activity, we were not able to grasp the financial and economic quantum of the burden we would have to bear on account of the refugees coming to our country. All said and done, it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister and his colleagues, ultimately of course the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, that the budget that has been presented to this House is one more major victory in our history. Why I say major victory? Because after the last budget, not only did refugees come, not only did we fight a war, but we had also an election throughout the country barring three or four States; in spite of all this, though the budget has come in a shattered economy, it has been presented as if it is a normal budget. That is a great credit to the financial acumen of the Ministry as well as the Minister concerned. I congratulate the Minister on this. Although he has put some additional burden, looking to the budget as a whole, from the national point of view, one can say that the budget is satisfactory and it has been received well throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Sir, I would like to speak on one or two aspects of the budget. One is the slums of the cities. Of course, I represent an area called Bombay where there are so many slums.

AN HON. MEMBER : A city of slums.

SHRI S. A. KADER : Yes; it may be called a city of slums now-a-days, because I know that in 1956-57, when we surveyed the area to find out how many slums or jhorpathies were there, it was 82 in number. Today, the number is over 400, and it is of a larger dimension than what was existing in 1956-57. But, at the same time, we have to understand how these slums are created in the cities. It is because of the influx of the people from villages to the towns and from the towns to the cities

for earning their bread; for bread-winning, they are coming out, and we are not able to cope with the problems that the cities are facing. I am not talking only about Bombay; the situation is the same in Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and elsewhere also. To tackle this problem, we have to go into the root cause and see that this influx from the villages and the small towns has to be stopped by giving proper facilities and incentives so that people may not migrate to the big cities or towns, and that alone can save the situation.

At the same time, today, what is the condition in the slum areas? I would like to draw the attention of our Finance Minister to one aspect. He happens to come from that area, and he was the Chief Minister of that State and he knows Bombay as much as I do, and possibly he might be knowing better because as a Chief Minister he had access to so many places where we have none. I would like to draw his attention to the fact that in the slums or jhorpathies as we call it, there are inhuman conditions of living. There are conditions where there is no latrine or bath or water-supply, and the people are using water which is sometimes gutter-water for washing and other purposes. If we cannot remove the slums,—and I am quite sure that within the foreseeable future it is not possible to remove them—at least make them worthwhile living in and make them humanly habitable, by supplying the minimum requirements and amenities; water and sanitation should be properly looked after. That is one aspect.

For that purpose, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the fact that when these schemes are taken up, allocation should be made for the cities and the proper spots which are in need, so that the money that is sent from here reaches the spots of the slum in the city of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras or Delhi. I would stress that care is taken in this matter, because it sometimes happens that a bulk grant is given and that is used by the State Government in a different way which may ultimately defeat the purpose for which the grant is given.

There is another thing. The hon. Finance Minister has touched a virgin ground this time by taxing lotteries. That was not expected; nobody expected it. Lotteries have been taxed to the extent of 33 per cent. I would like to show him one more example and, that is,

[Shri S A Kader]

on one condition. The condition is that he should do away with the kerosene tax because kerosene tax is a tax on the common man. Direct Kerosene is used mostly by the lower middle and middle classes of society and the economically backward classes of society everywhere, be it in cities or villages. What is the amount that the Minister gets by way of this levy? Rs 29 crores in a budget of thousands of crores. I would like to ask what you are creating by this Rs 29 crores. You may get Rs 29 crores, but by that you will be getting 29 crores multiplied by 55 crores of more subsidies at Parliament and at the Government on oil account.

I would like to point out that in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi, races are common. There is a jack pot pool.

AN HON MEMBER Bangalore also

SHRI S A KADIR Bangalore also
I would like to explain to the hon Members who do not know that it is a ten rupee investment on the jack pot pool and when that amount is collected one has to nominate five horses in the five races. If the five horses win then, if the number of tickets is more the jack pot pool is divided and if the number is less a very big jack pot comes in which is many times greater than a lottery prize. And it is every week. There are about 27 to 28 races in Bombay. There are twenty races in Poona about thirty in Bangalore. I have not got the figures for Madras and Calcutta. But everywhere these jack pot pools operate. If the jack pot pool dividend is Rs 100 or 1,000 the tax may be lower but if the quantum of a single jackpot comes to about Rs 50,000 or about a lakh, you can tax it higher and you can collect quite a good amount from the jack pot pool.

If India has to progress from the socialist point of view, we shall have to have more money and we shall have to find more grounds. Agricultural field is very potential and we shall have to look into it and persuade our friends to contribute a larger amount. I was told that in Haryana and Punjab there are people, farmers with 15 or 20 or at the most 100 acres of land, who are prepared to buy combines at Rs 1.5 lakhs cash down. That is the position in Haryana and Punjab and in the sugar industry areas in Maharashtra.

The Budget visualises what is going to happen. But sometimes we bring in political issues. My friend Shamim raised an issue and he said that Kashmir was a fraud, elections there were a fraud and so on. Bangla Desh was a fraud. Possibly he would have said that his being here is a fraud, although he is an elected Member. He was prepared to say all that he has said. I do not have any quarrel with him but this is the way he looks at things. Again and again questions are raised in this House and elsewhere also about Kashmir saying that Kashmir had not joined India on its own free will. If my friend Mr Shamim meant only this, that Kashmir affair were a fraud I am prepared to meet him anywhere and discuss with him and convince him that Kashmir joined India under the Constitution under the free will of its people. Its leaders not only joined India they requested India we want to join and the relevant article had been signed in the proper documented way. There are political parties who want to exploit religion. Some persons in India, in Pakistan and even in Kashmir say it is a Muslim area and it should not be with India because India is a Hindu area and Pakistan is a Muslim area. They completely forget that India is not a Hindu area or any other religious area but it is a secular area and in that secular area leaders of Kashmir at that time saw progress and prosperity and so Kashmir joined India. On 4th December, when we were attacked by Pakistan, Mr Shamim spoke in this House about the policies of India and it was one of the best speeches I could have ever listened. There he has definitely condemned the outlook of Pakistan and strongly supported our action as an Indian and not as a Kashmiri in the war for Bangla Desh that we were waging. I do not understand what has happened between 4th December and 22nd March to make him turn a somersault. It is no use now saying all these things about Kashmir. Kashmir is a part and parcel of India as Bombay or Madras or Calcutta is. Any challenge to Kashmir is a challenge to the sovereignty of our country. I am quite sure that shortly even Pakistan will have to concede that Kashmir is a part and parcel of India. The international border that is finally settled will include the beautiful valley of Kashmir in India. There is no doubt about it in my mind.

But what about those who get elected and then say that it is a fraud? Mr Shamim was elected against a Congress candidate. He

defeated the Congress candidate. He comes and takes oath in this House. The Election Commission declares the result. There was no fraud because he was elected. The Jamaat-e-Islami is a communal organisation which should not exist in my opinion and should not take part in politics. Its members are elected, and they say that it is not a fraud, but here my friend Mr. Shamim says that it is a big fraud. Why? Because they saw clearly that they were not going to win. The mood of the people was such that they were not going to be supported. So, they wanted an excuse to get out, and then they make these charges that it is all humbug and fraud. I would like to tell him not to judge the people of India in such a superficial way. The people of India are sound. Their political maturity is unparalleled in the annals of parliamentary democracy. The way they voted in the Election of 1971 shows that they wanted to have a stable Government. They decided that our leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi and her party would give them stable Government, and so they voted for her. In 1972, they again thought that as she had achieved victory in Bangla Desh by military intervention, she would keep her promise of *garibi hatao*. They strengthened her hands with majority in all the states so that she could work with dynamic speed to implement the *garibi hatao* programme immediately. This was the mood of the people from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Assam to Kutch. The people thought in one way, and that is the reason why those who have failed to get elected call it a fraud. This is the only reason I can see. Last time the pernicious theory was trotted out that invisible ink was imported from the Soviet Union. This time that argument is not there. The argument now is fraud. It serves no purpose. If Mr. Shamim considers India as his own country, that he is an Indian first, then let him think and act as an Indian. He may belong to any political party, we have no objection, but the country is one, its unity is indivisible, and that is where we stand. If necessary we shall fight to save that unity. We will not budge an inch from that. He is such a nice person to talk with, but I was simply taken aback when he made a political speech on the budget, to which I had to reply. I am really constrained to say that he has lost his sense of reasoning.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJI (New Delhi) : Sir, let me begin by congratulating the hon. Finance Minister for presenting a balanced budget which should boost the morale

of the common man. The people of our country have repeatedly proved their sense of patriotism and sound common sense by accepting burdens whenever it has been necessary. Only recently they bore the burden of the supplementary budget which was required to face the extraordinary situation last year to help Bangla Desh and our war efforts. I am sure the common man will not hesitate to take his share of the burden, provided a proper psychological atmosphere is created and he is convinced of the genuineness of the case.

Sir, the soundness of the budget has been proved in a way by the buoyancy of the share market. This has been possible because the industrial section on the one hand is now sure of the stability of the Government and more investment will come forward. On the other side, the common man believes today that the Government really and sincerely means to give a fair and equitable deal to him. Here I do not agree with my friend Shri Indrajit Gupta; when the Government is really stable, then only the share market goes up.

The critics of the budget should note that the public sector undertakings in the Centre and also in the States will get Rs. 700 crores more than last year. This is a big achievement. Out of this Rs. 700 crores, more than Rs. 150 crores are specially earmarked for the weaker sections of the society and special emphasis has been given to rural works, leading to rural development and rural employment. Moreover, special employment schemes for educated unemployed persons in the urban areas are also receiving top priority and all the serious consideration which it deserves. If this is not bringing socialism, then what is really socialism?

Rapid expansion of primary education including improvement of school buildings and school environment has also received proper attention in the proposed budget.

The budget has also taken into account the serious problems of drinking water in the villages, and a big scheme for expansion of immediate water supplies in the rural areas is being taken up. I am sorry I do not agree with one of my friends when he said that drinking water arrangements are not being looked after in this budget. Care was taken in the previous budget about this matter and

[Shrimati Mukul Banerjee]

in this budget also care has been taken to look after it

Sir, very considerable sums have been set apart for slum clearance, slum improvement and low cost urban housing for low income group. I would like to tell the previous speaker who spoke about slums in Bombay that in New Delhi we have started very good work and the New Delhi Municipal Committee has already built a lot of latrines in slum areas and provided taps and other necessary facilities for living like human beings. So in New Delhi conditions are improving very well and I hope that with our majority in the Delhi Metropolitan Council we shall be able to change the conditions in Old Delhi also.

Particular emphasis has been given in the budget for rapid expansion of health, family planning and nutrition schemes also. It is clear from the budget that the slum population in the big cities will also now receive adequate attention.

Taking an overall view of the position the budget proposal is a clear indication that the Government is determined to do both social justice and economic justice, particularly to the under developed and weaker sections of the society, which includes Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, minorities and other sections. This budget is sure to create a new social order.

The implementation of the schemes is very crucial and I would like to put pressure on that. I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister as to how he is thinking of enlisting public enthusiasm and public cooperation. I believe that creating a proper cadre at the administrative level is absolutely necessary, and that cadre should be dedicated to the cause and should actually believe in socialism.

It should be admitted that every budget proposal brings some additional burden on the fixed income group, either through direct or indirect taxation. I know this because most of the voters in my constituency, are government servants. This group by nature does not evade tax. They cannot either, because their mode of income is always open and clear. The tax structure is putting an increasing burden on them. At the same time, it is our experience that the

sphere of black money and tax evasion is rapidly widening. These are being made manifest in ever increasing smuggling of gold in the country, illegal operations in land and superfluous high valued consumer goods. This is grossly harmful to the society because this money does not contribute to savings for investment on either public or private sector. On the other hand this leads to inflation and more deficit financing. I would like to know from the hon. Minister how he proposes to fight this chronic malady in the society.

Again we heard throughout last year that agricultural wealth should be taxed. But I do not find any clear and distinct beginning towards this in the budget proposal. According to me at least a beginning should be made in this budget with the higher land holdings, e.g. 50 acres or more and no exemption should be given to society holdings. Of course, government may think of finding out some other means to boost co-operative farming etc.

I would like to raise another point about incentives. Government should have a scheme to spend the local levies on local improvement schemes as far as possible. This will minimise the common resentment that the local people do not derive any benefit out of the taxes paid by them. I would like to give one example. In Malda they produce only mangoes. There was one D.C. who started collecting four paise per basket and thus collected Rs. 4½ lakhs that way. The entire money was their spent on building schools, colleges and hospitals in that area so that the local area could be improved.

Then, more car-marking of funds has to be done for the development of the backward areas. Certain facilities will have to be given to attract industries to those areas. These facilities will include, among other things, communications, railways, roads, electrification and better living conditions.

Then, government have not indicated as to how they propose to hold the price line, particularly of essential goods. Voluntary organisations alone cannot tackle this problem. So, there should be a really effective machinery set up by government with proper sanction from the government at least for items like foodgrains, sugar, pulses, salt, kerosene, textiles etc. If necessary, government should

consider state trading in such essential consumer commodities. Of course, I would appeal to all Members of Parliament to unite and help the government in organising the price resistance movement and also in bringing down the prices. There should be no party barrier in this because this will ultimately help the poor.

Extra tax on kerosene is bound to hit very adversely almost the entire poor and specially the rural population. I realise that Government has to import kerosene to some extent. But the other aspect of the consumer should also be kept in view. The very running of the daily life of a villager and the poor people, including cooking and light etc., depends on kerosene and additional tax on kerosene is sure to hit them severely. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to withdraw this proposal.

I would rather suggest that the Finance Ministry can take two paise more on rayon, because rayon is used by rich people and not by poor people, than taxing kerosene till we are in a position to give lighting facilities to all the villagers.

Regarding the boosting of industrial production, I would suggest to the Government to seriously evolve means to establish good relationship with labour. One of the principal means should be to have management and workers combined council or committee, in which the workers' representatives should be able to participate in the entire matter of industry. This should be immediately implemented properly in the public sector undertakings. There is a provision for this but it is not properly implemented. That is why, labour unrest is there.

In the end, I give my wholehearted support to the Budget proposals and I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for his keeping a balanced and judicious eye on every aspect of the national requirement and I am quite sure that the implementation of the Budget proposals will surely bring a rapid social transformation and a new and just social order would be created.

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : बड़ी मेहनत करके हमारे मिनिस्टर और मिनिस्ट्री ने ऐसा बजट बनाया है जो किसी को पिच न हो।

लेकिन जरूरत इस बात की थी कि बंगला देश की लड़ाई के बाद और स्टेट असेम्बलीज के ईलैक्शन के बाद हम संजीदगी से सोचते कि मुल्क को किस तरफ हमें ले जाना है और हमारा रास्ता क्या होना चाहिये। लोग रास्ता बूढ़ चुके हैं। लेकिन हम बजट के बारे में यह कहना है कि इसको बहुत कान्फिडेंस से बनाया तो गया है लेकिन यह बड़ा गोलमोल ढंग से बनाया गया है। इस बजट में न तो रूरल रिच क्लास को टच किया गया है। और न ही बिग मीनोपोलीज को टच किया गया है बहुत ध्यान से हमने किसी को भी नाराज न करने की बात की है। यह रास्ता बदलने वाली बात नहीं हो सकती है। इस वास्ते इस पर बड़ी गम्भीरता से हमसे सोचना चाहिये और देखना चाहिये कि देश को जिम तरफ हम ले जाना चाहते हैं क्या यह बजट हमको उस तरफ लेकर जा रहा है या नहीं। मेरी बहुत साफ थिंकिंग इसके बारे में यह है कि यह नहीं ले जा रहा है।

हमने इस बजट में सोशल रिफार्म के लिए, हरिजनों के लिए पैसा नढ़ाकर रखा है। इसको मैं एप्रिशिएट करता हूँ। लेकिन मिट्टी के तेल, फटिलाइजर या छोटे ट्यूबवैल्ज पर आपने जो टैक्स लगाया है इसका मीधा असर जो छोटा किमान है उस पर पड़ेगा। एक तरफ हम कहते हैं कि जो छोटा किमान है वह हरकत में आए, वह तकड़ा हो, मजबूत हो और उसको आगे लाना चाहिये लेकिन हमारी तरफ हम ट्यूबवैल्ज पर, फटिलाइजर पर टैक्स लगाने हैं, इसको मैं अच्छा नहीं समझता हूँ।

सारा प्राबलैम यह है कि आज हम देश में जो कुछ हो रहा है, उसको हम चेंज कैसे करें। लोग तबदीली चाहते हैं, पार्टी तबदीली चाहती है, पार्लिमेंट चाहती है, लीडरशिप चाहती है। फिर रुकावट कौनसी है? एक रुकावट तो मैं समझता हूँ और वह है ब्यूरोक्रेसी। लेकिन वह भी इतना भारी प्राबलैम नहीं है कि जिसको देख न सकें, सम्भाल न सकें। यह ठीक है कि पिछले तीन-चार साल से देश में जो कुछ हुआ, जो डायरेक्शन देश को दी गई, उसको डेस्ट्रॉय करने के

[श्री मतपाल कपूर]

हंग भी यद्वा पर इस्तेमाल हुआ। देश के लोग और लीडरशिप देश को जिम तरह ले जाना चाहती है हमारी व्यूरोक्रेमी हमें उम रास्ते से बहकाने और रास्ता बदलने के लिए मजबूर करती है, यह सही हो सकता है। देखने में आया है कि जितने नेशनलाइज्ड बैंक के या दूसरे बैंक के या इंडस्ट्रियल डिप्लोमेट कारपोरेशन जो हमने बनाए हैं, उनमें जितने भी प्राइवेट डायरेक्टर हैं एल आर सी तथा दूसरे इदागो में जितने डायरेक्टर हैं यह सही है कि उनके पाग जब कोई प्राबलैम आता है, मीनोपोलीज को खत्म करने की बात आती है या आप कोई नई बात करना चाहते हैं तो आपको रास्ते में सबसे बड़ी रुकावट कौन नजर आती है, सारी पार्लियामेंट इस्टीमेट्स को एक रास्ते से मोड़ कर दूसरे रास्ते की ओर ले जाने वाले कौन हैं, आपके तमाम जितने बड़े-बड़े बिजनेस हाउसिंग हैं उनके एजेंट ही तो हैं। आपन टैरिफ कमिशन बना रखा है। आज देश का सरम येंदार कोई डिमांड करे, उसकी वजह उनमें भी ज्यादा टैरिफ कमिशन में बैठे हुए लोग करते हैं। क्या इस तरह से जो तबदीली आप चाहते हैं, वह आएगी। जरूरी था कि आज हम फंसला करने कि मॉनिमम इनकम क्या हो एक इंडिविजुअल की इंडिविजुअल फॅमिली की। अरबन सीलिंग की तरफ भी हमने देगना है। मैं मानता हूँ कि बजट एक ऐसा जरिया नहीं कि देश में इनक्रेज आ जाए। लेकिन एक डायरेक्शन तो आप इसमें दे सकते हैं। चीफ मिनिस्टर की कान्फ्रेंस में फंसला हुआ कि लैंड सीलिंग हम करें। अब डायरेक्शन दे कर सारी स्टेट्स को इसको इम्प्लेमेंट करने का सवाल है। देश में फ्रंट्रेशन फैंट रही है। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि बगला देश आजाद करा लिया और इन्क्रेजेशन जीत लिए, अब क्राइसिस खत्म हो गया। मेरे ख्याल में वह अब शुरू हुआ है। हम लोग कम्प्लेसेट हैं। हम समझने लग गए हैं कि हमें कुछ करने की अब जरूरत नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि एक दो साल हम इसी तरह काम करते रहे तो लोगों में दुबारा इन्क्रेजेशन आ जायगा।

बेकारी का भी मसला है। एक तरफ हम कहते हैं कि लावो टीचर, इंजीनियर बर्बरह बेकार हैं और दूसरी तरफ हमारे मुल्क में करोड़ों अनपढ हैं। स्कूल अभी तक पूरी तरह खुल नहीं पाए। हर गांव में स्कूल हम पहुंचा नहीं पाए। इस सब को कैसे गिरेज किया जाए, इसको आपको देखना है। 29 करोड़ रुपया आप मिट्टी के तेल पर टंकम लगा कर वसूल कर रहे हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ दो सौ करोड़ का आपने अनाज खराब कर दिया। यह पिछले साठ की बात थी। इस बजट को भी मैंने देखा है। जितना फूड प्रोग्राम एरिया है, पंजाब, हरियाणा, उत्तर-प्रदेश इनमें नए स्टोर्ज आपन कहीं क्या बनाने की व्यवस्था की है? कितना रुपया आपने इस काम के लिए रखा है, यह मैं आप से जानना चाहता हूँ। पिछले साल दो सौ करोड़ रुपये का अनाज खराब हो गया इस मामले कि स्टोर आपने पाम नहीं थे, अनाज का सूबमेट आप ग्रेन में नहीं कर सके। इस साल भी अनाज खराब हो सकता है, इस तरफ आपने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। आपने पाम इस साल जो सरपल अनाज होगा, अगर बरगान हो जाए ज्यादा और फूडज आ जाए तो आप उसको कैसे सम्भालेंगे, इस तरफ आपने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। इस तरफ रेलवे या फूड मिनिस्टर की तरफ से कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। अब इन दोनों की एक जायंट कमेटी ने रिपोर्ट दी है। लेकिन उस रिपोर्ट का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन कब होगा? पंजाब में फूडग्रेन्ज के लिए कितने नये स्टोर बनाये गये हैं? सारी रेलवे लाइनें पचास, सौ साल पहले की प्लान की हुई हैं। उन पर इन्क्रेजेशन देखिये। पंजाब और हरियाणा के स्टेशनो पर गोदामों से अभी तक पिछले साल का अनाज पडा हुआ है और उसको हटाया नहीं जा सका है।

17 hrs

• इस मुल्क के लोग तबदीली चाहते हैं और तेज रफतार चाहते हैं। इस डिलमिल डग से, इस सुस्त रफतार से काम नहीं चल सकेगा। सरकार को इस सिस्टम को बदलना पडेगा। इसके लिए लोग तैयार हैं, पार्लियामेंट तैयार है, लीडरशिप

तैयार है। अगर कोई तैयार नहीं है, तो वह ब्यूरोक्रेसी है। सवाल यह है कि क्या सरकार ब्यूरोक्रेसी के सिस्टम में तब्दीली करने के लिए तैयार है या नहीं। मेरी राय है कि सरकार को मौजूदा ब्यूरोक्रेटिक सिस्टम से छुटकारा हासिल करना होगा। ये आई० सी० एस० और आई० ए० एस० आफिसर सरमायादारों की नुमायंदगी करते हैं। उनके नुमायंदे बैंकों के डायरेक्टर भी हैं और इंडस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट कॉर्पोरेशन में भी बैठे हैं।

सारे डेवलपमेंट को कौन रोकता है? सरकार चाहती है कि नये इन्वेस्टमेंट आगे आये, क्योंकि वह बिग मानोपालिस्टम को नये लाइसेंस नहीं देना चाहती है। जो नये इन्वेस्टर एक करोड़ से कम की इंडस्ट्री लगाना चाहते हैं, उनको सरकार की तरफ से क्या एडवाइस मिलनी है? बैंकों में जो डायरेक्टर हैं, वे कहते हैं कि डायरेक्टर और शेयरहोल्डर किम को बना रहे हो, किमी बड़े कारखानेदार को साथ लो, तभी आपकी फंक्चरी चलेगी, तभी आपके शेयर बिकेंगे। एक तरफ सरकार ट.य.रेक्शन देती है और दूसरी तरफ उसके ही पैदा किये हुए आदमी कन्स्यूज करते हैं। इस कन्स्यूजन को रोकने के बारे में सरकार को सोचना चाहिए।

इम सोसायटी को टोटली शेक-अप करना पड़ेगा। अगर सरकार उस तरफ नहीं चलना चाहती है, तो इस तरह के डिलिमिल, रुटीन के बजट आते रहेंगे। सरकार इस तरह से हुशियारो से बजट तो बना सकती है कि फलों-फलों सेशन आफ दि सोसायटी इरिटेट न हों, वह आंकड़े-बाजी तो कर सकती है, लेकिन जिन बेसिक बात का हमने प्रामिस किया है, उसको पूरा करने की तरफ वह नहीं बढ़ सकती है। उस तरफ बढ़ने के लिए टोटल शेक-अप की तरफ चलना होगा। सरकार ने बैंकों में जिन डायरेक्टरों को रखा है, एल० आई० सी० में जिन लोगों को रखा है, उनको बेंज किया जाये। टैरिफ कमिशन को दोबारा बनाया जाये। सरकार पब्लिक फिगरज में से डायरेक्टर क्यों नहीं लेती है? वह

बिग बिजिनेस हाउसिंग से डायरेक्टर लेती है। क्या वे लोग जनता के लिए सोचेंगे या पब्लिक सेक्टर को बढ़ावा देने की बात सोचेंगे? वे तो सोचेंगे कि किस तरह इसको ब्रेक किया जाये। उनकी स्ट्रगल हमारे काम को ब्रेक करवे की है और हमारी स्ट्रगल उनके काम को ब्रेक करने की है। मेरा कहना सिर्फ यही है कि इस गाड़ी को झाड़व करने का काम उन लोगों को न दिया जाये।

मिट्टी के तेल, फटिलादजर और ट्यूबवैल पर जो टैक्स लगा है, उसके बारे में मिनिस्टर साहब सोचें और उसको वापिस लें।

SHIRI K. BALAKRISHNAN (Ambalapuruzha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, last time when the Budget was presented in Parliament, the governing party had come with a thumping, massive majority, and they had the opportunity to do what they found best to implement their promises to the electorate. This time, as the Budget discussion is taking place, the position is even better for the people in office because the massive majority has gone from the Centre to the States also, and if I remember correct, never before, since independence, had there been such an opportunity for any one in power to implement the promises made to the electorate at the time of elections. Always promises to the electorate in implementation take the form of Budget and fiscal measures. In public finance, the men at the helm of affairs, have to use a particular language because unlike in the election propaganda meetings, things said in the Budget speeches and budget papers and memoranda have got to be implemented.

There had been quite a lot of eulogy and quite a lot of criticism about the Budget the Finance Minister has presented before this august assembly. But, apart from taking this side or that side, as one who looks at things quite objectively, I would request the Finance Minister to look at the reaction in the country to the Budget he has presented.

Members who were speaking before me had been quoting from newspapers and periodicals the reactions of the various sections of people to the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister. People who had been

[Shri K Balakrishnan]

groaning long under direct taxation and corporate bodies have a sigh of relief and have a word of praise for the Budget proposals. We can more or less say that in this Budget a holiday is proposed for the corporate bodies and super tax paying direct tax payers. But when it comes down to the smaller, weaker and poorer sections of society there had not been a word of praise from any one. Those from the party in power or from the party in opposition who always make sound a good exercise to their tongue, inside parliaments and assemblies, need not necessarily care what happens on the streets and corners. I am not particularly referring to this tax or that tax because if this Government happens to be the Government of the poor people and the poor people have voted for this Government there is no escaping the fact that the poor people must run it. And, for running a Government, they must pay and payments they must make in the form of taxes or collections which scover the Government chooses. But, let us think of the other side of the problem. They have voted you to power. They have voted you because they were thrilled by your promise of 'Garibi Hatao'. They were thrilled by the leadership of the Prime Minister. They were hoping that if with this massive majority, the party comes to power with the intention of implementing the proposals put before them at the time of elections they can expect certain things to happen. Has a single thing happened?

Well, there had been a lot of talk about tax on kerosene. There had been an explanation that it is after all only 5 paise—6 paise per litre and 5 paise per bottle. It cannot be much of a sum for Ministers and to an extent for the Parliament Members, for Secretaries to Government and for big businessmen and so on. But there are hundreds of thousands of people in this country for whom 5 paise and 6 paise become a big sum. Apart from the financial aspect of it, may I remind the powers that be of one thing? When Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru joined the *interim* Cabinet as Vice-President of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and when there was a coalition Government of the Congress with the Muslim League, the one thing on which the Congress cringed to the Muslim League for commitment was not to introduce the salt tax. At that time Liaquat Ali Khan was the Finance

Minister. It would have been one of the most revenue earning taxes if salt had been taxed. But the Congress leadership cringed to the Muslim League not to tax salt. Why? Why is that Mahatma Gandhi staid on the Salt Satyagraha movement which ultimately led this country to freedom? There must be some meaning in it. The meaning that I think of may not be the meaning that the Treasury Benches attach to it. But, let us think of the background of it, let us think of the psychology behind it. After independence after 26 years, we are sitting here, we are taxing the poor man we are taxing the kerosene which is used for his kindle in the evening for his one morsel of food after a day work. Is it a joke? It might bring in Rs 28 crores or so. But we must remember these Rs 28 crores come out of the veins out of the blood of the poor people. If there be forces that work within society, that work in politics who just want the common man to go before the kerosene shop defying payment of this tax and even start some agitation, what will be the fate of this tax? You have to collect kerosene tax literally out of the blood of the common man. Do you want that state of affairs to come in this country? When you talk of *Garibi Hatao* do you want the common man to shed his blood, defying an excise tax placed on his daily need? Administrative thinking and the idea of public finance should have been of better spray.

There is again a tax on fertilisers. Well, the common man, the poor man, has just started understanding the meaning of the word fertiliser. And the moment he started understanding the meaning of the word fertiliser, this is what happens. It will be his neighbour who will tell him it was not this costly before it is because of those new taxes that it has become so much costly—because the poor man's Government, who wanted *Garibi Hatao*,—have imposed a new tax on it.

Now, Sir, the man who wears the shoe knows where the shoe pinches.

In regard to my own State, I will just cite three examples. *Garibi Hatao* is the principle. Well, even the President has a word of praise for the land reforms we have brought in our State. Those land reforms favourably affect only the *Garib* and these *Garib* people are to be helped to somehow or other habilitate them-

selves to the new circumstances. That requires money. With all our resources, wherever we can find money, we are trying to find the money, but even then, we require more. We come for money. It is for Garibi Hatao, but no money is given.

The Government of India declared a policy of giving houses to people who have no land, who have no houses. The Central Ministers came to our State and declare that the Central Government is prepared to help them. We revitalised the entire Government machinery there: we prepared a project report and presented it to the Central Government. Ours was the only Government to do that. It is for building hutments to people who have no land, no hut. Can anything be better for Garibi hatao than building houses for the poor? The promise was there from the Central Government. But Ministers after Ministers from the State Government have been coming and knocking at the doors of the Finance Ministry but there was no Garibi Hatao for us? The Garibi Hatao is yet to come for us.

My hon. friend Shri M. M. Joseph was referring to the fact that if India was attacked, it was not the people of Bengal or the people of Assam or the people of Kashmir or the people in the border States alone who were attacked, but the entire people of India took it as an attack against our land. The entire India rises up as one man in such cases. That is the position in case of military attack. But we are being attacked by nature, by the Arabian Sea. Every year, thousands of acres are being eaten away by the Arabian Sea because of sea erosion. If only some of the Ministers would go there and see, they would find for themselves that nobody is losing his hutment except a Garib, a fisherman. The entire coastline is occupied by fisherman, and it is being washed away. The Central Minister in charge went there and saw the problem for himself and he said then and there that this was a national problem. It is not the problem of Kerala alone. If a piece of land of Kerala is lost, then what is lost is a piece of land of India, and not of Kerala alone. Chunks and chunks of land in Kerala are carried away by the Arabian Sea every year. Why not take it as a national problem? When we are talking of Garibi Hatao, why not take this as a national problem? We must feel and we must see and we must have

the experience of this, for, after all, we have to feel that this Government is going ahead with progressive measures and going ahead with programmes for the poor.

I shall conclude my speech with just one quotation which I remember to have read long long before in Tulsidas's Ramayana. He said:

उदधि वृष्टिर्दौनैः है जगत् पियासो जाय ।

This means: What is the bigness of the ocean when the whole world has to walk along the bank thirsty? At least when we come to talk here at the time of the next budget, we must be able to feel and say that Government have *hataoed* Garibi. There will only be the Garib without the Garibi. They have told the Garib that they will 'Garibi Hatao'. That means that they want progress 'hatao'. No march towards prosperity. Stop where you are. Indeed *Garibi Hatao*!

SHRI A. K. M. ISHAQUE (Basirhat): I rise to support all the proposals of the Finance Minister. I call it a well-meaning budget, but I would have been happier if this budget would have been a bit more employment-oriented. As you know, Sir, the problem of employment is a very real problem in the country. I do not say that it is the only problem in the country. But I say that if there are two problems in the whole country, then the problem of employment is one of them. Whenever we visit our constituencies after the session is over, if we are faced with ten problems a day, at least six of the problems are problems of employment. Therefore, this problem requires a special treatment. Unless we can solve this problem, I apprehend that we shall have to face very big consequences. Now, we have got the opportunity to face this problem with all courage. I apprehend that this is just a lull before the storm. If we cannot solve this problem, the storm will arise. I have some suggestions to make to Government to solve this problem straightway..... There are many private concerns in the country. If Government could prescribe compulsory employment in all these concerns, especially in those concerns employing more than 200 persons, the problem can be solved in a great way. I do not know what is the exact figure of unemployment today. In 1969 it was more than 12 million; it might have reached

[Shri A. K. M Ishaque]

15 million now I am speaking only of the educated unemployed, I am not counting the vast multitudes in the rural areas who are suffering—due to unemployment and partial employment. They are employed only three or four months a year. The number of educated unemployed is anywhere from 12 to 15 million. If Government could make the firms compulsorily employ additionally 10 per cent of their staff that is, concerns employing more than 200 persons, the problem would be solved to a great extent. Suppose a concern has 500 on its staff, it has to take 50 more. They will raise a hue and cry and protest. But if Government show firmness, they will accept the proposal.

I would again suggest that Government nationalise all sick and idle industries paying a compensation of Re 1 each, if the owners do not agree to reopen them within a specified period of time. Lakhs of people have gone unemployed because the units have gone sick or idle. This will also solve the problem to some extent.

There is shortage of electricity in the country, more particularly in Bengal. If the whole country is electrified it would create much scope for self employment. The problem would then be very much lessened. Avenues would be opened for setting up small industry, it would create avenues of self employment.

I also suggest decentralisation of industry. It has considerable employment potentiality. Almost all the sub-divisional headquarters have been linked with through communications. If industries are set up at the sub-divisional and wherever possible at the block levels, many employment opportunities would be created. It will also bring about industrial peace.

It has been the common talk that nationalisation of banks has not achieved the desired results. I agree the time is not yet ripe for an assessment like this. All the same, the motive of encouraging self-employment through nationalised banks has not received momentum. Government should see to it that the nationalised banks take the initiative in creating self-employment. A large number of educated persons are very much eager to have self-employment through

these banks, but the banks are not co-operating, nor are finding ways to bring this about. Sir, in my humble opinion, if the Government at least helps at this stage, we will be helping in mitigating the problem of unemployment in this country.

Almost everyone has expressed resentment at the taxation on kerosene and fertilisers. I am unhappy that kerosene is taxed. I am more unhappy because of the logic advanced for taxing kerosene. The Finance Minister reminds me of the good, old story of the wolf and the lamb. The wolf and the lamb were drinking water flowing down the stream. The wolf wanted to kill the lamb, and therefore it asked the lamb why it polluted the water last year. When the lamb told the wolf that 'I was not born even last year,' the wolf said 'If you were not born, it was your father who did it. Therefore, you will die for your father's fault.' The Finance Minister is penalising the peasantry, the have-nots of the rural areas, for the crimes that the other did. I would have been happier if this logic had not been advanced.

I would request the Finance Minister to withdraw the tax on kerosene and fertiliser. Fertiliser as you know, is a commodity in which the poor peasants having two or three or four bighas of land have found a useful instrument for achieving greater production. Now, if this article is taxed, these poor people will be found to purchase less of it and thus production will be affected. The number of firms in this country is quite less and the number of big jotedars particularly in West Bengal is quite less. Therefore, by taxing this fertiliser, only the common peasantry in West Bengal will be affected very much. Therefore, I request the Finance Minister to see to it that if it is possible the taxation on fertiliser is withdrawn.

With these words, I thank the Finance Minister for presenting this budget. Before I conclude, I should say that in the days preceding the presentation of this budget, there was gossip all round, a speculation all round that the Finance Minister was going to fleece the common people through direct taxation, but we are thankful to the Finance Minister that the Finance Minister has disappointed the hon. Member opposite.

With these words, I thank the Finance Minister once again.

श्री रुद्रप्रताप सिंह (बाराबंकी) : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका हृदय से आभारी हूँ जो आपने मुझे 1972-73 के बजट पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया ...

श्री हुकूम खन्द कछवाय (मुरेना) : सभापति महोदय, सदन में गणपूर्ति नहीं है।

सभापति महोदय : घण्टी बजाई जा रही है.....कोरम हो गया है, माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

एक बात और है। यहाँ पर कोरम मेनटेन किया जाये नहीं तो कोरम की वजह से अगर हाउम एडजर्न हो जायेगा तो वह टाइम भी टोटल टाइम में से कट जायेगा और बजट का रेगुलर भी उगी में जोड़ना पड़ेगा। इसलिए यहाँ पर आप कोरम मेनटेन कीजिए।

श्री रुद्रप्रताप सिंह सभापति महोदय, मैं प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैंने अत्यन्त गम्भीरतापूर्वक विरोधी दल के नेताओं और सम्मानित सदस्यों के भाषणों को सुना। मैं इस परिणाम पर पहुँचा कि उनके भाषणों में केवल एक बात की प्रतिक्रिया है और वह यह कि लोकसभा के मध्यावधि चुनावों और देश की विधान सभाओं के चुनावों में जनता ने कांग्रेस दल को जो प्रचण्ड बहुमत प्रदान किया है उससे उनके मन में खीजमाल है और उम खीज को इस रूप में साननीय सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं। दूसरी बात यह भी है कि वे अपने राजनीतिक निहित स्वार्थों को इस तरह से रंग देकर बहा पर प्रस्तुत करना चाहते हैं। वे बजट के एकांकी पक्ष को ही केवल देख रहे हैं और बजट के समग्र चित्र को यहाँ पर प्रस्तुत करने में असमर्थ हैं।

लोक सभा के मध्यावधि निर्वाचन में सम्पूर्ण देश की जनता ने प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में पूर्ण विश्वास करते हुए भारी बहुमत दिया था और इस बात का आदेश दिया था कि देश में—आर्थिक विषमता, बेकारी, बेरोजगारी और गरीबी को दूर करके शोषणमुक्त समाज का

निर्माण करके बहुमुखी विकास किया जाये। सरकार ने उनकी आकांक्षाओं के अनुसार 1971-72 का बजट प्रस्तुत करके देशवासियों को समाजवाद की राह पर चलने के लिए स्पष्ट रूप से संकेत दिया था। 6 मास भी व्यतीत नहीं होने पाए कि पूर्वी बंगाल की जनता ने आतंक, अत्याचार, शोषण से मुक्ति पाने हेतु स्वाधीनता संग्राम छेड़ा। पाकिस्तान के तानाशाहों ने निर्मम निर्दयता तथा अमानवीय रूप से जनता और उनकी भावनाओं का दमन करना चाहा। फलस्वरूप नवम्बर, 1971 में लगभग एक करोड़ शरणार्थियों ने भारत में शरण ली। उनकी सुरक्षा, मरक्षण तथा धरण पोषण के आर्थिक भार का उत्तरदायित्व हमारे बजट पर पड़ना स्वाभाविक था। भारत के न चाहने हुए भी, पाकिस्तान के क्रूर दम्भी तानाशाहों ने भारत पर युद्ध थोप दिया और भारत को अपनी प्रभुमत्ता, अखण्डता की सुरक्षा के लिए युद्ध की चुनौती का सामना करना पड़ा। इस युद्ध के कारण उसके ऊपर एक आकस्मिक वय का बोझ पड़ा है।

श्रीमन्, देश के विभिन्न भागों में प्रलयकारी अतिवृष्टि तथा कहीं मरुभूमि बना देने वाली अनावृष्टि के कारण भी हमारे व्यय में आकस्मिक वृद्धि हो जाने के फलस्वरूप उसका भी बजट पर प्रभाव पड़े बिना नहीं रह सका।

प्रसन्नता की वान है कि उपर्युक्त विषय परिस्थितियों में भी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के कुशल नेतृत्व में समाज कल्याण तथा विकास के कार्यों में व्यवधान नहीं आने पाया और जनता की आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप अबाध गति के साथ कार्य सम्पादित होने रहे जैसे कि 1971-72 के बजट में प्रस्तावित थे। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिए बधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिस प्रकार उन्होंने शरणार्थियों को संरक्षण दिया, बंगला देश को स्वाधीनता का जीवन दिया तथा वहाँ की भिन्न जनता को और सरकार को उनके पुनर्निर्माण और पुनर्वास के तात्कालिक काम में सहायता देने का संकल्प किया है। साथ ही साथ भारत और बंगला देश की जो मैत्री हुई है उससे हमारा

[श्री रुद्र प्रताप सिंह]

विश्वास है कि दोनों देश आर्थिक दिशा में समृद्धि-शाली होंगे।

श्रीमान्, प्रसन्नता की बात है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान विकास, सामाजिक न्याय, आत्म-निर्भरता, पूँजीनिवेश और धन-संग्रह सभी प्रक्रियाओं की ओर है। वे मूल्यों की स्थिरता तथा उत्पादन में वृद्धि के लिए निरन्तर प्रयत्नशील हैं। मैं उन्हें इस बात के लिए हार्दिक बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

सीमाओं की विशेष रूप से सुरक्षा, शरणार्थी सहायता, बंगला देश की सहायता, दैवी विपत्तियों के अतिरिक्त दायित्वों को भी ध्यान में रखना होगा। मातृभूमि तथा देश के लिए जो भी बलिदान हुए हैं उनके परिवारों को भी हमें पर्याप्त सहायता देनी होगी। केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा जो राज्य सरकारों और केन्द्र प्रशासित सरकारों को सहायता दी जाती है मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो अभी देश भर में विधान सभाओं के चुनाव हुए और जहाँ पर हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी की समाजवादी सरकार बनी है वहाँ पर हमारी सरकारें इस प्रकार से कार्य करेंगी जिससे हमारे प्रदेश आत्मनिर्भर होंगे और हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार के ऊपर कम से कम बोझ डालेंगे ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है। हमारे इस बजट में गांवों में जलपूर्ति तथा भूमिहीन मजदूरों को भूमि दिलाने के लिए, गन्दी बस्तियों को स्वच्छ बनाने और उनको सुधारने के लिए तथा शिक्षित अशिक्षित बेरोजगारों को रोजगार देने की योजनाएँ बनाई गई हैं। साथ ही साथ देश में जो विकास का असंतुलन है उसको संतुलित करने की दिशा में जो प्रयास किया जा रहा है वह अत्यंत सराहनीय है। मैं इस बात की भी प्रशंसा करना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों के विकास के लिए अधिकांश कृषकों के लिए धन का प्राविधान किया गया है। साथ ही साथ बच्चों के पोषण तथा मूलग्रस्त क्षेत्रों की सहायता के लिए धन की व्यवस्था की गई है। इसके लिए भी मैं सरकार को बधाई देता हूँ। कृषि और अन्य उद्योगों का विकास करने की

दिशा में सरकार जो भी कदम उठा रही है मैं आशा करता हूँ कि उनसे देश के उत्पादन में तथा देश के उद्योगों को आगे बढ़ासे में सहायता मिलेगी। यह भी संतोष की बात है कि सरकार बाहर से आयात की जाने वाली वस्तुओं के स्थान पर चाहती है कि देश के अन्दर अधिक से अधिक वस्तुओं का अधिक से अधिक सस्ती कीमत पर उत्पादन हो। दूसरी ओर यह भी प्रयास किया है कि लगातार अपने देश में अच्छी से अच्छी वस्तुओं का उत्पादन हो जिससे हमारे निर्यात के नवीन स्रोत खुलें और अधिक से अधिक हमारा निर्यात हो सके जिससे कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय आय में वृद्धि हो सके।

प्रसन्नता की बात है कि सरकार काले धन को बाहर निकालने के लिए, करबंचन को रोकने के लिए, बकाया राशि को वसूल करने के लिए नीति बनाने के लिए हृदय-संकल्प है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जैसा कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने भाषण में कहा है वे शीघ्र ही इस प्रकार का विधान माननीय सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत करेंगे जिससे इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था की जा सकेगी कि यह जो कमियाँ हैं उन्हें दूर किया जा सके।

सरकार ने अख्तवारी कागज, मोटर स्पिरिट और डाक तार के करों में जो वृद्धि नहीं की है उसके लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। देश में और विशेष रूप से उत्तर प्रदेश में चीनी मिलों की स्थिति बड़ी गम्भीर है। इस ओर भी मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि जनता ने जो हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी से और हमारी सरकार से आशा की है, उन तमाम चीनी मिलों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करके एक ऐसी स्थिति पैदा की जायगी जिसमें उसका अधिक से अधिक उत्पादन हो सके और हमारी चीनी विश्व के मार्केट में एक अच्छा स्थान प्राप्त कर सके।

मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि वह देश में धनी वर्ग की सम्पत्ति, उसके प्रयोग, उपयोग और उपभोग में आने वाली सम्पूर्ण वस्तुओं पर अधिक से अधिक कर लगाए। उनकी विस्थापिता

की जो वस्तुएं हैं या नशीली वस्तुएं हैं उनपर अधिक से अधिक टैक्स लगाया जाना चाहिए।

मैं आपका अधिक समय न लेकर एक मिनट में अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। सरकार का यह प्रयास सराहनीय है कि वह चाहती है कि निकट भविष्य में हमारे इस उप-महाद्वीप में एक ऐसी भावना का उदय हो जिससे यहाँ की 70 करोड़ जनता भूख, अभाव, रोग और शोषण के विरुद्ध लड़ाई लड़ सके। यह कठु मस्य है कि देश के सामने एक गभीर स्थिति है जिसका सामना हम सब को मिलकर करना होगा, विशेष रूप से धनी वर्ग को अधिक से अधिक त्याग करना होगा। यह समय है भविष्य में कुछ करने का, न कि बीबी हुई कमियों और अभावों को पुहराने का। हमारे सामने जो हमारा उद्देश्य है, जो हमारी नीतियाँ हैं, देश के अंदर प्रजातंत्र, समाजवाद, धर्म निरपेक्षता की, उनको पुष्पित और पल्लवित करने का समय है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि हम दृढ़ता के साथ आगे बढ़ेंगे और बीबी हुई कमियों को भूल जाएंगे।

ममायब से उलझ कर मुम्कुराना मेरी फितरत है मुझे नाकामियों पर अशक बरमाना नहीं आता। निगाहें शिन ही जम जाती है मुस्तकबिल के चेहरे पर उन्हें माजी की वेरहमी को दोहराना नहीं आता।।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ।

श्री नाथू राम मिर्छा (नागौर) : सभापति महोदय, इस सदन में इस साल के बजट पर जो चर्चाएँ हुईं उनको मैंने काफी धैर्य और गम्भीरता से सुना। इस बजट में पिछले साल देश में जो हालात खड़े हुए और उनका जो बोझ देश की सरकार और देश की जनता को उठाना पड़ा और आखीर में हमने जिस तरह कामयाबी हासिल की उसका जिक्र है। पिछले साल जो कई इलाकों में बाढ़ें आईं और कई इलाकों में जो सूखे पड़े उसके बावजूद देश का कृषि उत्पादन जो हुआ है वह एक शानदार रेकार्ड है। देश में बावजूद इन सब सुखीवतों के खाद्यान्न का रेकार्ड उत्पादन इस

साल में हुआ। कुल मिलाकर देश का खाद्यान्न का उत्पादन 12 मिलियन टन से भी ज्यादा हुआ, जो अपने आप में एक रेकार्ड है। कृषि के दूगरे उत्पादन भी हमारे यहा बहुत अच्छे हुए। अंगा वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा, इसकी वजह से भी हमारे माधनों पर इस साल काफी बोझ पड़ा है। जो भी एग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन हमारे देश में हुआ है उसको मोबिलाइज करने के लिए, उसको ठीक ढंग से इकट्ठा करने के लिए, जो प्रयत्न करना पड़ा उससे हमारी वित्तीय व्यवस्था पर अमर पडा है तथा उमका बहुत बडा भाग वित्त मंत्री जी ने स्वयम् सरकार की ओर से झेला है। बाकी बोझ हमारे बैकिंग इन्स्टिट्यूशन पर पडा है। इस व्यवस्था को भी हमको गम्भीरता से जमाने की आवश्यकता रहेगी।

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे ऐग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन की कुछ कमोडिटीज हैं जिनकी प्राइसेज इस साल कम हुई हैं। अभी हमारे केरल के माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे कि कोकोनट की प्राइसेज पिछले साल के मुकाबले आधी हो गई, इसी तरह से जूट की प्राइसेज जो एक प्रोड्यूसर को मिल रही है, फूट ग्रैन की प्राइसेज जो एक किसान को मिल रही है, वह काफी कम हैं। आज कांज्यूमर को जो चीजे मिल रही हैं उनमें लोग महंगाई महसूस करते हैं, मगर उसके बीच में जो मारा अरेंजमेंट है, जो सारी व्यवस्था है उसमें बहुत सुधार की आवश्यकता है। हमारे देश में जो कुछ हुआ है उसकी जो आर्थिक ससीक्षा हमारे सामने आई है उसको देखने से हमें यह पूरा ज्ञान होता है कि देश लगातार आगे बढ़ रहा है।

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : सभापति महोदय, सदन में गणपूति नहीं है।

सभापति महोदय : गणपूति के लिए घण्टी बजाई जा रही है..... अब गणपूति हो गई है, माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण जारी रखें।

श्री नाथू राम मिर्छा : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपकी मार्फत इस सदन में निवेदन कर रहा था कि कृषि के विकास में हमारा देश काफी तेज गति से आगे बढ़ा है और चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना के हर साल

[श्री नाथू राम मिर्धा]

मे हमने विकास के जो टारगेट रखे थे हमारी कृषि की प्रोग्राम उससे बहुत ज्यादा हुई है।

हा खास तौर से औद्योगिक विकास के सिलसिले में हमने हर साल जो टारगेट रखे थे उसके हिसाब में जरूर कमी है। पिछले माल के औद्योगिक विकास पर जहां हम हर साल 7 या 8 परसेंट बढ़ोतरी की रफ्तार मानकर चलते थे वहां वह विकास मिर्फ 4 या 4.5 परसेंट ही रहा है, जबकि कृषि का विकास 7 और 8 परसेंट तक रहा है। इसके हिसाब से जिस रास्ते में लिए हमने माना था कि वह मुश्किल है उसको हमने सरल रूप से हल किया और जिसको काफी सरल सामान था वह काफी मुश्किल नजर आ रहा है।

इसी हिसाब से हम सोचते हैं कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बार जो टेक्मेशन रखना हमारे बजट के अन्दर उसमें खास तौर पर कारपोरेट सेक्टर पर जो डाइरेक्ट टैक्स लगाया और कुल आमदनी 16 करोड़ आकी है, अगर पूरे साल की आमदनी हमें मिलेगी तो वह 24 करोड़ होगी। सब लोगो को उनसे शिक्षायत है कि उन्होंने डाइरेक्ट टैक्स बहुत कम लगाया है, और इसीलिए उनकी राय है कि यह समाजवादी बजट नहीं है, यह गरीबी हटाओ का बजट नहीं है। ये ख्याल से यह सोचना बिल्कुल गलत है। मेरा ख्याल से वित्त मंत्री जी ने यह सोचा है कि वह जो 710 करोड़ रुपये का इन्वेस्टमेंट करना चाहते हैं केन्द्रीय और राज्यों की योजनाओं में उसके जरिये विकास को गति मिलेगी। मगर इसके साथ-साथ हम आशा करने हैं कि देश के वह लोग जो कारपोरेट सेक्टर में काम करते हैं वह भी उद्योगों को बढ़ावा देने के लिए ज्यादा इन्वेस्टमेंट क्रिएट करेंगे। देश के बेकार लोगों को काम पर लगायेंगे। मेरे ख्याल से लोकतन्त्र में इस प्रकार की भावना गलत भी नहीं है। इसलिए जो आज उन्होंने थोड़ी सी हालिडे दी है उसके पीछे जो भावना है उसको समझ कर वह लोग रिसप्रोकेट करेंगे और देश के लोगो को काम पर लगाकर देश में औद्योगिक विकास के

अन्दर गति लायेंगे, वह भी हमारे इरादों को इसी प्रकार से सोचेंगे, क्योंकि हमारे इरादों के कम्प्लिमेंट्स की व्यवस्था के इरादों नहीं हो सकते। उनको हमेशा हमसे शिक्षायत रही है और हमसे सवाल भी करते हैं कि हम बजट के पीछे क्या फिलासफी है, और इस बजट के बारे में क्या सोचते हैं। जब वह नैनिन और मार्क्स की फिलासफी की बात कहते हैं, वर्ग संघर्ष और खून खरबूर की फिलासफी की बात करते हैं तब हमसे पूछते हैं कि क्या हम उसको गलत मानते हैं तो यह ठीक है कि हम उसको गलत मानते हैं। हम इस देश में शान्ति के जरिये क्रान्ति लाना चाहते हैं, समाज को बदलना चाहते हैं, अर्थ-व्यवस्था को बदलना चाहते हैं, गरीब और अमीर के फर्क को कम करना चाहते हैं। हम इस बात की व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं कि हर आदमी की बुनियादी जरूरतों की चीजें देश में आसानी से जल्दी से जल्दी मिल सकें, पर हम अपने तरीके से इसको करना चाहते हैं, जो कि आपके तरीके से भिन्न है।

इस चीज को आज देश का हर आदमी समझता है। अगर न समझता होता तो फिर आज जो चुनाव हुए विधान सभाओं के उसमें पब्लिक ओपिनियन का रिफ्लेक्शन इस तरह से न होता। वह आपकी बात को भी समझते हैं और हमारी बात को भी समझते हैं, वह हमारे तौर तरीके को भी समझते हैं और आपके तौर तरीके को भी समझते हैं और विधान सभाओं के ताजा चुनाव इस बात के सबूत हैं कि वह हमारे रास्ते को ज्यादा पसंद करते हैं। इसलिए आप जिस दृष्टिकोण से सोचते हैं उसी दृष्टिकोण से हम भी सोचें यह जरूरी नहीं है। हमारे देश को इस बात को ध्यान में रखकर और इसको समझकर चलना है। हमारी पार्टी इस बात को समझकर चलती है कि देश की जनता जल्दी बदलाव चाहती है। जो गरीब लोग हैं वह हमसे अपने जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने की अपेक्षा रखते हैं और सरकार भी उसकी अपेक्षा को मानती है, और उसी दृष्टिकोण से इस बजट के बारे में प्रोजेक्ट रखे गये हैं।

हमने जो भी बोझ उठाया है उसमें खाम

तौर से जो 710 करोड़ ६० का नया इन्वेस्टमेंट है उसमें 125 करोड़ ६० का जो लम्पसम प्राविजन है उसमें सिर्फ तीन या चार मुद्दे इस योजना के साथ जोड़े गये हैं, जैसे पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था, गन्दी बस्तियों को ठीक करने की व्यवस्था, पढ़े-लिखे बेकारों को रोजगार देने की व्यवस्था। चूंकि मैं राजस्थान के आता हूँ मैं वहाँ की स्थिति को समझता हूँ, श्री चव्हाण भी उस भूमि को जानते हैं। उस इलाके में आज आजादी के पच्चीस वर्ष बाद भी, जबकि हम अपनी स्वतंत्रता की सिल्वर जुबिली मनाने जा रहे हैं, हजारों गांव ऐसे हैं जहाँ लोगों को पीने का पानी सात-सात आठ-आठ मील से लाकर पीना पड़ता है क्योंकि वहाँ पर मीठा पानी है ही नहीं। मीठे पानी के छोटे-छोटे टाकें कुछ लोगों ने बना रखे हैं लेकिन जो लोग गरीब हैं जो हरिजन हैं, जो अपना पानी खुद लाने की क्षमता नहीं रखते उन्हें कितनी मुसीबत होती इसका अन्दाजा आप लगा सकते हैं। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि 125 करोड़ रुपये की जो व्यवस्था है इस साल के बजट में उसमें टाप प्रायोरिटी आप पीने के पानी की करे। ईश्वर ने हवा तो फ्री कर रखी है उसके बाद जीवन की आवश्यकताओं में पीने का पानी दूसरे नम्बर पर आता है, खुद अपने लिए, अपने मवेशियों के लिए और दूसरों के लिए, जिन का हमको विकास करना चाहिये।

सभापति महोदय : अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्री नाथूराम बिर्सा : मैंने पांच मिनट लिए हैं। थोड़ा सा समय मुझे और दे दें। मैं इरेलबेंट बोलूँ तो आप मुझे रोक दीजियेगा।

पीने के पानी के लिए आज भी राजस्थान में हजारों गांव तरस रहे हैं। वहाँ पर पानी खारी है। उस खारी पानी में गांवों की बैल्टम की बैल्टस आ गई हैं। उन गांवों में पानी लाने का सिवाय पाइप लाइन स्कीम्ब के कोई और दूसरा तरीका नहीं है। हमारी सरकार ने पाइप लाइन स्कीम्ब काफी तैयार कर रक्की हैं। कुछ तो मंजूर हो गई हैं। लेकिन अभी भी और बहुत सी स्कीम्ब पड़ी हुई हैं। मैं एक प्रान्त की

बात नहीं कहता हूँ, सभी प्रान्तों की संदर्भ में बात कहता हूँ। कई स्थान हैं देश में जहाँ पीने का पानी है लेकिन दूर है और मीठा पानी है, वहाँ तालाब वगैरह बना कर इसकी व्यवस्था की जा सकती है। उसमें जीव जन्तु, कीड़े आदि हो सकते हैं, जिनका कुछ इलाज किया जा सकता है। उनके लिए टैंक बनाओ, उस पानी को फिल्टर करो, सब कुछ करो। दूसरा वह पानी है जो पीने लायक नहीं है, उम जगह पानी की व्यवस्था करके काम को आप प्रायोरिटी दें। पानी का आप इन्विटेंटल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन करें, सब कुछ करें तो वह मिद्दान्त भी गलत होगा। इसलिए मैं प्रायोरिटी के रूप में आपसे निवेदन कर रहा हूँ। हमारे उन इलाकों को जहाँ पीने का खारी पानी है और सात-सात और आठ-आठ मील दूर से पानी लाना पड़ता है, खारी पानी से गांवों की बैल्टम की बैल्टम आ गई है, वहाँ के लिए जो योजनायें हैं उनको कम से कम इस 125 करोड़ की धनराशि में आप प्राथमिकता दें। पढ़े लिखों की बेकारी की समस्या भी है। भारत में गन्दी बस्तियों को भी साफ करना है। लेकिन जहाँ तक इन गन्दी बस्तियों का मवाल है अगर ये चार छः महीने और गन्दी रह जाएं तो मेरे ख्याल से कोई ज्यादा मुसीबत नहीं होगी। पच्चीस साल की आजादी में हमको कम से कम पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था तो कर ही देनी चाहिये थी। इस काम को अब आप जरूर करें।

छोटे किमानों, माजिनल किमानों, लैडलैम लेबर के लिए जो योजनायें हैं, उनकी धनराशि को आपने दुगुना किया है, तीन के बजाय छः किया है और छ. के बजाय बारह किया है। आप पिछले इतिहास को देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि इन योजनाओं को लागू करने के बाद उनका काम अभी तक भी ठीक तरह से जमा नहीं है। आगे भी इस काम को जमाना जरूरी है। गांव के आदमी को आर्टिफैक्टिफाई करना जरूरी है। इसको कौन करेगा कि कौन सब माजिनल है और कौन माजिनल है। इसके लिए आपको डैडिकेटेड अफसरों की जरूरत है जो इन सारे कामों को कर सकें। आपने स्वयं स्वीकार किया है और हम को भी आगाह

[श्री नाथूराम मिर्घा]

किया है कि बजट में किसी काम के लिए प्रावि-जन कर देना अलग बात है और उम धन का मही उपयोग होता है या नहीं यह देखना दूसरी बात है। उसके लिए सदन के माननीय सदस्यो ने इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि सही तरीके से शासन चले, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चले और उनके काम करने के जो तरीके हैं जो प्रणाली हैं, उसमें परिवर्तन किया जाय यह बहुत जरूरी है। हम हमेशा इस बात को कहने आ रहे हैं फिर चाहे पब्लिक सेक्टर को चलाने के तरीके हो या दूसरे सरकारी काम करने के तरीके हो उनमें जो लोग काम करते हैं उनके दिमाग में भी परिवर्तन लाना होगा और यह कैसे लाया जाए, इसको कैसे किया जाए, इसके बारे में गम्भीरता से आपको सोचना होगा। योजनाओं का इम्प्लीमेंटेशन सही तरीके से हो, इस व्यवस्था को देखना भी निहायत जरूरी है। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो सरकार को जो बहुत तेजी से इन कामों को करना चाहती है वह जरूर हममें सफल होगी।

मब भारत की मुसीबतों के बावजूद जो बजट पेश किया गया है, और जिम तरह से पेश किया गया है, मैं समझता हूँ कि हालात को देखते हुए वह एक बहुत अच्छा बजट है लेकिन देखा यह भी जाना चाहिये कि इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन सही ढंग से हो। पूरी सीरियसनेस अगर बरती गई और जो कुछ इसमें रखा गया है उसको मही तरह से इम्प्लीमेंट किया गया तो देश की जनता को लाभ होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं वित्त मंत्री को इसके लिए बधाई देता हूँ और इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri M. T. Raju.

AN HON. MEMBER : Not in town.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri H. P. Sharma
...Absent.

SHRI VASANTRAO PURUSHOTTAM SATHE (Akola) : Mr Chairman, Sir, at the outset let me express my deep sense of gratitude to my leader, the Prime Minister, for giving me this opportunity to be a Member of this august House. This is the first time that I am venturing to place my thoughts on an important subject like the Budget and I deem it a privilege to do so among the galaxy of gentlemen of this country.

On the Budget, at the outset, let me submit that I do not consider this Budget a socialist Budget because in a capitalist society, a Budget which thinks in terms of taxation which is an inherent part of capitalist system cannot be a socialist Budget. It is a contradiction in terms. It will be a misnomer. But we can have a socialist objective, a socialist direction, and that is pre-eminently there, writ large in this Budget. The shot in the arm that the Finance Minister has proposed in the form of a huge doze of Plan outlay of Rs 710 crores is going to serve as a launching pad, if I may put it that way, for launching the rocket of socialism in this country which will take us to the height of *Geribi Hatao*. Therefore, I submit, this is a Budget which has tremendous potentiality provided we implement the proposals and take it in the right direction. Let us, as some of the Members have said, think in terms of basic philosophy of socialism.

As we know, it is elementary economics that the means of production in any economy are three basic economic factors, that is, land, labour and capital. Land belongs to nature—God. Nobody can claim that he owns land in the economic sense. Labour is of all people and capital is the result of labour on land. Labour is of all people, not of the few. Therefore, the few cannot ever claim that they have a right over the capital which is the result of the effort of the many. That is the basic concept which must be clear in our mind if we are at all to think in terms of the good of all. We do not have to borrow this concept from a particular school of thought. That has been there in the tradition of this country when the seer says :

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्चित्जगत्या जगत्
तेन ह्यवक्तेन भुञ्जीया मा गृद्ध. कस्य स्वित्त्वन्म॥

Whose is this capital? It does not belong to any single individual, however eminent,

howsoever capable, howsoever big, he may be. Therefore, it is this basic concept of our own tradition that we have to implement. If that is so, how do we then go about implementing this plan of socialism? How do we do it? Again, the seer says :

शोम् सहना भवतु ।

सहनी भुनक्तु ।

सहवीर्यं करवावहे ।।

तेजस्वीनामवधीतमस्तु ।

मा विद्विषाव हे ।।

It is that spirit. There can be no better definition of socialism than this. We have to bring it in practice. How do we do it? As the Prime Minister has said, we have to take a fresh look at not only the principles but even the implementation that we want to bring about.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member may continue on the 24th.

18 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 24, 1972/Chaitra 4, 1894 (Saka).