

[9 MAY, 2000]

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to be eliminated. These would be some positive and concrete steps in the right direction.

India has been a responsible member of the international nuclear non-proliferation regime and will continue to take initiatives and work with like-minded countries to bring about stable, genuine and lasting non-proliferation, thus leading to a nuclear-weapon-free-world.

Thank you, Sir. I would happy to provide clarifications tomorrow, or at any stage, as directed by you.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): As the Minister has some commitment, we can seek clarifications tomorrow because this is an important statement, on which we would like to seek clarifications.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ADHIK SHIRODKAR): Will that be alright, Mr. Minister.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Yes, Sir; indeed.

THE FINANCE BILL, 2000

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI), IN THE CHAIR]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Suresh Pachouri): Now, we take up the Finance Bill, 2000, allotted time is four hours. Shri Yashwant Sinha.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI YASHWANT SINHA): Sir, I rise to move:

"That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 2000-2001, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

Sir this Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 29th February, 2000, and, thereafter, passed on 4th May, 2000. It has now been referred to this House for consideration and return. Sir, a large number of suggestions in regard to the proposals made in the Finance Bill, 2000 had

been received from the hon. Members of Parliament, Standing Committee of Parliament, trade associations, various Chambers of Commerce, and through comments appearing in the media. After carefully examining these suggestions, I proposed some amendments to the Finance Bill and the amended Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha.

Sir, I look forward to the discussion on the Finance Bill, 2000 in this House. Now, I commend the Finance Bill, 2000 for consideration and return.

The question was proposed.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE (Maharashtra) : Sir, the Finance Minister has been kind enough to roll back part of the proposals that he had in the original Bill. He stubbornly resisted rolling back some of the very important requests, suggestions and demands to which I shall be referring. But, Sir, my concern is, if a student of public finance and applied economics, if he were to juxtapose the figures in the Budgets of 1999-2000 and 2000-2001 alongside some of the data and important figures in the key indicators referred to in the Economic Survey of 1999-2000 for the purposes of evaluation of India's economic position and the financial position, he would reach at two alarming conclusions, and however alarming conclusions as they may be, they are absolutely indisputable and incontrovertible. Sir, one conclusion is that the economy of the country today, the state of the economy, is in an extremely precarious condition. The other conclusion is that the financial position of the country has deteriorated so dangerously that unless the fiscal managements were to come back to a path of rectitude, the situation cannot improve. We have come to a situation where we have to enforce very uncompromisingly rigorous financial discipline, otherwise very shortly we will be entering into a very dangerous area, critical area from where the entire chaos and collapse would not even be at an arm's length. Sir, I am making these submissions and these observations neither to score a debating point nor do I want to create an undue alarm or panic, but I must caution the Finance Minister that he must take the fiscal management immediately without delay to a path of rectitude. Sir, through this House, I am sharing this view and concern with the entire country. I am in a very good company of a very distinguished member of the Union Cabinet and he happens to be none other than our hon. Finance Minister himself. Sir, I am referring to a report of the 1st May in "The Statesman" and this report has

not been controverted. If it is so, he may controvert it here. The report says, "The Government is heading for an internal debt trap that might burgeon into a full blown crisis in two years. The Finance Minister, Mr. Yashwant Sinha has admitted to the gravity of the situation and is reported to have communicated the state of affairs to the Prime Minister." So, it is not that the Finance Minister is not aware; it is not that the Prime Minister is not aware; and it is also not that the Government is not aware. But I do not know; for their own compulsions, they are unable to take decisions which will show a perceptible attempt of the Government to bring the entire fiscal management to a path of rectitude. Sir, I want to take some time to point out how dismal the financial position is, as it emerges from the Budget figures. Take the figures of 1999-2000. Sir, the actual fiscal deficit is worked out to be Rs. 1,08,898 crores as against the budget deficit of Rs. 79,955 crores. Why have the Government overspent such a large amount of Rs. 28,943 crores? Sir, here in his budget speech, he has given some reasons for this. He says, "It is due to defence escalations, due to Orissa, due to elections and, perhaps, due to a shortfall in disinvestments." All that aggregates, Sir, to Rs. 12,010 crores. What about the balance of a large amount of nearly Rs. 17000 crores? Where have you overspent this money? Isn't it sheer of profligacy? Isn't it sheer wasteful expenditure of the Government? A Government which needs to economise on every sphere, on every area, on every point, on every item of expenditure, is overspending, and going far beyond the budgeted fiscal deficit. Sir, I want to read out certain figures which are in the Budget and which are causing a great deal of concern to me. Sir, the fiscal deficit has been worked out at Rs. 1,11,275 crores, the largest-ever in the last 52 years. I am sure, this will bound to increase because last year it was increased by Rs. 28,000 crores. Sir, only God knows by how many thousands or crores it will increase in the future. The revenue deficit is Rs. 77,425 crores and the interest payment is Rs. 1,01,266 crores. The revenue receipt is Rs. 2,03,678 crores.

The internal and external borrowings are more than Rs.14 lakh crores. Sir, what does this mean? This means that every day, the Government will borrow Rs.304.68 crores to keep itself in power. The Government will have to pay a daily interest of Rs.277.44 crores for governance. To meet the revenue expenses, Mr. Yashwant Sinha will be borrowing Rs.212.12 crores every day. The interest payment is

Rs.1,01,266 crores, which is 49.7 per cent of the revenue receipts. These figures establish one thing, that this Government is the most expensive Government we have ever had. This governance is the most expensive governance of the Centre ever. It is going on further. We are getting more and more indebted. Our indebtedness and our interest burden are unsustainable, and they are increasing every year, making the financial burden unbearable. It is crushing the nation. Our fiscal deficit was Rs.50,253 crores in 1995-96. In five years, it has increased to Rs.1,11,275 crores. It has more than doubled. Every year, the Government is depending more and more on borrowings. The large fiscal deficit for 2000-2001 has been arrived at after proposing the additional taxation of nearly Rs.7,000 crores. At this rate, as pointed out by the Finance Minister to the Prime Minister, we will surely fall into a terrible debt-trap.

Sir, the external sector is causing an equal amount of discomfort and anxiety. The trade deficit is increasing every year. In 1998-99, it was \$8,245 million. It has increased, in 1999-2000, to \$8616 million. We are told that there is growth in exports of 12 per cent, 14 per cent and 18 per cent. But the real cause of concern is something else. Our share in the global trade is less than 1 per cent. It is 0.65 per cent. Unless you are going to raise your share in the global trade, to say that there is growth in exports, is falsehood, and we are only deceiving ourselves. The heavy external sector's debt is more than double the foreign exchange reserves we have. Every year, we have a growing trade deficit and an extremely low share of India in the global trade, and there is the possibility of that eating into our foreign exchange reserves.

Therefore, if you want to avoid a financial collapse, I have suggestions to make to the Finance Minister. Work towards reducing our costly debts, prioritise the burden on the PSUs expeditiously, and have a more strict check on the expenditure by drastically downsizing the Government. The cost of governance must come down. We cannot afford such an expensive governance in our country, nor can we afford such an expensive Government. Every year, the fiscal deficit should come down by at least Rs.10,000 crores, and not go up, as it has been growing. Our net borrowing every year to run the Government is increasing both in respect of debt and debt-servicing.

The next suggestion I have to make is that the next Finance Commission should be told to lay down guidelines for the expenditure for

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the Central and the State Governments to reduce the ratio of interest payment to revenue receipts so that the ratio of interest payment to revenue receipts in respect of the Centre and the States is reduced to 25 per cent in the next five years. Today, it is 49.7 per cent. All-out efforts should be made to increase our share in the global trade. If this is not done, Mr. Finance Minister, the doom is not very far at your hands.

Sir, I was trying to analyse the reasons for this reckless expenditure and the sheer profligacy.

I was looking at the figures at the graph which is given in the Budget papers for 2000-2001. In the year 1995-96, when Dr. Manmohan Singh ceased to be the Finance Minister, the fiscal deficit was Rs.50,000 crores. Today, it is at Rs.1,11,275 crores. After he relinquished his office, every year, the fiscal deficit is going up. We are having more and more expensive Governments and this, Government, unfortunately, is the most expensive one. Sir, I remember how straight Dr. Manmohan Singh was. I happened to be a Cabinet Minister when he was the Finance Minister. Leave alone Rs.100 crores or Rs.50 crores, even to get Rs.One lakh, he was the toughest nut to crack. A gentleman that he has been, in the matter of asking for any indulgence in finances, any funds, he was just unwilling and un-relenting. There are political limitations today. Coalition Governments are extremely fragile politically and economically. If parties, 20 parties, form a coalition, well, good luck and good wishes to them. But, Sir, then, parties which comprise 10 people, 15 people, 20 people, 8 people, call the shots. They have to succumb. Otherwise, their survival is threatened. And, sometimes, the regional parties want to serve and sub-serve their own constituencies, their own regions, even at the cost of national interests. There is nothing that you can do about it. Such coalitions, such fragile coalitions, are a danger to the country, not only politically but also financially.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Salveji, if you yield to me for a second, I would say this. You have amended your earlier stand that coalitions are not good. That was the earlier stand. But the AICC document now says, "No, no. Coalitions are very much necessary. Regional parties have a role to play." (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI (Delhi): Sir, what is the point of his saying this now? How is it relevant?

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I want to be enlightened.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): I will enlighten you.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: My esteemed colleague, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, will take care of that. But, Sir, all that I want to submit to you is this. I am not against regional parties, Mr. Naidu. I am for the implementation of the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations. But expanding the authority and power of the State Governments, without corresponding responsibilities, is not good. There is a 25 per cent deficit in the States. Without any responsibility, you want more and more power. Is it not licentious? I am trying to help you out. Are you in a position to overrule some of the demands of the regional parties? They are not in the interest of the nation. Yet, you cannot do so because your own survival is threatened. This is my answer.

There is one thing I want to tell you, Mr. Finance Minister. We are all for accelerating the economic reforms. Some of the measures that you have taken are commendable. We approve them and support them. But, are you not supposed to carry out these reforms with a human face? Are not the considerations of economic growth to be co-extensive with social justice and economic justice? If that be so, how far have you been fair in refusing to subsidise or reducing the subsidy which affects the poorest of the poor, the public distribution system. You can downsize the Government in large many other areas where there is wasteful expenditure which you can cut down. This cut of the subsidy, I must submit, was a very unkind cut for the country.

Because of constraint of time, Sir, I shall now immediately come to direct taxes. I am being monitored for my time. I immediately come to direct taxes, a subject which I have dealt with all my life. Sir, I hope the intervention time will not be added to my time because I yielded.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM (Uttar Pradesh): That was for half a minute only. You can add one minute.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: In direct taxes, we have reached a stage in our reforms process where we must scrap the existing income-tax law lock, stock and barrel and replace it with a new modern Income-Tax Act. It is such a complicated, complex, law which is equal to confusion. Mr.

Finance Minister, I am willing to give you one section of the Income-Tax Act. You have two eminent lawyers in the treasury benches. Three of you, without reference to the text-books and the Supreme Court orders, give me the meaning of this section and the three of you will give different meanings.

And if I were asked to write, I will give the fourth version. What kind of law are we having today? Can we not have a simple law, not exceeding hundred sections, a simple provision of taxation on income, income as understood commercially, as understood universally by business people and otherwise, and at a low rate of taxation? Remove all the statutory deductions, remove all the exemptions, remove all the rebates, make the law simple, and thereby, you will find that you will be augmenting the tax revenues like anything. Kindly have simple substantive provisions, simple procedural provisions and make them assessee -friendly and you will find such an exercise extremely rewarding. Please think about the present Income-tax law in these terms which is very onerous, which is very cumbersome and which nobody understands unless you refer to the text-books and unless you go through a plethora of case laws. It is not you, who is making the laws, or it is not the two Houses of Parliament who are making the laws. Virtually, what we decide here is considered by the High Courts and the Supreme Court and they give a third version. It is a terrible state of affairs. If you are conversant with what is happening so far as tax law is concerned, though in recent years, tax calculations have been simplified, the substantive and procedural provisions have become extremely difficult, and the new law, therefore, should be simple. I must quote Palkhivala. I have considered him as the greatest authority on taxation in the world. I have travelled all over the world in connection with my tax work when I was practising. I have not found a man as enlightened as Mr. Palkhivala. I quote: " Today, the Income-tax Act 1961 is a national disgrace. There is no other instance in Indian jurisprudence of an Act mutilated by more than 3,300 amendments in less than 30 years." These figures relate to 1991. " Simple provisions like section 11 and section 13 dealing with income of charitable trusts have suffered no less than 50 amendments. In the law itself, provide your rates, not exceeding 25 per cent. Let the effective rate be the same as it is prescribed." Sir, give me two, three minutes more.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: It was passed in your regime, when you were in power.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Mr. Gautam, don't interrupt me. Add to this, at least, 1500 amendments in the last nine years. We have been bashing the income tax law right, left and centre, in season and out of season, mostly, out of season, and through the Finance Bill, year after year, we are amending the substantive provisions, the procedural provisions. For God's sake, have one law.

About the surcharge increase, Mr. Finance Minister, you have violated your promise. It has not been done. You are eroding your moral authority. Once it was stated by you that surcharge has been increased as a temporary measure. Now, you have started increasing it. The history of increased taxation is the history of the breach of promises by the Finance Minister. Don't do that. Let the Finance Minister be honest about it if he expects the tax payers to be honest. Sir, I want to further submit that I do not want him to augment effective rates of taxation to augment revenue. This is a very dubious concept. It is counter productive in the long run. Raise revenue by expanding tax base and not by increasing tax rates. Growth of income should be the goal to augment growth of revenue, not growth of tax rates.

Sir, about dividend tax, I do not want it to be reduced. I object to it on the first principle of sound taxation. Is it not double taxation, Mr. Finance Minister? I want you to reply this question. Is not dividend tax a double taxation? If it is double taxation, is it not unethical, unjust, immoral and it should not have been done? Therefore, the dividend tax, being double taxation, should be abolished lock, stock and barrel. I submit, Sir, it must be realised that the potential of direct taxes go far beyond, providing instruments to his revenues by raising tax rates for a Government. However incompetent it may be, history has shown that higher burden of taxes has the dangerous and negative possibilities of offsetting efforts, deflecting enterprise and stagnating growth making tax evasion and tax avoidance very highly lucrative and, therefore, it effectively works to prevent the bringing forth of the gift of each for the fullest enjoyment of all.

In the end, Sir, I want to submit in benign terms that the Finance Bill's annually levying more and more taxes should not come as an annual scourge to the tax-payers, but it should partake, in the nature of an annual

scheme to strengthen the partnership between the Government and the people, the highest glory of any strong republic. The Finance Bill needs, therefore, to reflect an annual exercise of the Government, effectively making all-out efforts, its constraints and limitations notwithstanding, to encourage adventure and enterprise, to promote unrelenting efforts and socio-economic welfare and to determinately demonstrate the resolute thrust of a rising nation, marching on the path to prosperity in the quest of a bright morning, not only for us but also for the generations to come. Thank you.

श्री वेद प्रकाश गोयल (महाराष्ट्र) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आदरणीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट पर उनका अभिनन्दन करना चाहता हूँ। वित्त विधेयक के जितने भी प्रावधान हैं, उनका समय समय पर जिक्र होता रहा है, डिसकशन होता रहा है, हाऊस के अन्दर भी और अखबारों में भी, इकोनोमिस्ट्स के बीच में, टेक्स एक्सपर्ट्स के बीच में। वह डिबेटिंग प्वाइंट है जो एक दूसरे पर स्कोर करने की कोशिश होती है। जब इतना डिबेट हो चुका है, उन्हीं प्वाइंट्स को दोबारा यहां पर ला कर उस चर्चा में पड़ने का मेरा कोई इरादा नहीं है। मैं इसको इस रूप में देखता हूँ कि हम इस सभा में आए हैं, हम कोई हर विषय के एक्सपर्ट नहीं हैं, हम जनभावनाओं को समझते हैं। जन भावनाओं ने किस तरह से इस बजट का आदर किया है, मैं उसकी ओर इशारा करना चाहता हूँ। भारत की 100 करोड़ जनता ने अपनी सर्वोच्च प्रतिनिधि संस्था लोक सभा में जिस सद्भावना और समझदारी से एक अच्छे माहौल में श्री सिन्हा जी के बजट को पास किया है, उसी भावना से प्रेरित हो कर मैं अपनी कुछ बातें आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। श्री सिन्हा जी की इस परफार्मेंस से वाजपेयी सरकार की अपरिहार्यता इस देश में हो चुकी है, उसकी दीर्घायु सब को दिख रही है, उसके ऊपर एक और मोहर लगा दी है, ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ। आने वाले काल में राष्ट्रीय महत्व के मुद्दों पर इसी प्रकार की सहमति और सहयोग बना रहा तो इसी सरकार के कार्यकाल में आने वाले चार-साढ़े चार सालों में हम जिस उन्नति के शिखर की उम्मीद लगाए बैठे हैं, आंख लगाए बैठे हैं, वह हम अपने इसी कार्यकाल में देख पाएंगे। ऐसा मेरा विश्वास है। इतने साल तक अलग अलग रास्ते, अलग अलग तरीके से, अलग अलग गति से हम सब ने सारे देश में प्रगति की ओर जो कदम उठाए हैं, उसके कलमिनेशन का समय आज आया है, ऐसा स्पष्ट दिखाई देता है। 1998 में मार्च में जब पहली बार श्री वाजपेयी जी की सरकार बनी थी, उस समय देश की हालत क्या थी? ग्रोथ रेट जी.डी.पी. के लेवल से गिर चुका था। इंडस्ट्री में टोटल रिसेशन था। मैन्युफैक्चरिंग गुड्स की डिमांड कम होती जा रही थी। इसका बैरोमीटर ऑटोमोबाइल सेक्टर है। एग्रीकल्चर में डिकलाइन जो वेल्यू एडेड प्रोडक्शन का है, वह हर जगह देखने में आता था। फॉरेन एक्सचेंज रिज़र्व में गिरावट, ग्लोबलाइजेशन का

चैलेंज, जिसके नीचे साऊथ ईस्ट एशियन देश चरमरा रहे थे, वह हमारे सामने एक चैलेंज बन कर आया था। साथ ही साथ हमारा पड़ोसी देश पाकिस्तान एक फाइनेंशियल कोलेप्स की स्थिति में खड़ा था। उस समय में पहली बार यह सरकार बनी और उसने सब चैलेंजेज को एक्सेप्ट किया। उस समय की प्रेडिक्शंस क्या थीं? उस समय की प्रेडिक्शंस थीं कि जो ग्रोथ रेट है इक्नामी का वह और नीचे जाएगा। 5 से भी नीचे जाकर साढ़े 3 या 4 तक आ जाएगा। लेकिन 1998-99 के साल में 6.8 तक गया। पोखरण और कारगिल के बावजूद हमारा ग्रोथ रेट 1999-2000 में 5.9 पर प्रोजेक्टेड है। यह कोई छोटी अचीवमेंट नहीं है जबकि एडीशनल एलोकेशन्स कितने हुए हैं - डिफेंस के लिए 13 हजार करोड़, फिर 11 हजार करोड़, फिर इलेक्न्थ फाइनेंस कमीशन के लिए इंटरिम 11 हजार करोड़ अर्थात् कुल 35 हजार करोड़ और ऊपर से 10 हजार करोड़ इंटररेस्ट के लिए। इन सब प्राब्लम्स को देखते हुए भी देश की ग्रोथ रेट बढ़ी है और बढ़ोत्तरी की तरफ है।

फिर 1999 में दुबारा सरकार बनी। पहले से मजबूत बनी। कई बार उसको रिडीक्चूल किया जाता है। जिस सरकार को सब प्रदेशों की 24 पार्टियां मिलकर साथ देने को तैयार हैं और सब देखते हैं कि इससे अच्छी सरकार नहीं हो सकती है, उसके बारे में खिल्ली उड़ाना और कहना कि अपने पांव पर नहीं खड़ी है, मैं समझता हूं कि अनुचित है। यह एक आधार है, एक सेंट्रल एन्कर है जो इतना स्ट्रॉंग है कि उसके आधार पर उसके ग्रीड्स अपने अपने राज्यों की जो आवश्यकताएं हैं उनको प्रोजेक्ट करते हुए पूरे देश की आवश्यकता के संदर्भ में अपनी अपनी बात कहते हैं, देश की बात समझते हैं और उसमें से कुल मिलाकर एक समन्वय का वातावरण बन रहा है।

पिछले बजट में कुछ प्रावधान थे। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने सेंसिटिव रूप से उनको देखा, इमोशंस से देखा, लोगों की आवश्यकताओं को समझा और उनमें से अगर किसी को पीछे कर दिया तो उससे उनको रोल बैक मिनिस्टर कहकर खिल्ली उड़ाना शुरू कर दिया। रोल बैक क्या होता है? हम कोई जड़ हैं क्या? हम डायनामिक नहीं हैं क्या? परिस्थिति को देखते नहीं हैं क्या, और उस परिस्थिति को रिस्पांड नहीं करते हैं क्या? अभी भी साल्वे साहब ने फिर से रोल बैक का जो पुराना ढर्रा है उसके ऊपर ले जाने की कोशिश की। पिछले दो सालों में हम किन किन परिस्थितियों से गुजरे हैं इसके ऊपर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। पहले ही साल जब गवर्नमेंट बनी तो उसने हिम्मत करके एक अणु परीक्षण किया। क्यों किया? आपशन तो चली आ रही थी सालों साल से लेकिन अगर डाक्टर अपनी आपशन का इस्तेमाल ही नहीं करे और मरीज अधिकाधिक बीमार होता चला जाए तो उस आपशन से क्या फायदा। हमने उस आपशन को एक्सपेरिमेंट किया। उसके ऊपर भी कितना कटाक्ष हुआ और यह कहा गया कि देश डूब जाएगा। अमेरिका सैंक्शन लगा देगा तो हमारे आर एण्ड डी का क्या

होगा, हमारी प्रगति कैसे होगी। इस चैलेंज को सरकार ने स्वीकार किया। देश को एक इज्जत बख्शी। संसार भर में बैठे हुए हिंदुस्तानी सीना तान कर मुल्कों की दौड़ में दौड़ सके, उनके बीच में खड़े हुए और जब यह फाइनैशियल संकट सामने दिखा तो प्रधान मंत्री ने देश के बाहर रहने वाले जो भारतीय हैं उनको ललकारा। उनको राष्ट्रभक्ति, देशभक्ति की याद दिलायी कि आज देश को तुम्हारी जरूरत है। जैसे महाराणा प्रताप के पीछे भामा शाह खड़े हो गए थे और बिल्कुल चरमराती उनकी व्यवस्था को उन्होंने फिर से एक जान दे दी। बिल्कुल उसी तरह से देश से बाहर रहने वाले सब भारतीय, सब भेदभाव भुलाकर सरकार के पीछे खड़े रहे और जितनी अपेक्षा नहीं थी उससे अधिक धनराशि उन्होंने देश को दी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि परीक्षण का साहस किया उसकी सराहना होनी चाहिए थी। समय बीतते बीतते अगला साल आ गया। अगले साल में फिर से सरकार बनी। आम तौर से वातावरण बनाया जा रहा था कि हर सरकार एक साल चलती है। उससे पहले की दो सरकारें एक साल भी नहीं चली थीं। इनको कहा गया कि एक साल बहुत हो गया। लेकिन दोबारा जब वह सरकार बनी तो पहले से अधिक मजबूत सरकार बनी और बनते-बनते ही कारगिल का संकट आ गया। जिस पड़ौसी की तरफ हमने दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाया था उसने हमारी पीठ में छुरा घोंप दिया। उसने हमको फिर से लड़ाई के लिए ललकारा। एक प्रच्छन्न लड़ाई तो चलती जा रही थी, उसको प्रत्यक्ष में लाकर पहाड़ी की चोटियों पर हमारे सामने खड़ा कर दिया और वह उसमें हार गया। वह कल का इतिहास है जिसको भुलाया नहीं जा सकता कि किस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान के जवानों ने उस संकट का मुकाबला किया और देश ने उनके पीछे खड़े हो कर, जो-जो उनकी जरूरियात थीं उन सब को पूरा किया। मैं तो कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इतिहास भी कहां है, अभी तो लड़ाई चल रही है। इतिहास तो तब बनेगा जब इस लड़ाई का आखिरी चरण भारतीय सेनाएं जीत कर आयेंगी और वह समय दूर नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह देश जिस मजबूती के साथ ऐसे वक्त में खड़ा होता रहा है उसी मजबूती से फिर से खड़ा होगा और इस तरह का एक और मजबूत हिन्दुस्तान बनाने की दिशा में अगला कदम उठायेगा। इन दो बड़े खर्चों के बाद, इतने रुपये का प्रोविजन करने के बाद, अब की बार का बजट आने के पहले वातावरण क्या बना था कि अब की बार इतना भार होगा कि आम आदमी उसे उठा ही नहीं सकेगा। टैक्स बहुत बढ़ जायेंगे। फाइनांस मिनिस्टर पैसा कहां से लायेंगे, इस देश को कैसे चलायेंगे? मैं समझता हूँ कि इन सब परिस्थितियों का ठीक आंकलन करके, उनको गहराई से समझ कर, उन सब का जवाब देने के लिए वित्त मंत्री ने जो-जो कदम इस बजट में उठाए हैं, उन सब के कारण जो-जो शंकाएं थीं, वे जो 'डाउटिंग तॉमेसेस' थे, उन सब के मुंह बंद हो गए। आज देश भर में जनरल वातावरण क्या है? वातावरण यह है कि देश प्रगति की ओर जा रहा है। कोई टैक्सों के नीचे कराह नहीं रहा है। हर आंकड़ा यह दिखाता

है कि हर सेक्टर में प्रगति हो रही है। अति संवेदनशील वित्त मंत्री जिसने बहुत वाइड स्प्रेड विचार किया, चर्चा की, इंडस्ट्रीज़ एसोसिएशंस से, लेबर एसोसिएशंस से, स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज़ से, समाज के अलग-अलग वर्गों से, फिर अगर कहीं छोटे-मोटे चेंजेज़ करने पड़ते हैं तो उसके कारण उनको बे पैदे का लौटा कहा जाना सही नहीं है। उन्होंने एक स्थिरता दिखाई है। उन्होंने दिखाया है कि जो कुछ भी कदम उठाए गए हैं वे बहुत सोच-समझ कर उठाए गए हैं और वे देश की दूरगामी जरूरत के लिए आवश्यक हैं। फिर भी अगर कोई छोटी-मोटी इधर-उधर की चेंजेज़ करनी पड़ती हैं तो उसमें हर्ज़ क्या है। आखिरकार उनको रेसपांड करना पड़ता है। वी आर ए डेमोक्रेसी। उसके सिवाय उन्होंने जो कुछ भी बजट पेश किया था वह बहुत सोच-समझ कर पेश किया था और उस पर वे स्थिर रहे हैं। उन्होंने अपने साथियों को साथ में लिया है, एनडीए के सब पार्टनर्ज़ को साथ में लिया है, उनकी अपनी रेक्वायरमेंट्स, उनके राज्यों की रेक्वायरमेंट्स, उन सब को पूरा करते हुए उनको साथ में लेकर वे आगे बढ़े हैं। इसीलिए सब से उनको समर्थन मिला है। जैसे मैंने पहले कहा है कि लोक सभा ने एक भरपूर व भारी मत से इस बजट को पास किया है। कोई झगड़ा नहीं, कोई चिंता नहीं। सब को दिखता था कि जो रेफॉर्म्स हो रहे हैं वे बहुत आवश्यक हैं। कई सालों से हो रहे थे। आज दुहाई दी जाती है कि रेफॉर्म्स शुड बी विद ए ह्यूमैन फेस, हर रेफॉर्म गरीब देश में ह्यूमैन फेस के हिसाब से होते हैं, लेकिन पिछले दस साल में तो इस ह्यूमैन फेस को हर साल अधिकाधिक काला ही किया गया है। दस साल में रेफॉर्म्स का ह्यूमैन फेस इतना काला हो चुका है कि अब उसको धोकर द्रुत गति से, तेजी से हम रेफॉर्म्स की ओर बढ़ते हैं तो यह सराहना करने की ही चीज़ है, शिकायत करने की चीज़ नहीं है। यहाँ कोई शिकायत करने की चीज़ नहीं है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ गिने-चुने लोगों ने, अपना प्रतिपक्ष का धर्म पालन करने के लिए, आखिर कुछ कहना ही था और कहा है। उन्हें कुछ मुद्दे मिले ही नहीं जिन के ऊपर वह अटैक करें। सभी ने कहा कि जो होना चाहिए था, जो हो रहा था, वह द्रुत गति से नहीं हो रहा था, हम रिफॉर्म्स की दिशा में आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता चल रहे थे जिस के कारण लोगों को जो रिफॉर्म्स के लाभ दिखने चाहिए थे, वह दिखाई नहीं दे रहे थे। वह अब दिखाई देने शुरू हुए हैं जिस के लिए मैं समझता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी अभिनंदन के पात्र हैं। उन्होंने इस रिफॉर्म्स की गाड़ी को आगे ले जाने के पहले ओवरहॉल किया है, उस का अध्ययन किया है, उस के घिसे-पिटे पुराने पुर्जे बदले हैं, उस में फ्युअल एफिसिएंट एंजन लगाया है और इस सब के बाद बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ वह ड्राइवर की सीट पर बैठे हैं और इस सुधारी हुई गाड़ी को आज की फ्युअल एफिसिएंट एंजन की गाड़ियाँ जिस रफ्तार से चल रही हैं, उस रफ्तार से वह इस गाड़ी को आगे ले जा रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अब कुछ स्पेसिफिक पॉइंट्स के बारे में अपने विचार आप के सामने रखूंगा। Rising non-Plan Expenditure particularly interest repayment on account of the Government borrowings in the last two decades: It has been increasing without an equivalent growth in the economy. उस के संबंध में कुछ बोल्ट स्टैप्स लिए हैं। उस एक्सपेंडीचर को मॉनीटर करने की जरूरत है और अभी भी जो खर्चा है, वह खर्चा आमदनी से आगे न निकल जाए, इस बारे में चिंता करने की जरूरत है। महोदय, उन के भाषण को सुनने से यह लगता है कि वह हर लेवल पर खर्चा कम करने के लिए मॉनीटरिंग की व्यवस्था करेंगे। महोदय, कई बार डाउन साइजनिंग ऑफ द गवर्नमेंट की बात होती है, खर्चा कम करने की बात होती है तो इस का यह मतलब निकाला जाता है कि नौकरियां कम हो जाएंगी, लोगों को सर्विसेस से हटा दिया जाएगा, लेकिन ऐसा होता नहीं है। डाउन साइजनिंग में बहुत कुछ होता है। जगह-जगह इनवेंटरीज पड़ी हैं, जगह-जगह बेकार काम हो रहे हैं, जगह-जगह ओवरलेपिंग हो रही है, उस सब को हिम्मत से रिस्ट्रक्चरिंग करना, उन लोगों को और जगह यूज करना, उन को और जगह काम करने की ट्रेनिंग देना, आज की आई.आई.टी. पॉलिसी के लिए उन्हें तैयार करना यह सब इस में आ जाता है। उस में हजारों, लाखों नए और कीमती जॉब्स पैदा हो रहे हैं, इन के लिए लोगों को तैयार करना - ये ऐसे कदम हैं जिन्हें सरकार उठाने जा रही है। साथ ही उस के कुछ फैक्टर्स जैसे एक्सपेंडीचर मैनेजमेंट के बारे में संक्षेप में अपने विचार आप के सामने रखना चाहूंगा। महोदय, एक्सपेंडीचर ग्रोथ को रोकने के लिए स्ट्रक्चरल चेंजेज और गवर्नमेंट एक्सपेंडीचर के खर्च का अध्ययन किया जा रहा है। गवर्नमेंट में नए-नए जॉब्स क्रिएट करने के लिए जो नार्म्स हैं, उन के ऊपर पुनः विचार हो रहा है। महोदय, पहले हम एक ढर्रे पर चलते रहे हैं। एक आदमी गया तो उसका रिप्लेसमेंट आना ही चाहिए, एक सेक्रेटरी लगाया तो एक पिरामिड की तरह निश्चित संख्या में लोगों को आना चाहिए, इस प्रकार का एक मानस हमारा बन गया है, उस से देश को बाहर निकालने की जरूरत है।

महोदय, सब्सिडीज के बारे में बहुत चर्चा हो चुकी है, मैं उस में नहीं जाऊंगा। लेकिन वह कॉस्ट बेस्ड होना चाहिए, जहां-जहां रिक्वायरमेंट है, जिन को जरूरत है, उन तक वह पहुंचे और जहां जरूरत नहीं है वहां उस का मिस-यूज न हो, इस तरह का प्रयत्न चल रहा है। हजार करोड़ रुपया जो इनिशियल डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट से आने की उम्मीद है और दस हजार करोड़ रुपया का जो टॉरगेट है, उसको कहां इस्तेमाल किया जाए? उसको जो इतना बड़ा इंटरेस्ट बर्डन है, उसे दूर करने में इस्तेमाल किया जाए, नहीं तो रोजमर्रा के खर्च में वह पैसा निकल जाएगा और अपने हाथ से पूंजी निकल जाएगी और जिस उद्देश्य से इसको लाए, वह भी निकल जाएगा। मैं जानता हूँ कि सरकार इसके बारे में सही कदम उठा रही है।

एटॉनिमस इंस्टीटयूशन्स जो हैं, उनको रिस्ट्रिक्ट किया जाना चाहिए। जहां देखो कोई न कोई एटॉनिमस इंस्टीटयूशन्स बनते रहते हैं। जितने इंस्टीटयूशन्स हमारे पास हैं वे इतने हैं कि अगर उनको ठीक से चलाया जाए तो मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी कमियां दूर हो जाएंगी।

एग्रीकल्चर और रूरल सैक्टर की डिटेल् में, स्टेटिस्टिक्स में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, उसमें कई विशेष कदम उठाए गए हैं जिनसे उनको गति मिली है, क्रेडिट मिला है और अब वे एक बैंक के सामने हाथ जोड़कर नहीं बल्कि इज्जत से पैसा ले सकता है और आगे का अपना खेती का काम कर सकता है।

स्माल स्केल और टाइनी सैक्टर की ओर बहुत ध्यान दिया गया है, कई उसमें रिफार्म किए गए हैं - उनको दस लाख का लोन आसानी से मिल सके, उनको जिस-जिस तरह की सहुलियतें चाहिए उनके लिए एक अलग से मिनिस्ट्री बनाई गई है। इन सबको देखते हुए मैं समझता हूं कि स्माल स्केल और टाइनी सैक्टर, जिसमें खास तौर से खादी और विलेज इंडस्ट्री आते हैं, उनकी ओर अधिक ध्यान देने की जरूरत है क्योंकि उसके माध्यम से गांव की गरीब व लाखों जनता रोज़ी पाती है, अपना घर चलाती है।

एक्साइज़ को बहुत सिम्प्लीफाई किया गया है। हम लोग इंडस्ट्री में एक्साइज़ से परेशान क्यों होते थे, इसलिए कि इतने फार्म थे, इतने इंस्पेक्टर थे कि जब चाहे इंस्पेक्टर इंडस्ट्री में घुस आता था सब फार्म ठीक हों तब भी डर लगता था कि वह कहीं न कहीं कुछ लगा देगा और इससे रिश्त बढती थी। इन सब चीजों को दूर करके सिस्टम को सिम्प्लिफाई किया गया है। कारपोरेट वर्ग को एक अपरचुनिटी दी गई है ताकि खुले मन से और ट्रांसपिरेसी के साथ वह काम कर सके तथा जो उनको मौका मिला है, उसका वह उपयोग कर सके।

सबसे बड़ा जो विपिंग हॉर्स है, जिसको हमारे बहुत से दोस्त यूज़ करते रहे हैं, वह है डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट एंड रिफार्म। रिफार्म का फ़िज़्र मैं कर चुका हूं, डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट को मानते सब हैं, उसकी जरूरत है यह सब मानते हैं लेकिन उसके लिए जो बोल्ड स्टेप उठाने चाहिए थे, उनको उठाने की हिम्मत अगर पहले नहीं की गई तो उसमें आज की सरकार का क्या दोष है। सारी गलतियों को दूर करके अगर वे कदम उठा रहे हैं तो वह अच्छी बात है और वे ऐसे फुटकर में पी.एस.यू.स. नहीं बेच रहे हैं, उसके ऊपर एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री बनी है, उस पर विचार कर रही है। ओप्टिमम् प्राइस पर उनको बेचा जाए और उस पैसे को ठीक जगह पर लगाया जाए, इसकी जरूरत है।

3.00 P.M.

पुरानी-पुरानी इंडस्ट्रीज़ हैं, रोज़ ज़िक्र होता है - ब्रिज एंड रूफ, गार्डन रीच वगैरह-वगैरह और इंजीनियरिंग इंडस्ट्रीज़ बीमार हो गई हैं, सालों से बीमार पड़ी हैं, आप फीड करते जा रहे हैं लेकिन कुछ नहीं हो रहा। वे लार्सन-टूब्रो क्यों नहीं बनते ? उनके पास सब कुछ था - स्किल्ड लेबर थी, इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर था, जगह थी, सब कुछ था, लार्सन-टूब्रो से कम्पिट करने की बजाए, वर्कस् का जो आरगेनाइज्ड सेक्टर था 20-25 लाख का, उनकी रक्षा करने के नाम पर वे उनको भी रुलाते रहे, इंडस्ट्री को भी रुलाते रहे और जिस प्रदेश में सबसे बड़ी इंजीनियरिंग इंडस्ट्री थी, हमको गर्व था, जब हम इंजीनियरिंग में पढ़ते थे, लेकिन आज उसकी हालत क्या है ? ... (समय की घंटी) ... चूँकि आपने घंटी बजा दी है, मैं अंतिम एक-दो बात कहकर अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा।

I must congratulate the Government on its unprecedented attention to Information Technology. Surely, the steps that it has taken so far will make I.T. India's tomorrow. However, there is a word of caution which I would like to give. Tomorrow is not today. And today, it is the hardcore industries, say, engineering, textiles, sugar, basic chemicals and steel, which need to be given support.

महोदय, टेक्सटाईल इंडस्ट्री देश की सबसे बड़ी इंडस्ट्री है, यह मैनचेस्टर से मुकाबला करती रही है और हम देख रहे हैं कि आज यह खत्म हो रही है। मुंबई जो घर था टेक्सटाईल इंडस्ट्री का, वहां एक-एक करके सब मिलें बंद होती जा रही हैं और वहां घर बन रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि और प्रदेशों में भी यही हाल होगा। इन सब इंडस्ट्रीज़ को सपोर्ट देने की जरूरत है। इन इंडस्ट्रीज़ को नैगलेक्ट करना पोलिटिकली, ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिवली, इंस्टीट्यूशनली, हर तरीके से इस देश के लिए नुकसानदेह है। ये जो हमारी ओल्ड कंपनीज़ हैं, अगर इनको हमने नैगलेक्ट किया और हवा में बहने वाली आज की जो इंडस्ट्रीज़ हैं, केवल उनकी तरफ अपना सारा ध्यान लगाया तो जरूरत के समय हम धोखा खाएंगे, इस बारे में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को आगाह करना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पद्मौरी) : कृपया, अब समाप्त कीजिए। आपकी पार्टी के दो और स्पीकर हैं। जो निर्धारित समय है आपकी पार्टी का, उसका आधा समय आपने ले लिया है। आपकी क्वार्टर और बंगले की समस्या है, हमारे सामने समय की समस्या है।

श्री वेद प्रकाश गोयल : महोदय, बंगले की समस्या छोटी है, देश की समस्या बड़ी है। देश की समस्या के बीच मैं आप बंगले की समस्या को ले आए। गिने-चुने बंगले

हैं। आपको मालूम है कि एक अनार और सौ बीमार। मांगने वाले सौ, बंगला एक। सब अलग-अलग कारण, अलग-अलग रीज़न बताते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सुरेश पचौरी) : चलिए, अब विषय पर आइए, उसे छोड़िए।

श्री वेद प्रकाश गोयल : मैं मल्टी स्टोरीड बिल्डिंग बनाने की कोशिश कर रहा हूँ। बंगले से निकलना चाहिए। एक-एक एकड़ के बंगले में रहने की जरूरत नहीं है। आप तो हैं अच्छे बंगले में।

महोदय, एक बात बहुत बार कही जा रही है डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट के बारे में कि डिसइन्वेस्टमेंट करने से लेबर का क्या होगा ? मैं उसके बारे में केवल दो-तीन वाक्य कहना चाहता हूँ जो प्रधानमंत्री जी ने इंडियन लेबर कान्फ्रेंस के 36वें सेशन में कहे थे। यह कान्फ्रेंस 14 अप्रैल को दिल्ली में हुई थी। मैं प्रधानमंत्री जी के उस स्टेटमेंट को क्वोट करना चाहता हूँ और आपको आश्चर्य करना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार कभी भी लेबर का अहित करके कोई काम नहीं कर सकती है और यह सरकार गरीबों का अहित करके कोई काम नहीं कर सकती है...(व्यवधान)...

श्री गया सिंह (बिहार) : गरीब ही नहीं रहेगा तो उसका हित क्या कीजिएगा ?

श्री वेद प्रकाश गोयल : हम भी आपकी गरीबी जानते हैं। हमने गरीबी को नज़दीक से देखा है। हम उसमें रहकर आए हैं। हमको मत सिखाइए।

महोदय, जिस दिन प्रधानमंत्री जी ने यह भाषण दिया था, उस दिन डा. अम्बेडकर जी की जयंती थी। प्रधानमंत्री जी ने कहा कि -

"Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar is remembered not only for the Constitution, but also for his long and abiding association with the labour movement. Before independence, he had chaired four sessions of the Tripartite Labour Conference. He was also the first Union Labour Minister after Independence. He has taught us that political freedom is incomplete without social justice and economic justice for all." He further said, "Labour takes care of all the needs of the society. Over 36 crore people in industry, agriculture and self-employment constitute the country's labour force."

उसमें से आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर में कितने हैं ? केवल 3 करोड़ हैं। महोदय, 100 करोड़ की आबादी में, 36 करोड़ की लेबर फोर्स में आर्गनाइज्ड सेक्टर में केवल 3 करोड़

लोग हैं। प्रधानमंत्री जी ने आगे यह भी कहा कि -

"If only we can ensure the welfare of all of them, in the organised and unorganised sector, they will be a source of strength and not a liability. I would like to assure and reassure all of you that my Government is fully committed to the welfare, development and dignity of labour in this country." He also said that "we are living in an era of sweeping social and economic changes around the world. No section of society, not even the labour movement, can remain untouched by the effects of these changes. Protection and promotion of the interests of labour is an integral part of our philosophy of economic reforms."

"We in India have never believed that there can be any inherent antagonism between labour, capital, management, society and the State. We would like you to be partners in the reform process. If there are any shortcomings in this process, bring them to the attention of the Government". The Government will look into them; the Government will listen to them. The Government will redress the grievances. "We have resolved to create ten crore jobs". That is what the Prime Minister said and they are bent upon doing it. Finally, "there is also the big challenge of how to revive thousands of sick industrial units". I have already said that those that cannot be revived need not be revived. एक बंदरिया मरे हुए बच्चे को छाती से लगा कर कब तक बैठी रहेगी। आखिर उसको छोड़ना पड़ता है, नए बच्चों को जन्म देना पड़ता है। मैं अपील करता हूँ कि इसी भावना के साथ जैसे सरकार पीओएसओ को देखती है उसी तरह हम सब भी देखें और इस सरकार को इस तरह के कदमों में आगे और तेजी से बढ़ने के लिए सहायता करें, उसमें देरी नहीं होनी चाहिए।

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, I do not know from where to begin. May be, I should begin by referring to the discussion we had yesterday on the Appropriation Bill and on the expenditure pattern of the Government. If we recall yesterday's discussion on the Appropriation Bill, I mentioned that out of the total expenditure, more than 90% goes to three items. When I say the total expenditure, I mean the total expenditure, the Plan, the Non-Plan, revenue, capital, everything. When you take everything into account, the total expenditure of the Government, there are three items which account for 90% of the total expenditure. Which are these three items? The first is the interest repayments and the principal repayments of

the borrowings. That is the largest. The second is the Defence Budget, both on revenue and capital account. The third is the subsidy. It is by far the smallest of the three and it accounts for only 6%. But all the three together account for 90 per cent of the total expenditure of the Government which means less than ten per cent is given for development activity. This also shows the constraint of the Government. The Government cannot, for example, default on the money borrowed, or, the interest, because it is a contractual obligation. The Government cannot touch the Defence because it is something that is very important for the country. At least, from the Opposition, we cannot question the Government on the Defence expenditure. So, what is happening is that, they cannot touch the Defence, they cannot touch the borrowings; therefore, they are touching the smallest of the three, that is, the subsidies, and very important subsidies on food and other things, which is causing enormous havoc to the economy of the country. So, how do we get out of this?

I mentioned yesterday that the deficit is going up -- certainly, we do not want the deficit to go up -- and the Minister is now saying that he will restrain the Budget deficit at five per cent. But going by the precedent set by all the Finance Ministers, including the current Finance Minister, the deficit will be one-and-a-half per cent more than that in the Revised Budget Estimates. So, it will be, at least, 6.5% of fiscal deficit, which is not far from what we started in 1991. So, what do we do with this deficit? You can control it in two ways either by restraining the expenditure, which you cannot do in the situation, or, by increasing the income. So, this Finance Bill is very important because it gives the opportunity to explore new avenues for raising the revenue of the country and for balancing the book, for making the ends meet between the income and the expenditure.

In this Finance Bill we expect the Finance Minister to come out with some new suggestions. He billed this Budget as the Millennium Budget, the 21st Century Budget. But as I mentioned yesterday, there is no difference in the pattern of Budget over the last few years. There may be a few decimal points here and there. But the trick is this that the Minister talks about the absolute figures and not about the percentages.

Every year, the figure is increasing and it is not usually known that the percentage do not change much. I have done the exercise and I find that there has been, absolutely, no difference - 0.004% here and 0.002% there.

There has been no change in the structure of the Budget over the last few years. If you look at the Budget for the last ten years or so, you will see how they have tried to increase the revenue of the country and why all these have failed. One assumption was that, if you reduce the rate of income-tax, then there would be a greater compliance by the black-money-holders and there would be more revenue. It worked up to a point, and now it is no longer working.

The second alternative they tried was to give amnesty to black-money-holders in various forms, from the Bearer Bond Scheme of Mrs. Gandhi's regime, to Manmohan Singh's National Housing Scheme to amnesty to people bringing money from outside the country, upto the Samadhan Scheme of our current Finance Minister, last year. All these schemes worked up to a point, but beyond that, the black-money-holders realised that it was cheaper to hold it in the money form and bribe the policemen or the politicians. So, he is retaining the money in the black-money form and not responding to the incentives given by the amnesty because amnesty is more costly for him. He could procure the amnesty by bribing; he does not bother about your giving that amnesty. So, this is not yielding much revenue.

Then, the third alternative tried was, presumptive taxation, which was a novel idea. It was launched three years ago by Mr. Chidambaram first. Last year, Sinha ji has expanded it and has called it 1/6. If you have any one of the criteria like telephone, house, this or that, then you are liable to pay tax. I find that this presumptive tax has resulted in increase in the number of tax-payers. The number of tax-payers was one crore and it has now doubled, to two crores. There has been an increase in the number of tax-payers. Even this number is quite small. But the unfortunate thing is that, as the number of tax-payers has gone up, the yield has gone down. If you see the Revised Estimates of last year, you find that there was a sharp drop in the revenues from income-tax and corporate tax.

If you look at the developed countries, more than 40% of the income comes from income, profit or assets. In our country, it is much less than 40%. Recently, it has increased to 34%, a better figure than what it was before. Even now we are far short. It was achieved by reducing the excise duty, which had created a havoc in the country. What I am saying of presumptive tax, is that though the number of tax-payers has increased, there is a decrease in the yield.

The next alternative they tried was disinvestment. Now, everything is being sold. I do not know why our Finance Minister is against public ownership. If you look at the history of East Asian countries, for decades-not just last year or a year before that-all of them relied on public ownership; in banks, in large industries. They defied the World Bank, and their public enterprises are making money, making profit, and they are saving for the exchequer. They are being run efficiently. They are so efficient. There is one South Korean firm, called Posco, a steel company, which was set up in 1973. It is a public sector company. That company is supposed to be the most efficient steel plant in the whole world. Even the U.S. Steel Plant, if they want to train their managers, sends them to *Posco*. But this *Posco* is a public sector company. So, nothing is wrong in public ownership. You will not benefit by reducing the ownership to 26%. Something is wrong in the management, with both the public and the private sector.

The car that I use, Ambassador, has got protection for so many years. Why has it not changed its model? It has nothing to do with public ownership. It is much more than that. May be, something is endemic in the way the Indians manage the affairs, whether in the public or the private sector. But I do not understand the anger of the Finance Minister against the public sector units.

But he wants to sell off everything - ports, airports should be sold off, our airlines should be sold off. What is happening to the country? There should be a proper assessment by all of us. There has been a consensus on this part of the economic policy until very recently. We have to see whether we should sell everything and whether it is good for the country and the economy. This issue has to be assessed squarely. But I am not discussing that now. The point I am raising is that if you want to make the public sector efficient, then sell off the inefficient public sector units. I can understand if you sell a public sector unit which is not making money. But you are selling those public sector units which are making money. If you cannot generate income is a public sector unit, then you will not get a buyer for this in the market. So, you are selling those public sector units which are running quite efficiently. But at what price? There is a vast amount of literature available today based on the experience of the last twenty years since 1980 with regard to disinvestments, whether it is Mexico in Latin America or Ghana in South Africa or Pakistan in Asia.

There has been a wide range of experience on disinvestments. In each of these cases, there have been studies by the UN agencies. Many other studies have also been there. I can also give references if you are interested. But in all these things there is always an amount of sleaze and there has been an amount of corruption involved. Prices are rigged. The public sector units are sold cheap at a price which is fixed earlier. In this way, the brokers make money, the Ministers make money. But I think the country does not make money. With regard to the whole idea of downsizing the Government and getting about Rs.10,000 crores by selling public sector units, I am questioning the principle involved in that as to why you should think that public ownership is bad. I think public ownership is good. There has to be a debate on this. But if you go by your principle, then you should only sell those units which are inefficient. But you are selling those units which are efficient. Not only this, there is an amount of sleaze which is being alleged and there is an amount of corruption which is being alleged. You cannot stop this in the kind of a situation we are placed in. This is the experience of all the countries which I have been quoting. But what you are not doing now is to raise the taxes from a very simple obvious source. Sir, ours is an agricultural economy. In this agricultural country a vast majority of the people is poor. The people who live in the rural areas are very poor. Nobody can think of imposing tax on them or even on the middle class people. But there are also people who are very rich. These rural rich have accumulated enormous amount of money during the Green Revolution period since 1966. They have been benefiting from all kinds of Government policies. They have amassed an enormous amount of money. If you go to a rich farmer's house, may be, in Haryana, may be, in Punjab, may be, in Western Uttar Pradesh, may be, even in Andhra Pradesh, what do you find? You will find that there are four or five tractors, combined harvesters, huge grain stores, big buildings and land. Why can't you tax them? Now you have two forms of tax. These people may be three to four crores out of one hundred crores. So, the percentage is also three to four. If you can properly assess the wealth only, my estimation is that you will get at least Rs.20,000 crores out of it. You can impose tax on income or wealth or on both. The subject of income falls within the jurisdiction of the State Governments. But wealth is within the jurisdiction of the Union Government. Sir, taxing rural income is very difficult. There had been a committee appointed many years ago under the

chairmanship of Prof. K.N.Raj, a well-known economist, as you all know. Prof. Raj came to the conclusion that it is very difficult to assess rural income because there are no records. But rural wealth is more easy to assess because if you have a tractor or a combined-harvester or a seed-drill or a farmhouse or land or a building, it can be identified. So rural wealth should be taxed.

Now, I have been lobbying, for the last five years, with the Government that they should go in for rural wealth taxation. I will not bore you with all the discussions that I had with various Ministers. Recently, I received a letter from Shri Dhananjaya Kumar. He had not considered even my minimum demand that there should be a feasible study of wealth taxation in the rural areas. It is only a feasibility study. I am not saying that you impose the tax now. I am saying that you carry out a feasibility study through the National Institute of Fiscal Policy and Public Finance, which is a very well known institute. I only asked for a feasibility study to be carried out to find out as to how many people among the rural rich, how many of them, can actually pay taxes, how they can be identified, etc. Whenever I say this, there is an excuse. The excuse is, "All the rural people are poor." That is wrong. I work in the Kisan Sabha. I know. The whole idea is, because there are so many people in the rural areas who are poor, the rural rich are taking shelter behind them. They are taking shelter under them. They are not poor. But they do not want to pay taxes. Has the Government got any political will to impose taxes on the rural rich in the form of wealth tax? Why can't they be taxed? What is their income level? Is there any feasibility study? Sir, Shri Dhananjaya Kumar, writing on behalf of the Finance Minister, said like this. How funny it is. What is the reason? He said, "We will only impose wealth-tax on unproductive assets but not on productive assets." Why? What is the argument? Sir, Prof. Nicholas Kaldor, who came to India in the fifties, recommended that one of the four taxes, which should be imposed in India, was wealth-tax. It was, Mr. Nicholas Kaldor, who suggested this in the fifties. And, now, the Minister dismissed it in one sentence. He said that unproductive assets should be taxed, productive assets should not be taxed and the land is a productive asset. But there can be, apart from land, many other forms of assets in the rural areas which he is not aware of. He then says, "In view of all these, there will be no difference between the rural wealth and urban wealth for taxation purposes. It was felt that an independent study on rural wealth

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taxation by the NIPAP was not required." What do I understand? No difference between the rural tax and urban wealth! But there will be no rural tax, but urban tax! I do not see any logic in it. What is happening is this. The rural rich is so much enmeshed in the politics of the country, so much involved in the politics of the country, that they will help you in capturing booths. They help you in getting rural votes. That is the reason why you do not want to tax them. You want them to bring you money. So, you do not antagonize them... (time-bell)... Sir, I am sorry. You do not want to antagonise them. I know you are worried about what I am saying. The rural rich do not want to be taxed. They are manipulating the political parties so that they do not pay taxes and the political parties do not have the political will even to carry out a feasibility study. It is the minimum but even that has not been done.

Now, the Finance Minister is talking about a very high growth rate. He is talking about a 7 per cent to 9 per cent growth rate. He is talking about taking the country to the position of becoming a developed country. I do not know whether he was daydreaming. Had this been a wish or hope rather than a day dreaming, I would have understood. If he says that we want to become a rich - and that is our wish - between the developed and the developing countries, I understand. But, actually, moving towards that position is another thing. What is our present position? What is the ground reality? Sir, India is one of the thirty poorest countries in the world. And almost all our neighbouring countries, including Pakistan, are richer than us, unfortunately, in terms of per capital income. The GDP of our country with a 100 crore population is less than the turnover of two motor companies of America. The turnover of the two motor companies - Ford and General Motors - together, in one year, is more than the national income of this great country of ours, which has a 100 crore of population. Would you not agree with it? Is it not the truth? It is the truth. Look at the figures. Or, I will give another example. Two of the tiniest islands of the world - you will have to see them with a microscope in the map - Singapore and Hong Kong, together, their GDP is much more than us. They do not even have a one crore population.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Mr. Dasgupta, please conclude ... (Interruptions)...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, I am concluding within five minutes. If you want to reach the level of a developed country, it will take, at the present rate, generations. I am talking as an economist.

At the present rate, it will take generations to reach the level of South Korea, which is not very high. South Korea is not a very rich country. But to reach the South Korean level, it will take us generations. That is the position we are in today. As an economist I feel - and I am sure you will agree with me - you require savings, you require investment. Our savings rate now is 22%, whereas Singapore has got a rate of 50%, most of the East Asian countries have got a rate which is very near to 40%. And our savings rate is not only low, it is also declining. Our savings rate today is less than what it was in 1991. Our investment rate today is less than what it was in 1991. So, both in terms of savings and investment, we have had a disappointing performance during the 90s. How can you have any growth? If you take the five major indicators of development into account and compare the 90s with the 80s - 90s, the so-called decade of reforms; 80s, the decade that preceded the reforms - and you look at the savings rate, the investment rate, the GDP growth rate, the growth rate of agriculture, the growth rate of industry, on each of these five counts, we have done far worse in the 90s than we have in the 80s. I challenge the Finance Minister to prove me wrong. Now, what is happening with the savings? We have diverted the savings. Our aggregate savings are not going up. They are going down. We have diverted our savings from the banks either to the share market or to insurance. If you look at the history of the East Asian economies, most of their investment was done through the banks. Share market did not play a very important role in the whole of East Asia. We are giving too much emphasis to the share market. We are trying to channelise most of our savings into the share market at the cost of the banks and that is why the savings rate is not going up. When we are putting too much emphasis on the share market, what is happening? We are exposing our economy to the speculation by the mightiest of the economic forces in the world. When there was hawala, hawala was bad, but hawala was mostly properly done. Now, we have gone far away from hawala. Now, the people who speculate on our rupee are big giants, big sharks, who can eat up even England, who can eat up even America. We are small fries and you are exposing our economy more and more to globalisation and this globalisation is creating a serious situation. Not only this; we are trying to

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reduce the role of the banks. I was in Andhra Pradesh recently, touring the drought affected areas. What did I find there?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Shri Suresh Pachouri): You have taken more than 28 minutes.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I will finish in a few minutes, Sir. Now, I found in Andhra Pradesh that people were buying rice at Rs. 2/-. Then you raised it to Rs.3.50. Then, you raised to Rs. 5.50. Therefore, they are suffering and many people are committing suicides. I am mentioning this because I have met a number of widows. They committed suicide because they could not pay the loan they had taken from the private moneylenders. Even today...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): This is not because of the hike in the price of the commodities, but because the crops had been destroyed. They had raised loans from the private moneylenders. There are some incidents which have occurred. But I beg to disagree with you. ...*(Interruptions)*...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I am not disagreeing with you.

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप बहुत अच्छे अर्थ शास्त्री भी हैं, आलोचना बहुत अच्छी कर रहे हैं लेकिन सुझाव कंक्रीट क्या हैं, देश की उन्नति कैसे हो, अर्थव्यवस्था में सुधार कैसे आए, यह बताइये?...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्री जीवन राय : आप किसी को ...*(व्यवधान)*...

श्रीमती सरला माहेस्वरी : आपकी नीति तो यह है किपंचो का हुक्म सर माथे पर ...*(व्यवधान)*...

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Sir, I am surprised to hear about this in the villages. But Andhra is a typical example. This is true of the whole of India. It is happening in every State. I am giving the example of Andhra Pradesh because I had gone there. It is true of the other States also. The private moneylender is charging Rs. 5/- per Rs. 100/- per month, which is about 60% per year. Now, we are thinking of winding up the branches of certain banks in those remote areas where they are not making profit. Sir, these branches could save our Indian peasants from these money shark, who are charging Rs. 5 per month, and, as a result, many of the farmers have committed suicide. Sir, I am told that the farmers, who have

committed suicide, have borrowed money from these sharks, but could not repay that money. So, they had no option but to commit suicide. It is very unfortunate. I am not talking about Andhra Pradesh only. I am talking about the country as a whole. This is the state of affairs in the whole of India. The pressure is on us. Sir, I will just make two quick points and I will finish. Look at the net availability of cereals and pulses. It is a very basic thing. In 1991, the net availability of cereals and pulses was 510 gms, per day, per head. In 1995, it came down to 460 per day, per head. You can see that there has been a decline in the amount of food available to our people between 1991 and 1999, which is there in the Government's own figures. Lastly, Sir, I will talk about the import duty. While we are withdrawing the import duty, the other countries are not doing the same. It is having a disastrous effect on our economy. Sir, I was in Seattle recently. There, I found an agitation was going on as to why the Indian garments were being imported. The workers were agitating. They are finding excuses for not letting our garments come there. Our Jaipur *ghaghra*s are being banned; the excuse is that they are inflammable. Our shrimp is not acceptable because it is unhygienic. They say that our garments are made, by using child labour. They are finding excuses for not allowing our goods to come to America or England. But we are freeing everything. We are withdrawing duties and all that, which is having a disastrous effect on the indigenous producers. Because of the accumulation of supplies, the prices are going down. As a result of this, the very objective of self-sufficiency is abandoned. Lastly, Sir, all over the world, a re-thinking is going on. I used to read the literature of the World Bank. I do not know whether the Minister has time to read it because he is a very busy person. But I am sure, he could have asked somebody else to read the literature for me. You read the World Bank literature. I am not saying that you read the Marxist literature. A lot of re-thinking is going on. The stalwarts of the World Bank are now saying, "We were wrong in saying that the State has no role to play. We were wrong in over-emphasising on the market." I suggest, the

hon. Minister should go through these documents and should realise what a folly it is to follow this kind of globalisation. ... *(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA : I do not have to read what they are saying. I teach them. I do not have to learn from them.

[9 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA : I think you are over valuing your own importance. I am sorry, Sir. I think you are giving too much of importance to your judgement. ... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH POCHOURI) : Please conclude.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA : Lastly, Sir, when I was in Seattle with our Minister of Industry, I heard the speeches that were made by the representatives of different been countries of the world. All of them made the same statement. Sir, I am quoting what the representatives of most of the countries said there. They said "During 1994, when the Marrakesh Agreement was signed. You promised us moon. You said that our economy will expand, our exports will expand, we will become very prosperous, very rich. But it has not happened. We have all been disappointed by the performance of Marrakesh, whereas only rich countries, multi-nationals have grown." There I could not find the representative of even a single poor country who was of the opinion that the Marrakesh Agreement or globalisation has benefited his country. Sir, not a single country made that statement. The World Bank is rethinking. This is the position.

SHRI T. N. CHATURVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): You must address this question to Mr. Pranab Mukherjee.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I am addressing this question to Mr. Pranab Mukherjee also, not only to you. This is to both.... *(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI): Please conclude now.

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: I am finishing, Sir. ... *(Interruptions)* ...

Allow me to say the concluding sentence.

I request the Finance Minister to look into the very specific points made, particularly in relation to the rural wealth tax, and other points on policy. I hope that the Government will take them into account and do some justice to the policy of import substitution.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the moment, I would like to express my grateful thanks to my party for permitting me to speak on the Finance Bill.

Sir, the Finance Minister, in his speech, has given an impression that he is carrying forward the process of implementation of the second generation reforms. His aim is good, it is 7 to 8 per cent sustained job-oriented, growth per annum in the economy for the next ten years. To achieve this, the Finance Minister has made elaborate plans: growth of the rural economy to catalys of the information technology or knowledge-based industries, to strengthen the infrastructure, to give fillip to cottage industries, to strengthen India's role in the global economy and to ensure fiscal discipline. The question is: will the Finance Minister succeed in achieving 7 or 8 per cent of growth of the economy per year?

I will offer a few comments. In reality, the Finance Minister has not been able to control the Government expenditure and fiscal deficit. The fact is that the NDA Government does not have the political will and the political strength to bite the bullet. This puts a question mark on the growth target of 7 to 8 per cent. Sir, the economy on the eve of the Budget, was quite good. It was performing well. Except a drop in the agricultural production, all other indicators were flashing green. The industrial growth in the first three quarters was 6.5 per cent. This was not up to the expectation, but the rate was twice that of the last year. The inflation was low, 2.5 per cent. The export was growing at the rate of 13 per cent. The share market sensx crossed had the 6,000 mark on the 13th of February, an all-time high. The foreign exchange reserve was \$32 billion, the highest ever. The rupee was stable, Rs.43 to Rs.44 per dollar. The GDP growth was 5 to 6 per cent. Hardly was there any constraint on the economy. Yet, the Finance Minister could not control the fiscal deficit which was the main, important thing and the main aim of the Finance Minister.

In view of this, the Budget that he has presented does not inspire the confidence that would have led the economy to a high stable growth. The Finance Minister, in my opinion, had an excellent opportunity to introduce the second generation reforms which he had promised but did not place in the Budget.

Sir, as for the 1999-2000 Budget he has just completed, the Budget projected looked to be good. I also thought that it was a good

Budget. But the actual expenditure was far in excess and the result was that the fiscal deficit which the Finance Minister has targeted as four per cent rose to 5.6 per cent or rose by 140 per cent.

As for the un-restrained increase in expenditure, the Finance Minister has held unforeseen factors as responsible. This is not so. The unforeseen factors are three—the Kargil conflict, the general elections and the Orissa cyclone. The total increase in expenditure has been Rs.19,856 crores, in 1999-2000 almost Rs.20,000 crores. But the increase due to the three unforeseen factors was only Rs.5,000 crores, less than 25 per cent.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

To say that the fiscal deficit is only 5.6 per cent is also a misnomer. India is a federal country and we must take into account the fiscal deficit after of the States also. The real fiscal deficit, taking into account the fiscal deficit of the States, comes to ten per cent which is flabbergasting.

On the impact of the Budget, Madam, there are some positive factors. The Finance Minister had made some constructive suggestions which, if implemented, will certainly help the economy. He has given a proposal for the National Highways Project, rural infrastructure and rural housing and simplification of the excise duty structure. Other suggestions are—all on-going schemes are to be subjected to rigorous scrutiny, there shall be a zero-base Budget and a part of the disinvestment proceeds shall be used to retire public debts. These, Madam, are all good schemes. The question, however, is, how successfully will they be implemented? This has to be seen. In my opinion, Madam, it is a good thing and I hope the Finance Minister will kindly give some thought to this matter that at the time of presenting the Budget, a white paper is also issued stating what promises were made in the last Budget and what the achievement has been against those promises made. Let the country know what the position is, let Parliament know what the performance is. Madam, the emphasis on development of rural infrastructure is satisfactory. That will certainly help in the growth of the agriculture sector. The Green Revolution has reached a plateau. What is now necessary is that the productivity should improve and rural infrastructure is going to help us in that direction.

Regarding the Dividend Tax, I entirely agree with Mr. Salve when he says that an income which has already been taxed once should not be taxed a second time. Irrespective of that, I would like to point out that there has been a steep increase in the Dividend Tax from 10 per cent to 20 per cent which is a retrograde step. This will retard the industrial growth. Its actual incidence on the corporate tax is what we should try to understand. This is a tax on dividend. So, obviously, the position will change from company to company. But we have made rough calculations. We find that in the case of those companies where the capital base is high but, where the profits are not high, this tax may go up to almost 51.70 per cent. I would only say that the Finance Minister, three years back, started with a this proposal of 35 per cent tax on the corporate sector and everybody, the industry, the common man and the stock exchanges, welcomed that.

Against that 35 per cent, now, the revised tax is going to be anywhere between 48 and 50 per cent, and in extreme cases, where the industries are not making much money, it is 51.7 per cent. I would only like to say that this will have a crippling effect on the financial market and on the industrialisation of the country. So, I will appeal to the Finance Minister to have a second look at this.

Madam, last year, the income tax rate was modified. It was provided that the sick companies should be merged with the healthy companies. It was a very good proposal and everybody welcomed that. But there is an 8 years' limitation on the loss carried forward. Formerly, there was no limitation as far as depreciation was concerned. Now, there is a limitation on that also, and the result is that in case a sick company got merged with a healthy company, in many cases, it will be found that the healthy company will not get any benefit of the loss carried forward or the depreciation. My suggestion, therefore is, let this period of eight years be counted from the date of merger, after the sick company has merged with the healthy company.

Madam, dynamic capital market is essential. I have spoken on the dividend tax. I would again like to emphasise that for the sake of industrialisation of the country, this is a very important matter. Even while the Finance Minister was delivering his Budget speech this year, there was witnessed a steep fall in the stock market. At the present time the stock markets are not confined only to a few businessmen or industrial houses. All of us are interested in the stock market, and I am sure, all Members of

public must have seen that even before the Finance Minister finished his Budget speech, the share market had crashed.

Regarding exports, I would like to say that the exports in the first three quarters were pretty good, 13 per cent. My fear is that this rate of growth may not be sustained as incentives for exports will be eroded. In five years' time, the tax exemption on export profits will vanish. Secondly, imports are likely to increase owing to the quantitative restrictions having been removed, owing to peak duty having been reduced, owing to the price of the crude oil just going up in the world, and so, the trade deficit will further increase. I would like to point out that most countries give export incentives, not openly, as the WTO does not permit it, but in some form or the other. I would plead with the Finance Minister that he thinks about the matter and gives some incentives on the basis of some internationally accepted method.

Infrastructure is one of the most critical sectors of economy. The growth of infrastructure will lead to growth of economy. As per Rakesh Mohan Committee's report, investment required for a period of ten years, starting from 1996-97 to 2005-2006, for the power sector is Rs. 5,00,000 crores, for urban infrastructure, Rs. 94,000 crores, for ports, Rs. 25,000 crores, for roads, 1,15,000 crores, and the total comes to Rs. 7,20,000 crores. This is bound to be further increased because this report was submitted some three or four years back. These are astronomical figures. But all these figures are correct and we have got to prepare the country so that we do get the advantage of the infrastructure being improved. Without that, industrialisation will not take place. The question is from where the funds will come. I would like to point out that since the Government liberalised the policy regarding the insurance companies in private sector, the insurance companies, when these come into existence, will be able to provide a large amount of finance and, side by side, I would say that the Finance Minister should also try to persuade some of the foreign companies to invest in this particular field.

Madam, in a growing economy with a federal structure, the State's financial health is also very important. This is important from the angle of macro-economic stability and also from the point of view of maintaining equity in the economy. Factors that have contributed to the erosion of the economy in the States-populist measures and political opportunism. The State-adopted measures for political opportunism are leaving economic

prudence in the back seat. The result is that all the State Governments are going towards a crisis, economic crisis. Whatever revenue they get, all that is incurred for making payment for salaries and wages; no money is left for development. I would urge the Finance Minister that he should have a talk with the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister should together call the Chief Ministers of all the States and have a talk with them so that the States are able to know as to what is exactly needed of them, and they are able to put their houses in order so that their economy improves.

Madam, the Finance Minister expects the GDP to grow at the rate of seven or eight per cent. I compliment him because this is a very desirable goal, and in case he is able to achieve it, I will be the first person to congratulate him. I would like to mention that the goal, if achieved, will be able to solve many of our economic and social problems. Madam, what is necessary is to condition the economy, to achieve that growth. He wants to achieve that growth rate, but Budget does not create, Madam, at present, an atmosphere for that. My plea to the Finance Minister is that he should announce second generation reforms, as early as possible, and monitor the economy in such a way that the expenses are kept under control and the fiscal deficit also is kept under control so that the country gets prepared for an economic leap. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri C. Ramchandraiah. You have 12 minutes.

SHRI C. RAMCHANDRAIAH: Madam, I rise to support the Bill that has been introduced, the Finance Bill. Madam, the Finance Minister has got a vision, but the efforts have not been commensurate with the vision, it seems. The efforts have not been initiated or do not appear to have been initiated in the Budget proposals for achieving the targets which have been pronounced by him. The total savings of the nation constitute around 11 per cent of the GDP and the fiscal deficit happens to be 9 or 10 per cent. So, most of the financial savings of the nation are being covered by this deficit, leaving very little for the rest of the economic activities of the country. Madam, I can take the liberty to say that the fiscal responsibility and the fiscal discipline--the Finance Ministry always used to say this umpteen times--is the need of the hour for the nation to revive the economy. But can the proposals that have been mooted in this Bill be expected to

4.00 P.M.

achieve that objective, to meet that fiscal responsibility? In this year's Budget the total expenditure is proposed to be increased by Rs.54,605 crores. There is an increase of 19.2 per cent over last year's proposal. The total revenue is proposed to be increased by only Rs.20,833 crores. So, he is constrained to borrow more money this year. The expenditure is being increased by 20 per cent. That is what the figures show. I can say that there was a little exercise to achieve the fiscal discipline in this proposal.

Madam, the Finance Minister is aware of the need to raise the resources without taking recourse to borrowings this year because it will jeopardise our prospects for growth. I quote from the Finance Minister's Budget Speech: "If we don't raise the resources and take recourse to higher borrowings this year, we will jeopardise our prospects for growth, stoke the flames of inflation, sow the seeds of another balance of payments crisis and place an unfair burden on the next generation". He speaks of the need to curb the expenditure. But yet he proposed to raise the total expenditure by 20 per cent. If you compare the fiscal deficit structure to GDP for the last two years, it was 5 per cent in 1998-99 and 5.6 per cent in 1999-2000. The Finance Minister had estimated it at 4 per cent, but it has grown by 5.6 per cent. Now, this year he can make a modest estimate of 5.1 per cent. But the economic scenario, which had prevailed in the previous year, continues to prevail this year also. There have been no radical changes. The capital spending as share of fiscal deficit is 54.6 per cent in 1998-99 and it was reduced to 46.5 per cent 1999-2000. Of course, there is a small margin of 4 per cent in the current year. What is alarming is the revenue deficit as share of fiscal deficit is continuously on the increase. It was 59.9 per cent in 1998-99 and 67.5 per cent in 1999-2000. It is 69.5 per cent in 2000-2001. The continuous increase in the revenue deficit is totally alarming. It can be argued that there has been no fiscal correction worth the name in this Budget. If you see last year's performance, you will find that the fiscal deficit has exceeded the estimates by Rs.28,943 crores, that is, by 36 per cent. It is quite alarming. That is 5.6 per cent of the GDP. It was originally estimated by the Finance Minister in the Budget proposals at 4 per cent. There is clearly a mismatch between the revenue and expenditure. If this trend continues, the Government has to borrow heavily to meet the commitments of debt servicing, defence needs and various other things.

So, more or less, we may be entrapped as we have been in the earlier periods of decade, i.e. during early 90's. And we will be back to the height of which position that economic crisis are the beginning of the decade. This is a very serious matter. It has resulted in very high interest rates. It will also inhibit the capacity or the ability of the Government to invest in infrastructural sectors as also social services sector. Dr. Biplab Dasgupta has very clearly enunciated the reasons for this. But, ultimately, though I may differ with the solution or diagnosis that he has made, yet I agree with him so far as the identification of this disease is concerned. ...*(Interruptions)*... Madam, as I said the Finance Minister has got a very good vision. He knows how to do it. But I do not know, why he is not doing. I do appreciate his constraints, but the constraints which can be surmounted have to be surmounted, in the interests of the nation. Madam, interest payment is one of the major components which is contributing to deficit. This year also, our hon. Finance Minister is compelled to borrow more, debt servicing will be more. So, on that core, it will not help you to reduce the fiscal deficit. So, I would like to make a suggestion with regard to disinvestment. Why do you allow Rs.1,000 crore to retire the debt? Try to realise, try to fix big targets as far as the disinvestment is concerned. As Dr. Biplab Dasgupta has rightly pointed out that, you sell the loss-making units and keep the profit-making units. How can it be? When the persons are not coming forward to purchase the profit making units, who will come to purchase the loss-making units? This is the problem that the Government is facing. But I advise the Finance Minister not to create so many bodies, so many institutions, with regard to disinvestment. Heavy Industry Minister is there. So, he is not capable of identifying which are the companies with your assistance or with your help. I mean to say that this delay should be curbed. There should be a transparent method of disinvestment. Once you make an attempt to retire the debt, it is not that the process of disinvestment will reduce the fiscal deficit immediately, but atleast, you can reduce interest payments which will definitely have an impact on the reduction of the fiscal deficit. One assessment that has been made by an agency is this. "The cash value of the public enterprises - it is far more than the value of the profits that are being made by these institutions, which are coming as dividends to the Government." Also, there is a demand from the States that more grants should be made available. We have to honour it. We also introduced a Constitutional Amendment Bill, 1989 which seeks to provide

more funds to the States, as per the Eleventh Finance Commission. The financial condition of States is also very precarious because of the populist measures undertaken by them. Their public undertakings are working at greater losses. Their expenses are on the increase and thanks to the Fifth Pay Commission Report, their administrative expenses have totally increased by 44%.

You have to cater to the needs of the States also. So far as the issue of subsidy is concerned, we are of the opinion that subsidy should be rationalized though it constitutes a very negligible percentage of the total expenditure. The Finance Minister has touched on wrong side. There is some justification for increasing the oil prices because the Oil Pool deficit is Rs. 8,000 crores. There is some justification for it. So far as the poor are concerned, unless they are capable of bearing the burden, you should not have done it. Nearly 40 per cent of the increase has been effected in foodgrains that are being distributed to the people who are below the poverty line. He can say that subsidy is being given. But is it really a subsidy? Is this the way the Food Corporation of India should function which is supposed to maintain a stipulated quantity of 16.4 million tonnes for coverage of food subsidy? In January, 2000 the FCI was having a stock of 34 million tonnes. Who has to bear the cost of carrying all these stocks? Who has to bear the cost of mismanagement of the FCI? Who has to bear the losses in storage and the losses in transport? Ultimately, this is evaluated and we arrive at an economic cost. He says, "I am providing subsidy." In fact, it is not subsidy. This requires an overall restructuring, lock, stock and barrel so that we can arrive at a correct decision, so that the subsidy can be defined in a true sense. So far as the reduction in expenditure is concerned, we have been advising the Finance Minister to downsize the Government expenditure. Last time, I quoted the speech made by Shri Arun Shourie. To what extent have they reduced the Government expenditure? I would like to quote from the speech made by the Finance Minister. He said, "The Government shall pursue resolutely the objective of downsizing the Government and prepare a road map for the purpose." I have quoted this sentence from the speech of the Finance Minister. Within a few days of the Finance Minister's prescription about pursuing resolutely the objective of downsizing the Government, one civil servant of the Government establishment said, "It was not an effective solution to the problem of curbing the fiscal deficit." Addressing the

Standing Conference of Public Enterprises, this gentleman asserted, "A five per cent reduction in the workforce would not make any perceptible difference in the fiscal deficit. Even if we retrench all our employees, we will still have deficit." He said this sarcastically. That is why, I said that the Finance Minister has got vision. He is sincere. But I would like to know whether the bureaucracy behind him has got the conviction to implement his policies. In this connection, I would like to make some suggestions. Some policy imperatives are the need of the hour. You have to cut down the Government expenditure in various sectors. For example, the transmission and distribution loss is to the tune of Rs. 20,000 crores. The Power Minister, Shri Kumaramangalam made a statement on the floor of the House.

Twenty-five thousand mega watts of energy is being utilised without any return. So, that wastage has to be checked. It further says: "...to initiate measures for better pricing of all utilities except those for the poor." That aspect has to be taken into consideration. That is why I fully appreciate the statement made by Shri N.K.P. Salve that reforms should have a human face. Reforms without a human face will boomerang. (*Time bell rings*) Madam, there was a lot of dissent...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have already taken a deficit of five minutes. You are over-spending.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Madam, I don't want to have deficits...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken an overdraft from the next speakers.

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: Madam, the Finance Minister should try to repay the old debts at a higher rate of interest and the new borrowings at a lower rate of interest because there is buoyancy in the market. Now, there is a drastic tax reform because the GDP-Tax ratio is very low. It is the lowest in the world. Try to expand the tax net ...(*Interruptions*)... Madam has rung the time bell. That has dampened my spirits. Madam, it calls for a more effective management of public finance. But it cannot be separated from the broader consideration of policies and institutions. Therefore, not much can be expected from a closed-door zero-based budget scrutiny, or, from even the labours of an Expenditure Committee of retired bureaucrats. It calls for bolder, more open, efforts,

drawing on a wide range of understanding and sensitivities, much wider than what the Finance Ministry or the Government as a whole is applying. So, again, I request the Finance Minister that reduction in fiscal deficit should not be at the expense of creation of assets. It should not become a hindrance to the efforts in making investment in the social and infrastructure sectors. With all his intelligence and efficiency, the Finance Minister has to explore all the avenues, to invest more in infrastructure sectors like agriculture, rural development and power, and improve the living standards of the common man. The glaring example, the naked truth, is that the intrinsic purchasing power of the common man is going down and the inflation is going up. Even though the Finance Minister might claim that the inflation has gone down, that is not the case today. The inflation rate is somewhere at 6.6 per cent, but the intrinsic purchasing power of the common man is going down. And if these reforms are going to be implemented fully, then, there would be wide disparities amongst the people, wide economic disparities, and wide economic imbalance. So, that aspect has to be taken note of while implementing the reforms. Madam, I conclude by saying that I fully support the reforms and the Bill. Thank you.

उपसभापति : श्री रामदास अग्रवाल, आप अपने समय को बराबर बांट लीजिएगा।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल (राजस्थान) : मैं आपकी आज्ञा का पालन करता रहा हूँ। उपसभापति महोदया, मैं सबसे पहले अपने भाषण में वित्त मंत्री को बधाई देने से पहले हमारे विप्लव दासगुप्त जी को आज बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने जो विचार रखे, हो सकता है कि उनके हमारे विचारों में बहुत मतभेद रहा होगा लेकिन आज उन्होंने कहा कि पीओएस0यूज0 जो लूजिंग कंसर्न्स हैं, आर्गनाइजेशंस हैं सरकार उनका जो करे सो करे लेकिन हमारे जो लाभप्रद पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं उनको बचाए। मुझे लगता है कि उनके विचारों में काफी क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन आज हमें दिखाई दिया है।

मैं इस बजट पर बोल रहा हूँ यह बात सच है। लेकिन अभी थोड़ी देर पहले ही इस देश के दो उद्योगपति कल और आज मैं बोल चुके हैं। माननीय साहब साहब जो इस देश के माने हुए चार्टर्ड एकाउंटेंट हैं वह बोल चुके हैं। महोदया, मुझे पहली बार, 10 साल के बाद ऐसा अनुभव हो रहा है कि जब हम बजट के ऊपर डिसकसन कर रहे हैं तो शायद पार्टी लाइन से ऊपर उठकर हम कुछ चर्चा कर रहे हैं। वास्तव में इसकी आवश्यकता अर्थ-तंत्र को ठीक करने के लिए है। इसीलिए मैं आज अपने मन से इस बात के लिए अपने माननीय सांसदों को धन्यवाद ज्ञापित करता हूँ। मैंने 10 साल बाद आज यह पहला नजारा देखा है

जिसमें बजट के ऊपर हम कुछ कंस्ट्रैक्टिव बातचीत कर रहे हैं। उसके लिए मैं सबको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

महोदया, हमारे यहां डेमोक्रेसी है, हमारे देश में प्रजातंत्र है। इसमें हमें कभी इधर से उधर और उधर से इधर जाना आना पड़ता है और कभी-कभी बहुत शार्ट टाइम में जाना पड़ता है, कभी कुछ दिनों में या कुछ महीनों में जाना-आना पड़ता है। लेकिन जब हम कभी इधर या उधर होते हैं तो हमारे सामने एक बड़ी समस्या आती है। अभी साल्वे साहब कह रहे थे कि इस देश के ऊपर साढ़े 8 लाख करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा है। यह बात बिल्कुल ठीक है। यह अपने देशी कर्ज को छोड़कर विदेशी कर्जा है। ...**(व्यवधान)**... इसको आप 10 लाख करोड़ समझ लीजिए, 14 लाख करोड़ समझ लीजिए। महोदया, मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय साल्वे साहब के दिमाग में यह बात रही होगी कि इस सरकार ने आने के बाद 14 लाख करोड़ रुपये का कर्जा नहीं लिया है। हम कर्जा लेते रहे हैं। हमारे यहां संस्कृत में एक कहावत है :-

‘ऋणम कृत्वा, घृतम पिवेतः’

जिन्होंने ऋण लिया वह घी पीकर अब उधर बैठे हैं। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप तो और ज्यादा पी रहे हैं।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : जब हम पी लेंगे तो हमारे चेहरे पर उसका रंग दिखाई देगा। अभी हमारे चेहरे उतने खिले हुए नहीं हैं जितने आपके हैं। ...

श्री सुरेश पचौरी (मध्य प्रदेश) : आप तो मक्खन खा रहे हैं।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : वह ज्यादा स्वास्थ्यवर्धक है। महोदया, यह विषय ऐसा है जिस पर सर्वानुमति बननी चाहिए। वास्तव में देश के अर्थ-तंत्र से जो बिगड़ी हुई हालत है इसको आप सब मानते हैं, जब आप बोलते हैं तब यह बात कहते हैं क्योंकि पिछले सालों में ही तो अर्थ-तंत्र बिगड़ा है। उदारीकरण के नाम पर बिगड़ा है, समाजवाद के नाम पर बिगड़ा है, सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न सिस्टम के नाम पर बिगड़ा है, बिगड़ा है यह बात हम सब मानते हैं। अगर हमारे काल में भी बिगड़ा है तो चलो एक साल के कार्यकाल में कुछ बिगड़ा होगा, यह भी हम मान लेंगे। मान लीजिए, तब भी यह बात सच है कि अर्थ-तंत्र को ठीक करने का दायित्व इसी सदन का और लोक सभा का है। अगर हम अपने अर्थ-तंत्र की इतनी विक्षिप्त अवस्था देखते हैं, बिगड़ी हुई परिस्थिति देख रहे हैं, गिरी हुई अवस्था देख रहे हैं तो इसको ठीक करने के लिए हमारे पास इतने सारे सांसद हैं, इतने मंत्री हैं, इतने पूर्व वित्त मंत्री हैं,

इतने पूर्व उद्योगपति हैं और इस सदन में समझदार हमारे विप्लवदास जी जैसे अर्थशास्त्री लोग भी हैं तो फिर क्या हम सब मिलकर के इस अर्थ-तंत्र की गाड़ी को सही पटरी पर नहीं चला सकते हैं? और अगर नहीं चला सकते हैं तो केवल एक वित्त मंत्री का दोष नहीं होगा। यह उन सारे वित्त मंत्रियों का दोष होगा जो 50 साल में रहे हैं। अगर हम अपनी पटरी को 50 साल में ठीक नहीं कर पाये तो हमारे वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री से केवल एक साल में अपेक्षा करना कि हम उतरी हुई रेलगाड़ी को, जिस रेलगाड़ी के सारे डिब्बे उतर चुके थे, उनको हम पटरी पर ला दें, मुश्किल है। यह बात भी सच है।

महोदया, आर्थिक प्रगति के कुछ मापदण्ड होते हैं, कुछ मानदण्ड होते हैं। उन मानदण्डों के आधार पर अगर हम पिछली सारी परिस्थितियों का विवेचन करेंगे तो हमें अनुभव होगा कि वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने डेढ़-दो साल के अन्दर उनकी जो मजबूरी थी उसके अन्तर्गत रहते हुए एक लिमिटेशन में रहते हुए उन्होंने बहुत सारे सुधार के काम किए हैं जो प्रत्यक्ष रूप से हमारे सामने हैं। महोदया, वित्त मंत्री का सबसे पहला काम है कि क्या बाजार भाव आम जरूरत की चीजों का बढ़ रहा है, क्या बाजार भाव चढ़ रहा है? हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि कुछ चीजों के दाम बढ़ें होंगे। लेकिन आम आदमी की जरूरत की चीजों के दामों में तो नियंत्रण रहा है। आम आदमी ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : कहां से खरीदें, वह भी बता दीजिए ।
... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैं बता रहा हूं । ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्रीमती संरोज दुबे (बिहार) : कौन सी चीज़ सस्ती हुई है ? ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मुझे नहीं पता, आप मुझ पर इतना जल्दी क्यों नाराज़ हो रही हैं ? ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्रीमती सरला माहेश्वरी : कहां पर सस्ती मिलती है, हमें भी बता दीजिए ।
... (व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : क्या झगड़ा चल रहा है ? ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : अगर मैं आपको साथ लेकर मार्केट में जाऊंगा तो वैसे ही भाव बढ़ जाएंगे । ... (व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा कि अग्रवाल जी ने ऐसी क्या बात कह दी कि महिलाएं नाराज़ हो गयी हैं । ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम, मैंने यह कहा कि ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री कपिल सिब्बल (बिहार) : मैडम, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि अग्रवाल जी रोज़ कैंटीन में खाना खाते हैं, इसलिए इनको लगता है कि चीज़ें सस्ती हो गयी हैं ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, दस साल में एक बार भी मैंने वहां खाना नहीं खाया ।

श्री कपिल सिब्बल : फिर शायद दूसरों से सुनते होंगे कि बहुत सस्ता खाना है, इसलिए आप ऐसा सोचते हैं ।

श्रीमती सरोज दुबे : सब चीज़ें महंगी हुई हैं, सब्जी महंगी हुई है, दालें महंगी हुई हैं, गैस महंगी हुई है, कौन सी चीज़ सस्ती हो गयी है, यह बता दें ? ...**(व्यवधान)**... गरीब आदमी के राशन की सामग्री महंगी हो गयी है ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : आप बैठिए तो सही, मैं आपके सामने तथ्य रखकर बात करूंगा । किसी जमाने में ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : अग्रवाल जी, एक बात सुनिए । खाने, चूल्हे, पकाने का काम इन लोगों का है, आप इनसे मुकाबला नहीं कर सकते । अगर आप अपने घर में जाएंगे तो आपकी पत्नी भी यही बात बोलने वाली हैं जो यह बोल रही हैं । इसलिए आप अपनी बात को फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर तक ही सीमित रखिए ।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, पता नहीं, मेरा वास्ता इनसे क्यों पड़ गया । ...**(व्यवधान)**... सुनिए तो सही, मैं आपकी तरफ देखकर बात कर रहा हूँ । मैंने जब यह बात कही तो मैं जानता था कि इसकी कुछ प्रतिक्रिया होगी क्योंकि वह लोग भूल जाते हैं कि किसी जमाने में यहां, इसी देश में 16 रुपए किलो शक्कर बिकी थी और बाद में इंदिरा जी ने 2 रुपये कम किये थे । आज शक्कर - 16 रुपये 15-16 साल बाद हुई होगी, वह बात अलग है लेकिन आज फिर भी बाजार में आम आदमी को दस रुपए किलो शक्कर मिल रही है । ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्रीमती सरोज दुबे : तब भी आदमी परेशान है । ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : आप सुनिए । आप ऐसे मुझे धमकाकर चुप नहीं करा सकती । यह धमकाने का काम - घर में ठीक है, वहां मैं बर्दाश्त कर लेता हूँ लेकिन यहां बर्दाश्त नहीं कर पाऊंगा । ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : महिलाओं से आपका पीछा नहीं छूटने वाला क्योंकि चेयर पर भी मैं बैठी हूँ । ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मुझे तो आपसे डर लग रहा है क्योंकि घड़ी चल रही है । महोदया, आज तेल का भाव - आम आदमी तेल काम में लाता है, ऐसा नहीं है कि नहीं लाता है - तेल के भाव लगातार गिरते जा रहे हैं क्योंकि ऐसी व्यवस्था की गयी है । प्याज के भाव बढ़ गये थे, आलू के भाव बढ़ गये थे, नमक के भाव बढ़ा दिये गये थे - मैंने बढ़ गये थे नहीं कहा, बढ़ा दिये गये थे - लेकिन आज नमक भी, प्याज भी, आलू भी उसके कंपैरीज़न में सस्ता है, जो पहले था । यह नियंत्रण हुआ है और उसकी वजह है - इनफ्लेशन रेट में गिरावट आयी है । मैं माननीय प्रणब जी को याद दिलाना चाहूंगा, उन्हें पता है, उन्होंने राज किया है - 1991-92 और 1993 से लेकर 1996 तक पांच साल स्टेबल गवर्नमेंट थी - अल्पमत की थी लेकिन स्टेबल गवर्नमेंट थी । उस जमाने में इनफ्लेशन रेट दस परसेंट से लेकर 11 परसेंट के बीच में घूमता था । हमारे टाइम में, अभी आज की तारीख में यह लगभग साढ़े चार से पांच प्रतिशत है लेकिन चार महीने पहले, पांच महीने पहले यही इनफ्लेशन रेट 1.6 परसेंट तक आ चुका था ।...(व्यवधान)...मैं तथ्यों की बात कर रहा हूँ । यह ठीक है कि बाद में ऑयल के दाम बढ़े तो उसके कारण इनफ्लेशन रेट बढ़ा है । मैं उससे इन्कार नहीं करता लेकिन यह तथ्य है । दूसरा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसका एक और पैरामीटर होता है और वह यह होता है कि देश के पास फॉरेन एक्सचेंज कितना है, देश के पास बैलेंस ऑफ पेमेंट की क्या स्थिति है । क्योंकि आज अगर हम यह कल्पना करें कि कुछ साल पहले हमारे पास एक बिलियन डॉलर डिपॉज़िट था, आज हमारे पास 35 बिलियन डॉलर डिपॉज़िट है तो क्या यह देश की आर्थिक तरक्की का कोई मापदंड नहीं है? अगर हमने मूल्यों पर नियंत्रण किया तो क्या अच्छा काम नहीं किया ? जब हमारे आस-पास के लोग सत्ता में आए थे, सत्ता से पहले जो लोग सत्ता में थे, इधर के लोग सत्ता में थे, उस समय हमारे देश के आजू-बाजू के देशों में मुद्रा में जो गिरावट हुई थी, उससे हम लोग कितना कांप गये थे । हमारे हाथ-पांव ढीले हो गए थे कि कहीं उनकी तरह ही हमारे देश में भी पचास परसेंट, साठ परसेंट, सत्तर परसेंट हमारे फॉरेन एक्सचेंज के रुपए का डीवैल्यूएशन न हो जाए । क्या इस पर नियंत्रण करना किसी वित्त मंत्री के लिए बधाई का विषय नहीं है ? वित्त मंत्री ने रुपए को थाम कर रखा, उसकी वैल्यू को टिकाए रखा, यह भी एक क्रेडिटबल बात होती है । हमारे पास आज फिक्स डिपॉज़िट्स हैं, 35 बिलियन डॉलर के डिपॉज़िट्स हमारे पास हैं, यह हमने जमा किया है । हमारे पास अर्जित किया हुआ पैसा भी इसमें है तो फिर क्या यह वित्त मंत्री के लिए बधाई की बात नहीं होगी ? तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोगों ने इस बात का प्रयास किया कि औद्योगिक मंदी न आए । हमारे माननीय आर.पी.गोयंका साहब, के.के.बिड़ला साहब, सन्तोष बागड़ोदिया जी अभी आए हैं, उनको भी पता है कि इस देश के अंदर जिस समय हम सत्ता में आए थे, मंदी वाला दौर चल रहा था । मंदी वाला दौर भयंकर

रूप से चल रहा था पूरे व्यापार क्षेत्र में, उद्योग क्षेत्र में और लोगों के उद्योग-धंधे ठप्प पर-ठप्प होते जा रहे थे, बंद होते जा रहे थे। हमारे कम्युनिस्ट भाई तो इसके स्वयं भुक्तभोगी हैं। वे जानते हैं, क्योंकि उद्योग बंद हो रहे थे, मज़दूर बेकार हो रहे थे इसलिए इस सरकार ने जो गिरफ़ी हुई मन्दी वाला दौर था, उसको नियंत्रित किया और नियंत्रित करके उद्योगों की जो प्रगति 3.5 प्रतिशत रह गई थी, उसको बढ़ा कर वह 6.5 पर ले आई है तो क्या यह वित्त मंत्री के लिए बधाई का विषय नहीं होगा? क्या उसके मापदंडों में यह बात नहीं आएगी कि वित्त मंत्री ने कम से कम इन सारे बिंदुओं पर नियंत्रण करके देश का हित किया है? देश की रुकी हुई अर्थव्यवस्था को आगे बढ़ने के लिए एक धक्का दिया है? वह चल रही है, ऐसा हमको दिखाई देता है।

उपसभापति महोदया, उद्योग जगत में बहुत सारे लोग काम करते हैं। इंटरेस्ट रेट के बारे में मुझे याद है कि आज से पांच साल पहले जब हम कभी लोन लेने जाते थे तो इंस्टीट्यूशन्स हमसे 16 परसेंट इंटरेस्ट से ऊपर की बात करते थे। 18 परसेंट तक, 18.5 परसेंट तक ब्याज लोगों ने दिया है और मार्केट में रुपया जमा हुआ करता था, चिट फंडज़ के नाम पर 20 परसेंट, 30 परसेंट ब्याज पर लोगों का रुपया जमा होता था। उस समय ब्याज दर बढ़ने का दौर जारी था लेकिन जब से इस सरकार ने कुछ कदम उठाए तब से ब्याज दर घटने का क्रम जारी है और हमने अभी पिछले दिनों ही ब्याज की दरों को घटाया है। यह इस बात का सबूत है कि हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति मज़बूत हो रही है, हम कमज़ोर नहीं हो रहे हैं और अगर इन सारे प्रयासों के लिए वित्त मंत्री जी ने काम किया है तो निश्चित रूप से बहुत से लोग उनको बधाई दे रहे हैं और हमारे बहुत से माननीय सांसद भी उनको बधाई देंगे। मैं भी उन्हीं में शामिल हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री ने इन सारी परिस्थितियों को ठीक करने के लिए जिस प्रकार का काम किया, वह बहुत अच्छा है और वे बधाई के पात्र हैं।

उपसभापति महोदया, एक और बिन्दु है। अभी चर्चा हो रही थी। मैं इसलिए यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमें कहीं न कहीं इस बात का पता करना पड़ेगा कि क्या हमारी आर्थिक गतिविधियों को, आर्थिक परिस्थितियों को कोई घुन लग गया है, कोई कीड़ा लग गया है, कोई दीमक लग गई है? हमें इस बात का विचार करना चाहिए और अगर हमारे सामने कोई तथ्य आते हैं तो हम उसका गंभीरता से विचार करते हुए उस पर निर्णय लेने की कोशिश करें।

उपसभापति महोदया, हमारे देश में जिस समय समाजवादी व्यवस्था का दौर था, हमारे देश ने स्वीकार किया हुआ था, संसद में स्वीकृति मिली हुई थी और बजटों के माध्यम से हमने अपनी पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स को बढ़ावा दिया था। उनको तरक्की देने का रास्ता खोला

था और उसी रास्ते को खोलते हुए मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब हमने शुरू में फर्स्ट प्लान बनाया था तब केवल 9 उद्योग थे हमारे देश में जो पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग में थे। आज 240 उद्योग हैं जो पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग में हैं। आज आप कहते हैं कि 14 लाख करोड़ रुपए का कर्जा है, वह पैसा कहाँ गया? उसमें से पैसा हमने लगाया अपने पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग में - 2 लाख 30 हजार करोड़ रुपए का इनवेस्टमेंट कैश इनवेस्टमेंट है।

यह वह इनवेस्टमेंट नहीं है जो फॉरेन एक्सचेंज के फ्लक्चुएशन की वजह से हुआ है। जो डॉलर पहले 13 रुपए का था, वह बाद में जाकर 28 रुपया हो गया, 38 रुपया हो गया और आज 45 रुपया हो गया। उसकी वजह से जो विदेशी कर्जा बढ़ा है, वह केवल नोशनल है।

उपसभापति महोदया, यह जो हमने कर्जा लिया है यह बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। लेकिन हमारा कैश इन्वेस्टमेंट दो लाख तीस हजार करोड़ रुपए का पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स में हुआ। अगर हम गंभीरता से सोचें और विचार करें कि हमें इसमें से रिटर्न होना चाहिए या नहीं, हमें पैसा वापस मिलना चाहिए या नहीं, हमें डिविडेंड मिलना चाहिये या नहीं, हमारी आर्थिक तरक्की में इनका योगदान होना चाहिए या नहीं, केवल एम्प्लाइमेंट में तरक्की देने से कोई उद्योग चल सकेगा? क्या हमें उन उद्योगों में कोई नौकरी दे दी जाए तो वे उद्योग स्वस्थ रहेंगे? केवल नौकरी के नाम पर उन उद्योगों को चलाकर जहां लोग दस-दस, पांच-पांच साल से खाली बैठे हैं और कुछ काम नहीं कर पा रहे हैं, क्या हम आर्थिकतंत्र को मजबूत बनाएंगे? यह हमारे सामने गंभीर विचार का विषय है। इस गंभीर विचार के समय मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी अब समय आ गया है, परिवर्तित परिस्थितियों में यह समय की पुकार है। बिजनेस मींस बिजनेस माना जाना चाहिए। बिजनेस मींस बिजनेस मानकर किसी भी उद्योग को चलने के लिए छोड़ देते हैं और बिजनेस के नाम पर वह कम्पटीशन के रूप में खड़ा नहीं हो पाता है तो उसके सामने बंद होने के अलावा और कोई चारा नहीं होता। पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स में जितने हमारे प्रबन्धकर्ता हैं उनको इस बात को समझना पड़ेगा कि उनकी कमी की वजह से हमारे उद्योग धंधे ठप्प हुए हैं, केवल लोस में चले गए हैं और इस लोस की वजह से आज हम इस स्थिति में आ गए हैं कि ढाई लाख करोड़ रुपए का इनवेस्टमेंट हमारे किसी काम में नहीं आ रहा है। हमारे जो टॉप टेन उद्योग हैं मैं उनकी बड़ी सराहना करता हूँ। इन्होंने चौदह हजार करोड़ रुपया कमाया है। इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे दस ऐसे बड़े टॉप उद्योग भी हैं जिन्होंने छः हजार करोड़ रुपए का नुकसान किया है। इस नफे-नुकसान की वजह से आगे जाकर बहुत कम राशि हमारे खजाने को प्राप्त होती है। ढाई लाख करोड़ रुपए के इन्वेस्टमेंट के ऊपर हमको राशि प्राप्त नहीं होगी तो देश

की आर्थिक स्थिति कैसे मजबूत होगी? अगर हमारे वित्त मंत्री कहीं यह प्रपोजल लेकर जाते हैं कि टैक्स लेना है तो आपत्ति करते हैं। हम यह कहें कि सब्सिडी घटानी है तो आपत्ति स्वाभाविक है, मैं इससे इनकार नहीं करता। लेकिन वित्त मंत्री जी क्या करें? उनको कोई न कोई अल्टरनेटिव स्टैप उठाना पड़ेगा। ऐसा कोई भी वित्त मंत्री नहीं होगा जिसको टैक्स लगाने में आनन्द अनुभव होता होगा। कम से कम हमारे वित्त मंत्री तो टैक्स लगाकर आनन्द अनुभव नहीं करते। मैं पिछले वित्त मंत्रियों की बात नहीं करता। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : आल्टरनेटिव है, बैंक में जमा करा दीजिए। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, मैं पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स के बारे में और दो-तीन बातें निवेदन करूंगा। इस ओर मैं संसद का ध्यान इसलिए आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि परस्थितियाँ बन रही हैं और इनमें हम बस मिलकर निर्णय लें। इसमें हमारे मजदूर यूनियन के प्रतिनिधियों को भी हिस्सा लेना पड़ेगा। किसी के ऊपर अन्याय करने का और किसी को नौकरी से हटाने का मैं पक्षपाती नहीं हूँ। लेकिन साथ ही मैं यह भी निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि नई अर्थव्यवस्था में घाटे का काम करना बड़ा कठिन है। उस पर हमें विचार करके सोचना पड़ेगा। इसलिए मैंने विप्लव दासगुप्त जी को बधाई दी है कि उन्होंने कम से कम पहली बार हमारे सामने यह बात कही है।**(समय की घंटी)**....जो सराहनीय है। इस बात को और आगे बढ़ा देना चाहिए। महोदया, मैं अंतिम बात कहकर अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभापति : आपकी पार्टी का समय पूरा हो गया है।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, मैं जानता हूँ, लेकिन यह भारी भरकम बजट है। इसके ऊपर मैं भी धीरे-धीरे.....

उपसभापति : आप और वजन डाल रहे हैं।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : महोदया, मैं केवल सुझाव दे रहा हूँ। बस कम्पलीट कर रहा हूँ। मैंने दो बिन्दु रखने थे, वे मैंने रख दिए हैं।

महोदया, मैं अपनी सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ हम लोग सरकार के उद्योग चलाते हैं, वहाँ पर कॉस्ट ओवर रन होता है और टाइम ओवर रन होता है। हमारे पी.डब्ल्यू.डी., सी.पी.डब्ल्यू.डी. के काम चलाते हैं। उनके अंदर एक्सलेशन होते हैं, एक्सटेंशन होते हैं और जानबूझकर होते हैं, योजनाबद्ध तरीके से होते हैं, बेईमानी करने के

लिए होते हैं, जानबूझकर उसमें से रुपया हड़प करने के लिए होते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि ऐसा सख्त कानून बनाया जाए कि किसी भी अंडरटेकिंग्स में, किसी भी पब्लिक वर्क्स में टाईम का एक्सटेंशन नहीं दिया जाएगा, चाहे पहले ही से आप एक महीना ज्यादा दे दें, लेकिन जब बाद में एग्रीमेंट हो जाता है, एम.ओ.यू. जाता है तो उसके बाद न कास्ट ओवर रन होना चाहिए और न ही टाईम ओवर होना चाहिए। न ही एक्सटेंशन होना चाहिए और न ही उसके अंदर किसी प्रकार के डिस्प्यूट पैदा होने चाहिए। ऐसा सख्त कानून बनाएंगे तो हजारों, करोड़ों प्रतिवर्ष बचाएंगे। राउरकेला स्टील प्लांट का उदाहरण है, दुर्गापुर स्टील प्लांट का उदाहरण है। दस साल तक ... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी : एस्सार स्टील के बारे में भी बोलिए। चौदह प्राइवेट स्टील कंपनीज हैं, उनके बारे में भी बोलिए।

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैंने सभी के लिए बोला है।

श्री दीपांकर मुखर्जी : खाली दुर्गापुर की बात बोली है। एस्सार स्टील कहां है? बेल आउट करके कहां गया?

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : उपसभापति महोदया, मेरा अर्थ किसी प्राइवेट या पब्लिक सैक्टर से नहीं है। मेरा पूरे उद्योग जगत से कहना है कि हम इस बात के लिए तैयार रहें कि परिस्थितियां बदल रही हैं। इन बदली हुई परिस्थितियों में अगर कम्पीटीशन में स्टैंड करना है तो आप कास्ट ओवर रन रखकर नहीं चल सकते, टाईम ओवर रन रखकर नहीं चल सकते। आपको अपनी कार्य पद्धति और व्यवस्था को बदलना होगा अन्यथा हम कम्पीटीशन नहीं कर पाएंगे। हमारी इंडस्ट्रीज उससे अफेक्टेड होंगी चाहे वह प्राइवेट सैक्टर हो या पब्लिक सैक्टर हो उसका दुष्परिणाम होगा। वित्त मंत्री जी को मेरा सुझाव है कि इस विषय में कोई ढंग की व्यवस्था करें ताकि इसमें गड़बड़ न हो पाए।

एक छोटी सी बात कहूंगा। पिछले दिनों एस.एस. आई. (स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज) की बात आई। परसों कालिंग अटेंशन में कहा था कि यह हमारा बहुत महत्वपूर्ण सैक्टर है, उद्योग जगत का बहुत बड़ा सैक्टर है। मेरा वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन है, वैसे वे स्वयं समझदार हैं और सरकार स्वयं इस बात को समझती है, सरकार की अपनी प्रतिबद्धता भी है एस.एस. आई. के लिए, उस प्रतिबद्धता के आधार पर ऐसा कोई मैकेनिज्म डेवलेप कीजिए कि यदि उदारीकरण की कोई बुरी छाया पड़ती है तो वह इस स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्री पर न पड़े, उससे यह बचाया जा सके और उसकी उन्नति अबाध रूप से होती रहे।

एक दूसरी बात कहना चाहूंगा कि भवन निर्माण, रोड निर्माण के बारे में हमारी सरकार बहुत अच्छा काम कर रही है। उसने बहुत अच्छा काम शुरू किया है, एम्प्लोएमेंट जनरेशन के लिए यह बहुत अच्छी व्यवस्था है। हमारी इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर इंडस्ट्री भी इसके कारण आगे बढ़ पाएंगी। इस काम को और अधिक गति देने की आवश्यकता है। यह जितनी जल्दी हो सके उतनी जल्दी किया जाना चाहिए।

अभी किसान कार्ड, क्रेडिट कार्ड सेवा देने की व्यवस्था शुरू की गई है। लाखों किसानों को इस कार्ड की सेवा दी गई है। इस कार्ड की व्यवस्था को और भी द्रुत गति से जारी की जानी चाहिए, अभी आपने कहा था कि किसानों के ऊपर अत्याचार हुए, उन्हें आत्महत्या करनी पड़ी, यदि किसानों को क्रेडिट कार्ड की सेवा पूरी तरह से मिल जाएगी तो किसी अन्य आदमी के पास जाकर उन्हें लोन लेने की जरूरत नहीं रहेगी। वह अपने क्रेडिट कार्ड के बैकस पर कहीं भी जाकर लोन ले सकता है। इससे उसकी प्रतिष्ठा भी बढ़ेगी।

फसल बीमा योजना की सरकार ने जो व्यवस्था की है उसके लिए मेरा कहना है कि फसल बीमा योजना और क्रेडिट कार्ड को लेकर सरकार और तेजी से कदम उठाए। आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया, इतना कहते हुए मैं इस वित्त विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Secretary-General has told me that there is a little problem because an hon. Member of the AIADMK, Shri Niraikulathan, has asked for permission to speak in Tamil. He has four minutes to speak. We have borrowed a Tamil interpreter from the Lok Sabha. So, I will call Shri Niraikulathan first to speak.

*SHRI S. NIRAIKULATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I would like to thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak on the Finance Bill. I feel that Hon. Finance Minister should have thought of the poor people in the country and should have considered the sorry plight of those living below the poverty line before presenting the Budget for this year. I would have appreciated him if he had prepared his Budget considering the kind of life and means of the poor people especially those who live below the poverty line. It is a matter of concern that even the subsidies that were meant for the poor have been withdrawn and I am pained to note that there is nothing in the Budget to enthruse the poor and there is no incentive for their contribution to productivity. I would like to

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

lay stress on the point that there is only one leader that is our leader Dr. Puratchi Thalaivi who has expressed serious concern for the poor. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI C. RAMACHANDRAIAH: There are many leaders who talk about the poor, not only Kalaingnar ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. NIRAIKULATHAN: No, no. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't disturb him.

SHRI S. NIRAIKULATHAN: Of course, many leaders have been speaking about the poor, but they have been speaking only on record, not ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request you to continue because you have very little time. Do not waste your time. There are many more speakers.

SHRI S. NIRAIKULATHAN: Inflation rate, which was between 2 and 3 per cent continuously for the past two years, has sharply increased in the recent weeks. The increase in Inflation rate has been steady and has now crossed 6 per cent. This is a fall out of the Budget for this year. This indicates the worse effect that is to follow.

Both, the Budget and the Finance Bill have been passed in Lok Sabha. Despite stiff opposition to the proposals pertaining to the withdrawal of subsidy, the Finance Bill has been passed. The allies of the ruling front were also expressing their opposition but just for the sake of it. They were not really concerned and serious. While passing the Finance Bill there, Hon. Finance Minister has informed the other House that a committee set up by the Expenditure Department would go afresh into the question of subsidy and would submit a report. I request the Minister to give a serious consideration at least to that report to ensure subsidies that would benefit the poor.

Globally more than 80 crores of the people are below the poverty line and 32 crores of them live in India. More than one fourth of our Indian population lives below poverty line. Most of them live in rural areas. Most of them are small farmers and agricultural workers. Ours is an economy based on agriculture. Agriculturists, poor farmers and agricultural workers should have got a better deal. Hon. Minister should have accorded

importance to these poor people while preparing his Budget. Every individual need to have about 1200 grams of food a day but they get a meagre 400 grams. It is just one third of the need which stresses the need to augment foodgrain production. That implies that people who live below poverty line get only one square meal a day. Even the one they get is not a square meal but a meagre one. To offset the hardships faced by these poverty stricken people, the Budget should have focussed on the needs of the agriculture and the poor. Agriculture sector should have been given adequate incentives to increase food production. We must evolve ways and means to improve the lot of the farmers especially the people who live below the poverty line. Their living standard needs to be improved and the Budget should have aimed at it. Measures to raise the level of farmers and agricultural workers must be taken. In India we need water for about 40 crore acres of land for cultivation. About 2000 TMC Water is available. But only 1200 TMC water is used for irrigation purposes. Remaining water goes waste. Wasteful flow of river waters into the seas must be curtailed. For instance, Pampa River and ACHCHAN KOVIL in Kerala and other rivers like Mahanadi wastefully flow into the seas. There must have been viable schemes to harness the wasteful flow of those waters and ensure optimal utilization of the same. The Budget does not contemplate any such effective step to avoid such wastage of scarce resource. Such an indifference has resulted in a lackadaisical situation where there are floods on one side and drought on the other side. When floods devastate, we spend crores of rupees on them. When drought conditions rot us we again spend crores of rupees. We ought to have evolved by now an effective plan with farsightedness. We must have worked out a co-ordinated strategy to solve both these problems. Linking of major rivers would have helped us to arrive at a solution. Ganga, Cauvery link canal would have helped us abundantly. I wish these measures had been contemplated and incorporated in this Budget. That would help greatly the agriculture sector. The growth of agriculture sector would give rise to industrial growth and thereby employment opportunities. All these would have resulted in increasing the buying power of the people. Thus the linking of Rivers would be a key to have progress in various fields linked to one another. So there is a need to link major Indian Rivers. I feel the Budget has ignored this and hence there is no direction. Apart from increased production in agriculture, this would have ensured a boom in production of electricity. Linking of rivers would

have enabled us to harness Hydro energy. About 84 thousand-Megawatt electricity could be produced through the Hydel projects after linking all major rivers. Now we get only 21 thousand Megawatt of electricity. So there is a need to link major rivers from the power generation point of view. Not only agricultural production but power generation too would increase.

Apart from road and rail communication one must ensure better waterways system. For instance, one horsepower of energy would enable us to move goods of about 150 Kgs by road; it could be 400 Kgs by rail. But through waterways we could move a load of about 4000 Kgs with just one horse power of energy. That way goods transport would greatly benefit as it would be cost effective at a ratio of 1:10. Our economic planning must have a direction and must be evolved with measures to link major rivers of the country. It has been estimated that the expenditure to link the rivers would be Rs.50 crores. But we can have a return of Rs.60 crores a year. My request to the Government would be to seriously consider the ways to link rivers and to earn Rs.60 crores of rupees annually while offsetting both flood situations and drought conditions. Our Financial planning must have a vision to carry out these major schemes.

Through the Finance Bill, consumer durables especially cellular phones get tax reduction. Of course, I appreciate the move. But we must also think as to how many of the poor in the country use cellular phones. Do the agriculturists and farmers use cellular phones? Instead there should have been relief to farmers in the form of reduction in price of fertilizers and other inputs. If there had been further subsidy on rice, kerosene and other essential commodities we would have been happy and appreciated the Hon. Finance Minister. But to the contrary, rather painfully, the subsidies on essential commodities have been withdrawn affecting the poor.

Let me bring to the notice of this august House as to what is happening in Tamil Nadu. About 55% of ration rice is sold in the open market illegally. Rice meant to be sold through the public distribution system is diverted elsewhere and even smuggled outside the State. Supplies meant for PDS are diverted and misused. Centre must take note of it and must take appropriate action to curb the trend. I wish the Hon. Finance Minister to look in to it.

While evolving policies and plan schemes we must have in mind the people of our country. Opening up of Heavy Industries sector to foreigners

would not benefit our countrymen much. It would only help the foreign investors to siphon out the fruits of the projects without really benefiting out country. The benefits that our own countrymen could reap must be borne in mind while framing policies.

I would like to appreciate the Government in restructuring bank rates and evolving measures to ensure repayment of loans. While extending big loan, the capacity to repay must be an important criterion. At the same time small-scale industries must have liberal loan facilities. The yardstick must not change in the case of the needy who approach Banks.

On behalf of AIADMK, I strongly condemn the move of the Government to withdraw the subsidies thereby greatly affecting the interests of the poor. Condemning the indifference I conclude my speech. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think everybody should speak in different languages. It is only then they will abide by the time. He took only one minute extra. But when a Member speaks in English or Hindi, he goes on and on. I request everybody to speak in different languages. Now, Ven'ble Dhammaviriyo, you have got only eight minutes.

श्री लछमन सिंह (हरियाणा) : यह इनका मेडन स्पीच होगा । ... (व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : सब की मेडन हो रही है आजकल । ... (व्यवधान) ... I do not know how many times it is going to become a maiden speech. ... (Interruptions) ... Maiden speech does not mean that you do not abide by the time.

श्री लछमन सिंह : जरा खुले दिल से टाइम दीजिये । ... (व्यवधान) ... कंजूसी क्यों कर रहे हैं ... (व्यवधान) ...

उपसभापति : इंटरनेशनल में जाऊंगी तो खुले दिल से करूंगी अभी तो नेशनल में करना है।

VEN'BLE DHAMMAVIRIYO (Bihar) : Respected Madam Deputy Chairman, it is an honour and privilege for me to speak in this august House on a very important subject, i.e., the Finance Bill, 2000. I thank you for giving me an opportunity. My friend F.M. is not here, but his colleague is here. I request them to kindly note my speech. I would like to ask : What

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kind of Budget has been prepared by this present Government? I would like to quote our present Prime Minister. When he was the Leader of the Opposition, he used to say, "Budget is *bhool-bhulaiyan*". Madam, I say the same thing; this Budget is also a *bhool-bhulaiyan*. Is there any due allocation for the poor people?

What has been provided for the welfare of the downtrodden and the unfortunate communities of this country? So, this *bhool-bhulaiyan* Budget has been prepared by the present Government. What will be the help for the poor people in this Budget?

Madam, the Budget is prepared in the Capital. The State Governments give all the information, suggestions come from districts. I want to mention here that there is a small place called, "Zanskar", in Ladakh. It is very close to Kargil. It is a very very sensitive area politically and Defence point of view. It has not been developed even after 52 years of the Independence. Even after the recent war in Kargil, nobody mentions about it, and nobody is taking interest in the development of Zanskar. People from Zanskar have to come to Ladakh, walking for three days. Through you, I want to ask of the hon. Finance Minister what he has kept for the special development of the infrastructure and the communication facilities, specially roads and Telephone for such a sensitive and important area as Zanskar.

There is another border area which is very very important. I belong to Bihar, the land of Buddha, from where the message of compassion and tolerance was spread not only in this country but also to the whole of the South-Asian countries and far East. People today respect Bihar wholeheartedly as a land of peace and harmony. But, in the border area of Bihar, the infrastructure and road communication facilities are very poor. As an example, two days before, on the 6th, I visited two blocks, Teragach and Degal Bank in the Kishanganj district. The distance from one place to the other is 15 kms. only, but I could not utilise a vehicle. I was compelled to travel as a pillion rider of a motor cycle. The road was so narrow.

I had to go there to prepare a scheme for road and construction of bridges there, and I want to sponsor them under the MPLAD Programme. It takes eight hours. This is a very sensitive border with Nepal and Bangladesh.

From this place, our hon. Home Minister always shouts that there is a disturbance there, that there is an indication of the ISI hand in it, this and that. But, I am surprised at the Budget. How much money has been allocated for that important area?

My friend, the hon. Finance Minister, belongs to Bihar. He has come from the bureaucracy. I think, he was the District Magistrate or the SDO or he had held an important portfolio like that. A number of his former colleagues will still be working as bureaucrats in those places. Does he not get from them hints or suggestions? Or, did he not like to ask them to give some suggestions so that he could enter in the proposals some important things, like road communications, which had not been done before or rectify the irregularities?

Respected Madam, it is a matter of very much concern to me that when I met the poor people there, I found that cucumber was selling there at the rate of Re. 1/- per kilo.

One rupee! In Patna and Kishanganj, cucumber sells at Rs. 10-12/- a kilo. What will the poor farmer do? One person had brought watermelons by the tractor trolley. He spent on cartage Rs. 800/- and sold all the watermelons at the cost of Rs. 1500/- only at Bahadurganj. How much money did he get? After spending that much of money on transport, he could not get even Rs. 100/-. They say, "We will try to do something for this *garibi*." My friend is not here. I want to communicate this to him, through you, Madam. Has he seen *garibi*? Has he seen *garibi* in his life? If he has seen *garibi*, he should keep his eyes open and see the condition of the people, and he should come forward and discuss with the representatives of the people, M.P.s., before making the Budget. I had an opportunity to visit all over the world twice. I visited a neighbouring country, Thailand. I visited every nook and corner of Thailand seven times. I am happy to mention here about the tribal and other people of Thailand in the Chiang Mai area. Everybody has a house, everybody has a jeep. They go to the farm in the jeep, work for the whole day, and return with the crop. They sell it in the market. There is good crop. The next morning, the crop fly to Singapore, Hong Kong or the neighbouring far-east country, Japan. They get a very good price for their cash crop there. They are earning dollars. Here, who is earning a dollar? Regularly those who are not paying income-tax, are earning dollars! Here, the poor people have not even

seen a dollar. Madam, I also went to China. There is a place called Uxi near the Shangai. The place where there are good crops of grapes and plums. Uxi is at a distance of 1500 kilometres from Beijing. The cost price of the grapes, in Indian rupees, is Rs.28-30 per kg. The price in Beijing is only around Rs.34/-. There is only a difference of Rs.3-4/-. But, here, in our country, the farmer producing the crop in Maharashtra sells it at Rs.10/-. When it comes to Patna or Siliguri, the price is Rs.60/-. Why there is so much of difference?

Our friends give us the assurance, "We will give you a new life in the society." You are only ringing the bell. You cannot give anything. All the promises you give are only empty slogans. A mention was made about Thailand. The Finance Minister should open his eyes and look at it. We might have a lot of money in our treasury. But, what is the actual life of our people? Our people get nothing. You think seriously before making the Budget. It should not be made through 'nakshas'. It is not proper way. Kindly see with your own eyes. What is the actual position of our place? where you utilize the money for its development. We should invest the money there. What is the condition of people there, ecologically and geologically? It is a matter of surprise that even after 52 years of Independence, the whole block there does not even have a soil testing laboratory. Madam, I belong to the family of a farmer. I know how to test the soil. Madam, land is the treasure of the poor farmer. But due to lack of knowledge, they cannot exploit the land for some other crop which is very profitable and which would earn a lot of money because the facility of testing the soil is not available. There is no laboratory at the block level. The laboratory is situated at the district level and it takes seven to eight days to get the results. What steps are taken by the Government in this respect? *(Time Bell)* Madam, I won't take much time of the House. I would like to give some suggestions. Firstly, road communication infrastructure is the most important agenda today. If you want to make progress, then you must have the basic infrastructure, that is roads. If roads are there, if there is good production, and if the area is well-connected to the block, to the district headquarters, to the State headquarters by way of roads, the farmer can take his produce for sale very easily to these areas and can get good marketing and the real price of his produce. At the present moment, there is a lot of difference in the price of the same commodities which are available at the village level and which are available at the district or the State level.

So, there should be so much difference in rates of various commodities and the same rates should be given to the farmers for their proceeds not only at the block level or the district level or the State level but also at the village level. Various villages should be well-connected to the blocks, district headquarters and the State headquarters so that they do not have the problem of marketing their products.

Now, I come to the rail communication. Some of our crops are being taken by rail to various places. At Kishanganj, we are having very valuable crops. We have the Mamta Express, Kanchan Sona Express, the Rajdhani Express and the Asansol Express. For our products, there is a good market in Calcutta. Kishanganj area is famous for lobsters. Very good quality of lobsters are produced in that area. We have a very good market in Bombay for our lobsters. It is selling at Rs. 400 per kg. The size of the lobster is very big. If our farmers get proper marketing and communication facilities to carry their produce to various parts of the country like Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta...

श्री रमा शंकर कौशिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैडम, वित्त मंत्री जी नहीं हैं ।
...(व्यवधान)...

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : लोक सभा में वोटिंग हो रही है, इसलिए वहां गए हैं ।
...(व्यवधान)...

उपसभापति : आप बैठ जाइए । Let me make a proper announcement.
(Interruptions) It is not your responsibility.

लोक सभा में कांस्टीट्यूशन अमेंडमेंट पर वोटिंग हो रही है । इसलिए वित्त मंत्री और पाटिल साहब चिट्ठी देकर गए हैं They are in the Lok Sabha for the voting. The rest of the people are here. The Leader of the House is there. So, whatever is being spoken here, is being recorded and will be given to the Finance Minister. अब आप समाप्त कीजिए क्योंकि आप का टाइम हो गया है ।

VEN'BLE DHAMMA VIRIYO: Madam, I am saying that we can earn a lot of dollars from the sale of lobsters.

उपसभापति : अब आप समाप्त कीजिए क्योंकि आप का टाइम हो गया है ।

SHRI LACHHMAN SINGH: Madam, you are very liberal in this regard.

[9 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I can give it from the same kitty which I have. Now, don't disturb.

श्री लछमन सिंह : मैडम, ये तो साधु हैं, इन्हें कुछ ज्यादा टाइम दे दीजिए ...**(व्यवधान)**...

उपसभापति : यहां हाउस में सब बराबर हैं । चाहे साधु हो या सन्यासी हो, सब एक बराबर हैं और ...**(व्यवधान)**... लछमन जी आप का नाम भी है, इसलिए आप का टाइम ही जाएगा ।...**(व्यवधान)**...

VEN'BLE DHAMMA VIRIYO: Madam, for the promotion of research and development covering about one hundred crore people, Rs.150 crores are there. It is really very sad. Thailand is a small country. But they spend Rs. 200 crores on research and development. Today, the entire world is surviving on science and technology. A lot of research and development has taken place in the field of agriculture and horticulture in the world. The status of a country is judged by the advancement made in the field of science and technology. If we are able to provide the basic amenities to our farmers, they will be able to earn their livelihood in a much better way. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before I call the next speaker, I have to bring another maiden Vice-Chairman to the Chair. आइए श्री संतोष बागड़ोदिया जी । आप लोग इनको परेशान मत कीजिएगा, यह इनका मेडन परफारमेंस होगा । Render all help and support to him, and don't bother him! I am around; I will come back immediately. So, take care of him

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN, (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) in the Chair]

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA):Shri Pranab Mukherjee.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, let me have the privilege of congratulating you on assuming the Chair as Vice-Chairman.

Sir, we are at the end of almost ten weeks' exercise which began on 29th February and we are left with five days by which the entire exercise is to be over. Sir, the job of the Finance Minister is neither easy nor a

popular one. I remember, almost two decades ago, when I assumed this office, my predecessor, Mr. Venkataraman, just laughingly told me, "From now onwards, I will pass on my sleepless nights to you!" If it was true in 1980, it is equally true in 2000. Keeping that in mind and keeping also in mind, as I mentioned to you, that we are at the end of the entire budgetary exercise and the Finance Bill is to be returned, I would confine my observations to a very few, limited general points since some of the important provisions of the Finance Bill have already been discussed by Mr. N.K.P. Salve, Mr. K.K. Birla and many other distinguished Members who have participated in the discussion on the Finance Bill.

Sir, I would like to start from the observations made by the Finance Minister himself, and I agree with the strategy which he outlined in para 5 of his Budget Speech: "To have a ten-year development decade for this country". All the points of the seven-point strategy are important, and the most important point is the seventh one which I would like to quote: "Establish a credible framework of fiscal discipline without which the other elements of our strategy can fail." I entirely agree with him. The only point is that not only can it fail, but it will fail if we cannot have a credible fiscal framework. And there, Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is not for finding fault with anyone, but just to reveal certain bare facts before the House and before the Finance Minister. For his consideration I did a little research work and I have found that I am really disturbed about the revenue projection at the Budget Estimates stage, and about the revenue assessment at the Revised Estimates stage. I have the figures with me from 1991-1992 to 1999-2000; both the B.E. and the R.E. figures are available. I am talking of the figures in aggregate. If we see the figures of the revenue projected at the Budget Estimates stage and the revenue estimated at the Revised Estimates stage during the period commencing from 1991-1992 to 1995-1996, the R.E. figures were always larger, more than the B.E. figures.

In 1994-95, the aggregate BE figure was Rs.62,742 crores. At the RE stage it was up by almost Rs.2,200 crores. In 1995-96, the aggregate figure at the stage of BE was Rs.74,374 crores and at the RE stage it was Rs.81,088 crores. In 1996-97, I am afraid something went wrong and from then onwards till 1999-2000, there has been a sharp decline. In 1996-97, the shortfall was Rs.100 crores. The projection at the BE stage was Rs.97,310 crores and at the RE stage it was reduced by 98 crores, that

is, Rs.97,212 crores. But thereafter the shortfall was not in hundreds. It was in thousands. In 1997-98, the aggregate BE figure was Rs.1,13,393 crores and at the RE stage it was short by almost Rs.12,000 crores. At the RE stage it came down to Rs.99,158 crores. In 1998-99, the aggregate BE figure was Rs.1,16,857 crores and at the RE stage it was Rs.1,09,537 crores. There was a shortfall of almost Rs.7,000 crores. In 1999-2000, the aggregate BE figure was Rs.1,32,365 crores and at the RE stage it was Rs.1,26,469 crores. The point which I am trying to drive at is that these aspects are to be kept in view, if you want to have a credible financial discipline and bring a semblance of it in our fiscal deficit. Always there will be an unanticipated expenditure, so far as this country is concerned. After all, to manage the economy of one billion people is not an easy job. Sometimes, I wonder how lucky was the first Finance Minister of India. I culled out some figures. The first Finance Minister of Independent India, Mr. Shanmugham Chetty, was really a lucky man. In the Budget he presented in the first year, 1947-48, the total revenue was Rs.171 crores. Out of that amount of Rs.171 crores, an amount of Rs.118 crores was income-tax, an amount of Rs.50 crores was customs duty--there was no excise duty; Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari was not there on the scene; therefore, nobody knew about it--and an amount of Rs.2.5 crores was tax on a very interesting item, imported foreign liquor. The total revenue was Rs.171 crores. The expenditure was also much less complicated. The total expenditure was Rs.197 crores, an amount of Rs.103 crores on civil expenditure and an amount of Rs.94 crores on military expenditure. The deficit was Rs.26 crores. In this year's Budget the total revenue receipts--I am not talking of the capital receipts--is Rs.2,03,673 crores, the revenue expenditure is Rs.2,81,098 crores and the deficit is Rs.77,425 crores. I am quoting these figures only to highlight that this is the area where we shall have to concentrate and how to concentrate. I entirely agree with him. But I do not agree with the perception that some of our friends have shared that there is no scope for expanding our tax-GDP ratio. I believe and trust that our tax-GDP ratio, compared to many developing comparable countries, is much less. Therefore, there is an area where he can fall back. I would like to emphasize the fact that if you want to redress the problems of fiscal deficit, Government's own earnings must increase. If you want to have that more and more persons are to be brought in taxnet, let us ponder for a while. In our common parlance very often we describe, "Oh, India is a big

country with 200 million middle-class people having huge purchasing power". Dr. Dasgupta was saying, as per *per capita* income, no doubt, India is one of the lowest countries. But it is just like that old idiom.

A glass filled with water; what would you say; it is half filled or half empty? If you compare it with GNP, definitely, we are one of the poorest. But if you compare it with the purchasing power parity, you will find that Indian economy is the fifth largest economy of the world. Therefore, there is nothing to be afraid. Problems are there, but, at the same time, the economy is growing. We have to see how to tackle the emerging problems. I would like to confine my observations to two very crucial issues. One issue is this. There is no doubt, and nobody is denying the fact, that this year, our industrial growth has been 6.4%. We are coming out of the depression, but, at the same time, we shall have to keep in view that we have to attain an industrial growth rate of 12%. We shall have to keep this point in view. It is true that the rate of inflation is around four-and-a-half per cent. And for 44 weeks, it continued to remain around two-and-a-half per cent. But these figures do not project the correct picture. Because I can quote that in 1975-76, we had a negative growth rate of inflation i.e. -2.6%. At the same time, in September, 1974, we had the highest rate of inflation i.e. 24%. Therefore, these figures, placed out of context, do not project the correct picture. We shall have to take an integrated view on this. The real question is one of fiscal deficit. The problem is, how to adjust the fiscal deficit? It is nobody's case. From this side, repeatedly, myself and Dr. Manmohan Singh have suggested to the Government. We do agree that, perhaps, this country cannot afford to give 15-16% of its GDP as subsidy- but for God's sake, please identify as to in which areas you would like to retain subsidy, in which areas you would like to avoid subsidy. Try to evolve a national consensus. At the cost of repetition, I am pointing it out again, Mr. Chidambaram, as Finance Minister, had floated a beautiful paper, a discussion paper, on subsidy. You also bring out a paper, have discussions, build up a consensus as to in which areas we can retain subsidy, in which areas we can avoid subsidy. Because, to my perception, food subsidy is essential, not only to protect the interests of the consumers and the farmers, but, it is also closely linked with our concept of food security. Nobody under the sun can feed hundred crore or one billion people. This responsibility is ours. Therefore, it is high time, we evolved a consensus. When we are talking of a political consensus,

what prevents you from building up the consensus, what prevents you from having a discussion with Economists, with opinion-makers, with political parties, their representatives, before the Budget is presented, that these are the areas where we can retain subsidy, these are the areas where we can avoid subsidy. For several years, we have been hearing that we will use a part of our disinvestment proceeds to retire our public debt so that the interest burden gets reduced. But why are we failing in it? I do feel that it is not just merely the job of one Ministry or one party or one Government. I do agree that a national consensus is needed. But who is to take the initiative? The initiative has to be taken by the Government of the day. They will have to identify the areas, prioritise the issues and seek the cooperation of all. I do not think there will be a lacking in it. On the floor of this House, sitting here, we helped you, despite the differences with our friends in the Left, to get all the WTO- related legislations passed. We have committed our support to you on certain important constitutional amendments. Therefore, it is not that there is no consensus, but efforts will have to be made. Another area of concern is BOP. I am fully aware that you are having 35 billion dollars as foreign exchange reserves. I entirely agree that this is quite comfortable, especially compared to one billion vs dollars in 1991. But, at the same time, the other day, Mr. Vice-Chairman, we had the advantage of getting a reply from the Commerce Minister as to how the export - import imbalance, that means the trade gap, is expanding. Shri Aggarwal referred to this point. I would request him to keep in mind that the trade gap is there because import is not taking place. There was industrial recession. The industrial growth is six-and-a-half per cent. If you want to achieve a 12 per cent industrial growth, your import growth would go up. Therefore, you are not earning. He used a word 'arit', if I understood you correctly. 'Arit' means earned. I am afraid foreign exchange reserves are not earnings. In 1995-96 our trade gap was to the tune of 4,881 million dollars. In 1996-97, it increased to 5,662 million dollars. In 1997-98, it was 6,078 million dollars. In 1998-99, it was 9,170 million dollars. According to the latest figures which I have got from the Director-General of Commercial Statistics and Intelligence, it is nine billion dollars. Therefore trade gap is increasing - invisible earning is decreasing. This is the distortion. I am just talking of the export-import figures. Even if you have the invisible, your own money is less. You are getting the deposits from the NRIs. A substantial quantum of investment is coming from

foreign sources to FII and to certain other projects. It is good. I welcome it. I want investment to help our growth. But if you start talking from the rooftop that we have improved our BOP situation enormously, we will have to pay the price and we paid this price when we lost the case in regard to the removal of quantitative restrictions on consumer goods on the complaint of the USA in the Dispute Settlement Body of the WTO, both in the DSB and at the Appellate stage. If I remember correctly, the Commerce Minister said - it is on record - on the floor of the House, "We could not convince these bodies and these institutions that our BOP situation has not improved."

SHRI RAMDAS AGARWAL: He said, "Because of unstable Governments."

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: No, it is not that. The question is different. He was correct in saying that as per the original GATT Agreement, every signatory of the GATT was obliged to remove quantitative restrictions. It is linked with the BOP. The moot question is you have to convince the world community and these bodies that India still required BOP coverage. Theoretically, the Finance Minister is entitled to have his view and economically it is sound and justified to say, "I don't want quantitative restrictions on import." But what is the ground reality? Why was it done in 1994? I don't disagree with you. Shri Chaturvedi is here. I signed the Marrakesh Agreement on behalf of the country. I am fully convinced that I did the correct thing because we cannot remain in isolation. It is of no use keeping our heads hidden in the sand like an ostrich. In the world theatre, we shall have to go, negotiate and get the maximum benefit out of the bargaining table.

But if we remain in isolation, we may live like Myanmar and certain other countries; it is not good for me to mention the names of these countries. But it is of no use remaining in isolation. We shall have to engage ourselves. You place your viewpoints. There is no free lunch. This is a hard competitive world. Yes; if we have removed the quantitative restrictions, then, equally we should have pressed hard-this is my appreciation of the situation - and asked: What are you going to do about the MFA?" What are you going to do about the free movement of our service-providers where we have a competitive advantage? These are the areas where it should be a *quid pro quo* that if you agree to dismantle the MFA, if you agree to provide free movement to our service-providers in

computer software and other areas where we have a competitive advantage, I allow your consumer goods to my market. These are the types of bargains that we shall have to do. And this is not a one-time job. This job is to be done within the broad umbrella agreement of the WTO. This is not the one and the final agreement. It provides an opportunity for having trade agreements with our trading partners, important trading partners, on a continuous basis. So, it is not a one-time job; and, for that, you require the assistance of the necessary supporting staff, researchers, and inputs, which will help your negotiators to do that. This is the ground reality where we shall have to go further. Therefore, unless we improve our export performance, unless we improve our international trade, by merely depending on deposits from the NRI, if we expect that we will be able to overcome the type of situation which we are having, I am afraid, we can't do so.

The last point to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister is about growth. Everybody will agree -- there is nobody who, on this side or that side, would disagree -- that this country require a 8-9 per cent growth, or, at least, a sustainable growth of 7-8 per cent. But a mere expression of intention is not enough. You require investment. If I want to have a 8 per cent growth per year on a sustainable basis, my rate of investment in terms of GDP, must be 32-33 per cent. From where will these resources come? Neither will it come from my words nor from the solemn wishes of our Finance Minister, nor is it going to come from heaven. Investments must come mainly from the rate of domestic savings. At least, in one year, if I remember correctly, during the Eighth Plan, we reached a high level of rate of domestic savings, that is, to the extent of 24.6 per cent. The average was, of course, 23.2 per cent for a full period of five years. But there is a sliding down. I do feel that the Finance Minister should have conveyed a very strong message to encourage savings and to discourage expenditure and dissavings. Different components and related things are there. I am not going into all these things. But this strong message for fiscal consolidation is needed; and for that fiscal consolidation, you must expand the horizon, specially in areas of direct taxes. A few lakhs have been added. But the point which I am trying to drive at is this. If you have 200 million middle-class people whose purchasing power is reasonably high, and if I take five persons as one unit, then, at least, 40 million middle-class households are there. But how many

direct tax payers do you have in your list? Do you have 40 million people? Therefore, there is a scope for fiscal savings, and that is why the question of relooking at the Tax-GDP ratio, with special reference to the direct tax is absolutely necessary. And another flaw to which I would draw the attention of the Finance Minister is this. These are the areas where corrections are needed. I am not criticising him just for the sake of criticism. But unless we make these corrections, the seven-point strategy that he is thinking of cannot be achieved; I am in entire agreement with him that it is necessary to have it. You ought to protect your Plan. But I am sorry to say that there is no use in saying, at the time of presentation of the Budget, that you have stepped up your Plan outlay substantially. My friend, the Leader of the House, has also the experience of being the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. The test of the pudding is in the eating. Ultimately, what we are in a position to give? The serious distortion which is taking place must be corrected. To my mind, Sir, in the public sector planning, in the annual Plan outlay determination, we are, deliberately, accepting a wrong presumption. If we don't have money we don't give them, we give them only a realistic plan. I am asking them that you go through the IEBR route, external, budgetary, internal and extra-budgetary resources, and showing a very high figure of the Plan outlay. None of the sectors except Communications sector -- neither Railways nor Transport nor any other sector -- would be in a position to raise resources from the market. At the end of the year, they will come, throw up their hand and say, 'sorry we could not raise the resources. Whatever little bit budgetary support is available directly from the exchequer that will be spent on the Plan.' As a consequence of that, - I am not talking of the State Plans, we have given up State Plans practically for quite some time -- even in the Central Plan, for three consecutive years, in terms of absolute investment, the shortage has been almost 10,000 crores of rupees per year. I know the Finance Minister can give the statistics that every year, he has marginally increased the budgetary support. True, but the fact remains that Plan is an integrated one; budgetary support is one component; resource mobilisation through internal resource generation and extra-budgetary sources is another component; and if these two components do not come, ultimately, the outlay cannot be reached. Therefore, these are some of the distortions which I do feel, required to be checked. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we cannot do anything, nor should we do anything. The Finance Bill has to be passed as it is. But,

surely, in the formulation of the policy, and even, if it is possible, in the mid-term appraisal the Finance Minister can think of certain things. I will be too glad if the Finance Minister does not come to this House and mainly to that House with three batches of Supplementary Demands which will add ultimately to the fiscal deficit and enormous expenditure. Thank you.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak on the Budget. I can say that I am beginning to speak a little bit on behalf of my miscellaneous party whose Members, sometimes, are not quite sure whether they are Members or not, but I insisted that I will say a few words after consulting some of my friends. Be that as it may; yesterday afternoon, Mr. Arjun Singh spoke on the Appropriation Bill and he mentioned an engineering simile which worried me. He said that the Government has a tendency to push everything to the back burner and he made a somewhat outrageous alternative of making a front burner. Now, if we have a front burner the whole thing explodes. So, one has to be careful when one is using an engineering simile while speaking on some other subject. But I was a little afraid that it is so easy to convert something which takes the waste gases and put it in the front burner in a simple manner. But, first of all, I must say that my friends have deserted me not only because of the lateness of the hour, but I think because of the complexity of the subject. They have all felt that finance is a terribly complicated subject, but I am more convinced, after listening through the whole afternoon, that we just do not know what to do when and how. But for a man belonging to a period, just like Mr. Arjun Singh, who had his PhD before independence came, I must say that the country has made tremendous progress, and in the last five years, the progress is visible. I thought our feelings of poverty going away would never come in my lifetime. But you see a change. You can argue it out by means of statistics and say that we have progressed or not progressed, and things like that. But I am just giving the feeling of looking around and going to villages and seeing things. But I must say that it is restricted a bit to South India.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Did Shri Arjun Singh have a degree before independence?

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: I had a degree before independence, nobody has given him a degree before independence. He, of course, said

that he belongs to a period before independence, and I am comparing things from that angle. I would not say which party has brought prosperity and all that. There, of course, people discussed statistics, GNP and things like that. We heard many economists today. That sometimes frightens you. But the improvement, the momentum, in the country is there and we have to step up that momentum. For that, we have to make sure that the younger generation keeps up this momentum because there is a danger of introducing too much of cynicism which is a common Indian failing and I greatly look forward to a period when an approach is made and it is explained to people that it is the people who have to improve the country and that no Government operation by itself can improve the country. This, of course, leads me - and I do not want to take too much time of the House - to the question of some things that worry me.

I was talking to the people in the commercial metropolis of the country, that is, Mumbai. They were very worried in the last few months about the share markets which have been referred to. They said, "You are a Member of Parliament. Can't you go and tell the Government to stop all this share-playing? Only a few rich people are involved in this and the whole country is shivering on how money is going this way, that way and so on". Share market has no meaning. This was mentioned by other speakers also. But I will give my reactions to what I heard in the commercial capital. It may be that it is rising. Something happens in America and they say our shares go up and down, up and down. Then, that is not a good reflection on our economy. But this is something which I think the experts have to deal with.

Now, I want to say something about taxation because I find that there is a big fat book on taxation which has been given. But I would like to ask the Finance Minister whether, sometimes, taxation is used as a punitive operation, whereas it has never been mentioned that it should be punitive. I am going to give you an example, which, I am sure, you will call trivial. But, unfortunately, while India contains a lot of poor people, it also contains some very cultured people who will also have to be looked after. This great country is not made entirely of the poor. Yes; we want the poor people to come up, as the Buddhist Swamiji also mentioned. But should we strip everything off that we have, that we possess? Therefore, I refer to an example which may seem strange in this House. We have produced one of the greatest European music conductors in the world, Mr. Zubin Mehta. I

[9 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

don't know whether many people know it, but he is considered to be one of the greatest conductors. Recently, when the President of India visited Munich, the German people honoured him with an opera conducted by Zubin Metha. He has the highest position. He is one of the greatest conductors of this age. What have we done to the European music? I am giving it as an example. You have put punitive tax for buying pianos. I mention piano here because I played it for the Members of Parliament. So, they know what a piano is.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: And you played it well.

DR. RAJA RAMANNA: That is a separate issue, Sir. Thank you. But don't confuse the issue. Please. Now, you will charge hundred per cent on the import of a piano. You do not make pianos here. All these teachers who teach people, like Zubin Mehta, cannot buy a piano. They cannot afford it because they have to pay 100% more. What was for one lakh cost two lakhs and at the time they could not afford it. Now, the best piano is for twenty lakhs and we will have to pay forty lakhs, which even the music groups cannot buy. So, that thing is dying down, whereas countries like China and Japan are producing excellent people and they are following the Europeans tradition because it suits them and because they like it and the cultured people there want it. Probably, I have mentioned an example that is so elite and so far away from what we have been discussing here. But it was done as a punitive step to say that this is foreign culture and we should not have it. That is what I object to. This has been done over the years. I am not referring to any particular Government. I know the Goa people were great musicians. They used to ask me, "Should we give up the music which we picked up from the Portuguese 400 years ago"? I said, "For heaven's sake, please carry on". They asked, "Then, what about the pianos, the taxation"? That is punitive. Somebody in the Finance Ministry told me that this was to stop all this culture which is foreign to us.

I mention this because I think the Minister should take note of it. These things do not come to his level. But at the levels below him, my God! there are files and files and files. Many such examples can be given. But I stop at that. Again, Mr. Arjun Singh mentioned it yesterday and how much impressed I was because it was a one-hour speech!

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There was trouble afterwards. So, it made a deep impression, as he spoke on unemployment. How are we going to face unemployment? By chance, the Chief Minister of Karnataka asked me to be on a Task Force to look into primary and secondary education. I have been dealing with higher education, but as I wanted to do some social work, I agreed. I thought, this was a fine opportunity to understand what is happening in the field of education in our villages. You must know how we are destroying some people who can employ themselves; they are not able to do anything. You teach them things which take them away from their environment. There are many who will say, 'you must go and have a BA degree' for every kind of operation. The poor fellow takes a BA degree and does what? He refuses to go back to his family occupations. It is becoming quite lucrative now. He used to be a carpenter. Where has the carpentry gone now? He says, 'I will not touch those things. Those are for the lower class of carpenters.' Even the blacksmith says this. He is not taught these specialised subjects. That means, you have restricted his employment capability, by giving him a wrong education. I am not saying this, sitting at a high position over here, but I am actually going and watching it in the villages, in more backward areas of Karnataka, like Raichur, where people are being enticed away from their normal operations to learn some things which are important for some people, but not for all the people.

Sir, I come to the last point; and this is what I want to say. Employability is more important than employment, if you can consider all these things. But I have seen some papers on the subject in which I find you go on in the same way. I hope, this Task Force I am on will produce something useful for Karnataka and, therefore, be an example, but there are other States, which I am told, are more advanced in this sort of thinking, and I wish them all luck.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu):
Mr. Vice -Chairman, Sir, there are some positive signs in the Budget. The Plan expenditure has been increased from Rs.11,000 crores to Rs.88,000 crores. On Defence, we can't compromise; and for that, there is an increase of Rs. 13,000 crores. The credit flow to agriculture has been increased to Rs.51,500 crores from Rs.41,800 crores.

Sir, when I was speaking yesterday, I raised a point. I do not want to go through the jugglery of statistics. What I said was, when we import some finished goods like water pumps, the customs duty is less than 40%. At the same time, the duty on the raw materials that we use to manufacture the same item in India is charged at 67%. When we import the finished goods, it is 40%. If we import the raw material, it is 67%. It means, instead of developing manufacturing activities in India, the businessman would resort to buying the finished goods. In doing so, our industry will suffer. This is what I explained yesterday.

Sir, the Budget, you know, is nothing but the gambling of monsoon. Fortunately, in India, for the last 12 years, except the current year, nature has blessed India. Even though nature has helped India for more than a decade, what is the real situation in the economy? We have to see. Agriculture is the backbone of the economy.

When the financial crisis took place in the East Asian countries, that was because they borrowed much in dollar terms from foreign countries and lent that in the local currency, relying heavily on the real estate business. When it fell, they had to face a crisis.

But at the same time, during that crisis India stood fast with its head held high because agriculture saved the Indian economy. Sir, even though the agriculture has saved the Indian economy, the question here is whether the Indian economy has saved the Indian agriculturists. We have to see whether the income of the agriculturists has gone down or whether it has gone up. In the last financial year it came down by two per cent. Sir, the debt ratio to the GDP has gone down which is remarkable and welcome one. When the GDP goes up, the employment opportunities come down. Why they come down, I will explain that. At page 168 of the Economic Survey it is stated that the rate of growth of employment, however, both in public and private sectors during 1998 was lower as compared to the preceding year. After 1999 what we witnessed was that the growth of employment was less than the growth of birth rate. Therefore, in every financial year about 20 lakh unemployed hands are increasing. There is another term called the 'jobless growth'. When I am saying jobless growth, Biplab Das Gupta is getting ready to hear this. Sir, we know that we have to live with the WTO, maybe, it is a necessary evil. We cannot come out of it. To those less developed countries whose *per capita* income is less

than three hundred dollars, America has extended a helping hand this year. It has given free market access to these countries without any taxation. They have made an announcement in this regard. For service providers, America has offered 1.15 lakh jobs to the people from these countries. If they are able to handle the high technology, they can enter America for jobs. But this has been done in a piecemeal manner. Sir, what we want is that there should be some policy in this regard. If, under globalisation, capital flow from the developed countries to the developing countries is permissible, similarly what we expect from the WTO countries is that they should also allow free flow of labour force from the developing countries. Sir, in 1995 there was an Asia-Pacific Nations Conference at Osaka and 18 countries signed an agreement in this Conference. They also passed a resolution which I would like to quote here. It says, "We believe our economic reforms, based on market-oriented mechanisms, have unleashed our peoples' creativity and energy and enhanced the prosperity and living standards of our citizens in the region and the world as a whole. We emphasise our resolute opposition to an inward-looking trading bloc that would divert from the pursuit of global free trade, and we commit ourselves to firmly maintaining open regional cooperation."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Please conclude now. ...*(Interruptions)*... You can take only one minute more. ...*(Interruptions)*... Please conclude if you want to finish this discussion today. ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Sir, 18 countries, including Australia, Brunei, Canada, and China, participated in this Conference. Sir, China has also accepted this declaration for an open economy. Sir, in November there was an agreement between China and America. It was signed by the US Trade Representative, Ms. Charlene on behalf of America and by Mr. Shi Guangsheng, the Chinese Trade Minister on behalf of China. This agreement was called a 'win-win' agreement.

Sir, the Trade Minister of China has said, I quote, "The deal was conducive to the interests of both countries and to the stable development of China-US relations. We are looking forward to the day this year when China will become a full Member of the WTO." China wanted to become a Member of the WTO. All the sufferings that we have are because of the W.T.O. That is the reason why I am saying that even though the policy

with regard to the W.T.O. is not conducive to us, we have to live with it, but, at the same time, with a strong position as China has. That is what we wanted to emphasize here. The International Food Policy Research Institute has said that if there is a growth rate of one per cent in agriculture, there should be a two-three per cent growth in general development. This we have to keep in mind. Now, I come to agricultural exports. The FED Chairman, in USA along with the Members of the cabinet approached the Committee on Agriculture, and asked them to vote for US \$ 18 billion to the IMF so that their own wheat is exported to Asian countries affected by economic crisis.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): You have to finish it now.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I will finish it within two minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): You have to finish it in one minute.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: To create employment opportunities, it is essential to develop the wastelands. Sir, in the Budget Estimates of last year, the cumulative fiscal deficit of all the State Governments put together was Rs. 78,000 crores, and the revenue deficit was Rs. 41,000 crores. It means, the cumulative fiscal and revenue deficits were: 4 per cent and 2 per cent of the GDP, respectively. A Task Force was set up to go into the companies' Bill and corporate governance. Privatisation of banks is one of the terms of reference given to the Task Force. It has been mentioned here. It has been suggested that the public sector banks could be converted into companies. It is also one of the terms of reference given to the Task Force.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): You have to finish it now.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Therefore, I request the Government to see that whatever decision it takes regarding the functioning of banks, it should not affect the development of agriculture and the fiscal situation of the State Governments. With these words, I conclude. Thank you.

SHRI YUSUF SARWAR KHAN ALIAS DILIP KUMAR (Maharashtra): Hon. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am, indeed, grateful to be a Member of this House and feel fortunate as well as very happy for the opportunity that has been given to me to address this House. This is my maiden speech. I had little idea as to what subject I would be called upon to speak because the date of the maiden speech kept on being deferred. So, since this is the Finance Bill, the best that one could do is done. But, I must confess that I am less informed or little informed about the portfolio of Finance and the terms that are there, which, to me, sound a little abstract. So, you will bear with me, also because of the fact that I have been patiently sitting here since 11.30 in the morning. During this time of the day, the basic failing of all *Pathans*, if you will know, is that their wisdom or their power of articulation becomes weaker as the day goes by because we are now approaching our meal-time.

Also, I must state that I am not an expert of economics, but there are certain economic and other issues which, I think, deserve high priority, on which I will venture to make some submissions. The Most crucial issue, to my mind, and closer to my nature, is the issue of every-nagging curse of poverty in this country. For long years, we have been hearing a saying, "India is a rich country, inhabited by poor people". Despite all the efforts of various Governments, all these years- and it is not my intention to blame the present government for this - a large number of my countrymen still languish below the poverty line. We have, indeed, failed them, and, to my mind, that is the greatest failure of this country, of our system. If one were to analyse the root-causes of the present state of affairs, apart from the growing population, the one single area which we see is, we have failed to lay sufficient emphasis on the subject of education. In fact, poverty, employment and education are three inter-connected problems which call for the highest priority because if there is not enough employment, we cannot eradicate poverty, and, likewise, it is difficult to provide employment, if we cannot provide education. The accepted fact being that we cannot stop fighting the nagging poverty, we have to do it and the country and this system of Government have to overcome the failure that are pointed out, and the failures that are admitted. the people of this country - I can say it; and I am sure the whole House will agree - deserve enduring prosperity. The question arises, how much shall the Central Government spend on education during 2000-2001? I understand, we are not spending

more than 2.47 per cent of our total Budget expenditure; 2.47 per cent of the total Budget expenditure !

This is a generous gesture though. Sir, the figures of the expenditure on education that I ascertained from the budgetary document leave an extremely perturbed and highly insensate approach to education. Here I have some figures with me, but I do not know how to go about them. As I have submitted, I am not an expert on the Budget figures, and if I am mistaken I stand to be corrected. The Budget gives a figure of total national expenditure of Rs. 3,38,487 crores per year. Out of this ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE : Sir, it is his maiden speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA) : I do not mind, but the point is that your party's time is over. This is one point. It is already six o'clock. Let us decide what is the sense of the house.

SHRI SURESH PACHOURI: Sir, the time allotted for this discussion was four hours. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA): Please bear with me for a minute. The discussion started at 2.14 p.m. We have 14 minutes more for the entire House to complete this discussion. Do we continue with this? I think there is a decision that we can continue with this discussion till we finish it. Now, you can continue Mr. Dilip Kumar. But please complete your speech as fast as you can.

[THE DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI YUSUF SARWAR KHAN *ALIAS* DILIP KUMAR : Madam, I am known for my slow speech and also for my slowness. But I will try to complete my speech as fast as I can. I am not an expert in the Budget figures. If I am mistaken I stand to correction. The Budget gives a figure of total national expenditure of Rs. 3,38,487 crores for the year 2000-2001. Out of this, let us see, how much is spared for education. From the Budget papers I find that we have earmarked a sum of Rs. 8,384 crores for education. This sum is divided as follows : Rs. 3,734 crores have been provided to the Department of Elementary Education and Literacy; and Rs. 4650 crores have been provided to the Department of Secondary and Higher

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Education. As per sound arithmetics, it means, it is only 2.47% of our total national budget expenditure. May I refer to the highlights of the Central Plan 2000-20001? Madam, Rs. 3609 crores have been provided for elementary education. May I put a question which I insist is pertinent: Do we, as is declared, want to universalise the elementary education by 2003? Is it correct, as declared in the Budget figures, that this year we spent only Rs. 350 crores on it?

For district primary education, we have provided Rs.969 crores; for adult education, Rs.120 crores; and for the Operation Blackboard, Rs.400 crores.

We are aware that education is a Concurrent Subject, but it has to be considered and understood that the States do not have enough resources often even to pay the salaries of their staff. Can we believe that they can invest substantially enough for this prime portfolio of education?

Madam, I must submit that we should detect the invisible wastes in the Government expenditure, which is very substantial. Are we really taking care of education? Are we, really, inwardly convinced that we are taking care of education and that we are spending what is needed for education or whatever we can maximally afford? I do not feel satisfied, and I do not feel happy about it. My submission is that even if we were to raise our Budget ten times more, it would not suffice for the purpose.

This brings us to another important question related to poverty, the rising and unending depreciation in the purchasing power of our rupee. I have been reading, and, I think, we have been reading from time to time, about the containment of the rate of inflation. Pressure is brought to restrict the inflation at a low level. I do not personally understand the complicated mechanics in working out such an inflation rate and its bearing on the wholesale price index or the consumer price index. The scenario wobbles a little, but continues to be a source of deep concern.

I know the people, with whom I work, in my profession, some of whom come under category 4 and category 5. They also have families, wives and children, and responsibilities. They are often driven to find themselves in dire straits to balance their monthly family budget. I think, some of our colleagues here in this august hall have been talking about this and making various observations and requests. I do hope that they will be duly considered and attended to.

Ten years earlier, workers earning about Rs.2000/- per month could afford to clothe themselves, manage modest education for their children and live with modest beginning. Today, they find themselves in stress and hardship even with better earnings. They are always running short of food, running short of vegetables and milk for their children, wearing apparels, medication, all becoming more expensive and the prices becoming high to meet, specially, the needs of the school-going children, their books, uniform and the medical aid necessary and are compelled to borrow funds which they are hardly in a position to repay. And, in the process, often liquidate what best they may have acquired as assets.

Talking about that great metropolis of Bombay....I correct myself. We have to call it Mumbai. Talking about that great metropolis of Mumbai, apart from people living in those sky-scrappers and those living in *jhuggis* and *jhonpris* and streets, they cannot make both ends meet; they cannot afford, just cannot afford, adequate nutrition, sufficient calories, to enable their children to keep healthy bodies and to have healthy minds. They do not have potable water; they do not have water enough to take care of their hygiene. Therefore, whatever the great economists may have to say about the low inflation and recovery of economy, it does not take away from deterioration, the purchasing power of our main instrument of purchase and, that is, the rupee. Once upon a time, the rupee had its vitality, it had its dignity and usage. It could provide the resource for some sustenance. Today, the same rupee has lost its respectability and is languishing, if I may say so, even below the poverty line. In this context, I may also mention this. When we are talking of accelerated growth with economic liberalization and globalisation, is it not fitting to take it to commensurate levels and social and economic parity? We must ensure that the prices of essential commodities in the public distribution system are so subsidized that the poorest of the poor can afford to sustain a possibly healthy life. Talking of the poor, poverty and the resources that are perennially inadequate, the most critical areas of concern today are flood, famine and drought, the drought condition that devastates; particularly in the States of Gujarat, Rajasthan and parts of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Whenever there is even a partial monsoon failure in the country, we have to face the most agonizing droughts; people starve; and the cattle fatality for want of water, is high. This particular condition is becoming a regular feature in our national life. The entire situation is, obviously, the outcome of our neglect to evolve an efficient and modern water management and water harvesting system.

I was reading an article in the Hindustan Times of the 4th May, 2000. I quote: " India has 300 millimetre more average rain than the world average of 800 millimetre. Enormous amount of water which it sadly allowed to run through the rivers and not collected, proper utilisation thereby considering the multiple.... (*Time-bell*) " I need only two minutes, Madam. I am tempted to narrate some of my experiences while travelling in the Himalayan region during the 1990 elections. Flying in a helicopter, along the Himalayan region, with an American gentleman, probably, an expert on irrigation, in August 1990, while I was fascinated to see the countless torrential streams of water rushing down the mountain slopes towards the plane on my left and was absorbed in the inspiring spectacle, my American friend, who was travelling with me by accident, rather than by design, pointed out to me the scenario on the other side of the helicopter, where when I saw, there was a vast expanse of land that was overrun by vast spans of muddy flood water. It was like an ocean. I could not see the other end of it. The American friend pointed out the scenario on the other side of the helicopter, and one could see the tragic spectacle of poor families floating away on roof tops along with the corpses of buffaloes, cattle and human beings, all carried in the stream. The American friend was upset, was visibly moved at the scenario, and said to me: " Friend, if you can properly harness this water, which is God's gift to you and to your country, you will only be spared of the devastation on the other side." What he meant was that water could be controlled and diverted. If necessary, he said, you can even export water. The glimmer in the man's eye was unforgettably inspiring. If we could harness our rivers, inter-connect small rivers, or whatever it is, there could be an agrarian revolution which is bound to be a boon for our country and our countrymen. I think, Madam, you will give me two more minutes.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have already given you six extra minutes since then.

SHRI YUSUF SARWAR KHAN ALIAS DILIP KUMAR: Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. श्री गया सिंह जी, आपके चार मिनट हैं, मैं समझती हूँ कि पांच मिनट में एंड हो जाएगा।

श्री गया सिंह : महोदया, मैं आपके माध्यम से माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी के फाइनेंस बिल के लिए कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ। पिछले दो साल से यह सरकार है और जो उम्मीदें देश की जनता को दी गई हैं मैं उसके एक-दो उदाहरण दूंगा। काफी चर्चा हुई कि इस देश में एक साल में ही काफी तरक्की हुई है और आर्थिक क्षेत्र में जो गड़बड़ी थी उस पर धीरे-धीरे कंट्रोल कर रहे हैं। अभी अमेरिका में स्टॉक एक्सचेंज में जो कुछ हुआ उसका असर मुम्बई में हो गया। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह भविष्य का खतरा है। मैं चार-पांच क्षेत्रों की तरफ आपका ध्यान लाना चाहता हूँ। कई माननीय सदस्यों ने भी कहा है कि इस देश में पिछले एक साल में या अगले साल तक क्या आप बता सकते हैं कि देश में गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वालों की जो संख्या बढ़ रही है उसको कम करने के लिए आपके पास क्या उपाय हैं इस बजट में? बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है, कल भी चर्चा हुई थी और मैंने कहा था कि इसका क्या ऑल्टरनेटिव है और आपने अपने बजट में कहा कि हम एक करोड़ लोगों को रोजगार देंगे। लेकिन मैं याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आप सुनिश्चित रोजगार के माध्यम से रोजगार की बात कर रहे हैं। क्या जवाहर रोजगार योजना से रोजगार की बात कर रहे हैं? क्या देश के सरकारी क्षेत्रों के उद्योग-धंधों को जो आज बंद नहीं किया जा रहा है या उनको सिक नहीं किया जा रहा है या उनको प्राइवेटाइज करने की योजना नहीं बन रही है? देश में हर साल बाढ़-या सूखा के लिए आप बजट से पैसा देते हैं लेकिन उसमें जो हम एक्सट्रा खर्च करते हैं उससे कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलता। गांव के अंदर कृषि क्षेत्र में भी हमारा जो ह्रास हो रहा है उस पर हम आपकी आलोचना नहीं करना चाहते। पचास साल में आज हम पीने के पानी का इंतजाम नहीं कर सके हैं। आगे भविष्य में आपकी कौन सी योजना है जिससे हम इस संकट से दूर हो सकते हैं? हमारे फर्टिलाइजर कारखाने बंद हो रहे हैं और उसकी सब्सिडी को आपने कम कर दिया। पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिए या किसानों को आत्म-निर्भर बनाने के लिए सिंचाई योजना या दूसरी योजना जो हमने बनाई है क्या सब्सिडी नहीं रहने के बावजूद भी वह आगे चल सकेगी? उनकी जो पैदावार है उनकी सुरक्षा के लिए जो योजना आपने बनाई है इस इंश्योरेंस योजना का विस्तार आप कितनी दूर तक कर पाएंगे? आज जो स्थिति हमारे सामने है उसको देखते हुए हम समझते हैं कि बजट पर आपका जो रिप्लाय होगा उसमें कुछ बातों की चर्चा आप जरूर करेंगे। खास तौर से जो गरीबी रेखा से नीचे हैं जिनको आप राशन की दुकान से राशन दे रहे थे, आपने उनका राशन तो बढ़ा दिया लेकिन जो पहले दस किलो राशन भी नहीं खरीद पा रहा था तो क्या वह बढ़े दाम में बीस किलो राशन खरीद पाएगा? आपके सहयोगी पार्टियों ने अखबारों के माध्यम से काफी चर्चा की है। रोल बैक होने की बात की है जिसको आप मान नहीं रहे हैं और वे लोग भी आपके बजट का समर्थन कर रहे हैं। मैं आपसे जानना चाहूंगा कि(व्यवधान)....

श्री टी.एन. चतुर्वेदी : वह सही बात समझ गए हैं।

श्री गया सिंह : ठीक है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अपने उत्तर में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने आज कुछ कहा है और प्रधान मंत्री जी का भी कुछ इंडिकेशन था। उस हाऊस में क्या इंडिकेशन दिया मुझे मालूम नहीं है। आप अपने उत्तर में कुछ इंडिकेशन देंगे जिसकी इंतजार में हमारे बहुत सारे माननीय सदस्य यहां हैं?

अंत में, मैं आपसे निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकारी क्षेत्र के आई.डी.पी.एल. के लोग आए थे। आप उनको बैठाकर पैसा दे रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी आप उनके रिवाइवल की योजना को कर नहीं पा रहे हैं। उसमें से एक साधारण वर्कर ने हमसे सवाल किया कि क्या सरकार इसलिए बंद कर रही है क्योंकि सरकार हर साल घाटे में रहती है? तो उसका तो मैंने वहां जवाब नहीं दिया। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकारी क्षेत्रों के बारे में वित्त मंत्री जी जो बयान दे रहे हैं.....कि 15 दिन के अंदर निजीकरण का फैसला कर लेंगे, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत ही दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण होगा। आपकी सरकार को दूसरा साल चल रहा है। आप नया क्या करने जा रहे हैं इस बारे में लोगों को बताइये। आपको मेरा सुझाव है कि आप चाइना से थोड़ा सीखिए, मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि आप उसकी आईडियोलॉजी ले लीजिए। हमसे ओवर पापुलेशन उनके यहां है। उनके यहां चार सिस्टम चल रहे हैं। वे सरकारी क्षेत्र को छेड़ नहीं रहे हैं, वे मल्टीनेशनल को पिछड़े एरियाज में लाये हैं। उन्होंने कहा है कि पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में ज्वाइंट सैक्टर बनाइये। उनके यहां पर बेरोजगारों के लिए सेल्फ एम्प्लाइमेंट सैक्शन बना हुआ है। उन्होंने सभी को दुकानें दे दी हैं। उन्होंने एग्रीकल्चर को डेवलप करके दे दिया है। उनके यहां भी काफी बेरोजगार हैं, फिर भी उन्होंने रोजगार के साधन मुहैया कराये हैं। आप प्रधान मंत्री रोजगार योजना से एक लाख रुपया देते हैं तो उसमें से 25 परसेंट तो करप्शन में चला जाता है, बाकी उसके यहां आते-आते खत्म हो जाता है। मैं एससी/एसटी कमेटी में घूमा हूँ। ऐसी कल्याण योजना है कि गरीबों को छह हजार रुपया देते हैं। उसमें से दो हजार रुपया तो घूस में चला जाता है और बाकी में कुछ होता नहीं है। इस संबंध में मैंने कलेक्टर से पूछा कि आप मुझे ऐसे 10 आदमी बताइये जो इस योजना से आगे बढ़े हों। उन्होंने कहा कि कोई नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा कि इतना ही पैसा आता है कि खा-पीकर के खत्म हो जाता है। यह उदयपुर के कलेक्टर ने, कमिश्नर ने कहा। इसीलिए मैं आपसे यह दरखास्त करूंगा कि आप इस संबंध में कोई ठोस योजना बनाइये। आप पूरे देश में पैसा मत बांटिये। आप हर राज्य में से कुछ जिलों को चुनिए और कुछ लोगों के लिए इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर ऐसा तैयार करिए जिससे कि वे आत्मनिर्भर हो सकें, गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठ सकें। आप पब्लिक सैक्टर को मत छेड़िये। आप उसको छोड़ दीजिए। आप अलग से प्राइवेट वालों को

लाइये, आप अलग से योजना बनाइये, डेवलप करिए। आप मल्टीनेशनल को लाइये, उनका पैसा लगावाइये, लेकिन हमारे घर को मत जलाइये। यहां पर दूसरा कोई नहीं आयेगा। यहां पर प्राइवेट वाले भी रो रहे हैं। मल्टीनेशनल आपको अभी अच्छा लग रहा है। इधर हमारी बाईं तरफ जो माननीय सदस्य हैं इनको भी एक-दो साल बाद इसका ज्ञान हो जाएगा कि हम किस ओर चले गये थे और फिर वहां से रिटर्न होना मुश्किल हो जाएगा। इसीलिए हम यही सुझाव देंगे कि देश की बेरोजगारी को दूर करने के लिए कोई ठोस योजना बनाइये। आप अपने बजट रिप्लाय में अभी कुछ नहीं कह सकते हैं तो आप आगे के लिए कुछ बताइये जिससे कि बेरोजगारों को रोजगार मिल सके और साथ ही गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले लोगों के लिए कोई ठोस योजना आप बनाइये। बाढ़ की और अन्य जो विपदा आ रही है आप इसका कोई परमानेंट सॉल्यूशन ढूँढ़िये तभी इस देश की तरक्की हो सकेगी। मैडम, आपका बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

उपसभापति : एक्युअली हमारे हाउस का टाइम भी बहुत ही भयंकर घाटे में चल रहा है। मुझे ऐसा लग रहा है कि यहां पर जो सदस्य बैठे हैं वे सभी भाषण करने के लिए बैठे हैं। वे भाषण करके बाहर जा रहे हैं।

श्री संघप्रिय गौतम : मैडम, कुछ सदस्य ही हैं।

उपसभापति : आपको तो बैठना ही पड़ेगा क्योंकि आप सत्ता पक्ष की पार्टी के हैं। आपको तो वोटिंग में बैठना ही है। एक कहानी थी- एक आदमी खाली अकेला रह गया और सब चले गए तो उसने पूछा कि आप बहुत अच्छे हैं आप मेरा भाषण सुन रहे हैं। उसने कहा कि नहीं, मैं माइकवाला हूँ। आप बोल लें तो मैं जाऊँ इस इंतजार में बैठा था। ऐसी हालत है कि शायद मैं बैठी रहूँगी कि आप लोगों का भाषण हो जाये तो मैं जाऊँ।

श्री संघप्रिय गौतम : मैडम, समय के घाटे की आपूर्ति हो सकती है, अगर सभी थोड़ा-थोड़ा समय लें तो।

उपसभापति : हाँ, यह बात ठीक है। डा. अरुण कुमार शर्मा।

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Assam): Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to participate in this deliberation. First of all, I congratulate our Finance Minister for accepting the interim recommendation of the Eleventh Finance Commission to give some relief to the States which have been in great financial difficulties after the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission. The financial proposals are very much inadequate to meet the requirements of the States, so far as the question of implementing the recommendations of Fifth Pay Commission is concerned. I congratulate the Finance Minister for having increased the

budgetary support for the Plan Expenditure. But, at the same time, I would like to point out that there was no substantial increase in the non-plan assistance given to the State Governments. Another positive aspect of the proposal is, an additional expenditure has been committed for rural development, as also for human development. But while contemplating an action to suddenly withdraw the subsidies, without making a proper assessment as to how the people will be able to face the situation, without making adequate preparations to enable the people to face the situation, the Ministry of Finance acted swiftly and reduced the subsidies. I hope the Ministry of Finance will take a pragmatic view on this particular issue which has proved very detrimental to the common people. The proposals are also inadequate to implement the action plan, so far as the stringent measures to be undertaken to enforce financial discipline as also for downsizing of the Government Departments, are concerned. The other issue is this. A wrong policy has been followed in this country. The Central Government provides loan to the State Governments when the people of the various States are in distress. Say, for example, the State Governments are provided loan by the Central Government when there is a flood, drought, cyclone, earthquake or any other natural calamity. The loans are also given for development purposes. As a result, many of the States are now burdened with a huge amount of outstanding dues to the Central Government. Actually, there is no definite fund of the Central Government. It is collected from the States by levying various taxes and the same amount, just like a Kabuliwalla does, is given as loan to the States when the people there are in distress. Because of this policy, many of the States are facing financial difficulties. They are unable to meet the matching grants for the Centrally-sponsored Schemes. Many of the Centrally -sponsored Schemes envisage 50% matching grant by the State Government and some other schemes envisage 30% matching grant. But most of the States are unable to give it, because they are unable to pay even the salary to their employees. During the last fifty years, because of mismanagement in our financial system and a wrong policy of planning, most of the State Governments have been reduced to merely a salary- paying and law-and-order maintaining machinery. I especially refer to the North -Eastern States; though there are central plans, there are a lot of Centrally-sponsored Schemes, the huge amount allocated for the Central Plan, for development, hardly goes to the States because those States are unable to give the matching grants. This is a reality, not only in the North-

Eastern States, but in other States as well. And the real benefit is not reaching the common people. The Planning Commission is not a statutory body. Planning is done without making any proper assessment of the regional imbalances in development. At the whims of various Ministries, which have some influential political leaders, the amount is allotted or disbursed. And the weaker States are always left out, because they cannot lobby. As a result, they remain under-developed. For example, the State of Assam, which was one of the richest States of the country at the time of independence, has now been reduced to one of the poorest State, because of wrong policies.

There should be drastic changes in the entire outlook. The Central Government has become a master like Kabuliwala and giving loans for development. I would request the Government to write off whatever loans are outstanding with all the States. Let us start a new economy. We are going to compete with the global economy.

In the last couple of years, the people of the North Eastern Region have been given a lot of hopes through various packages. A number of Commissions have been constituted. Successive Prime Ministers have been visiting this area since 1996. Every Prime Minister declared one package or the other. The first package was that 10 per cent of the budgetary allocation of all the Departments of the Government would go to the North Eastern Region. But it is a very hard fact to believe that not a single Department of the Government has complied with this package. I would like to quote certain figures. The Department of Agriculture has allocated only 3.1 per cent of the budget to the North Eastern Region. The Ministry of Civil Aviation has allocated 2.48 per cent. The Department of Posts has allocated 0.59 per cent. The Department of Culture has allocated 2.9 per cent. The Department of Health has allocated 0.69 per cent. The Department of Rural Development has allocated 9.97 per cent. It is still below 10 per cent. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs has allocated 2.58 per cent. Madam, it is a tribal area which is dominated by the tribal people. But the allocation is only 2.58 per cent. I can quote all the figures. But it will consume a lot of time of the House. I have got the list with me. There are 63 Departments which have yet to make a lump sum provision for the North Eastern Region. They have not made a lump sum provision so far, what to speak of the 10 per cent allocation. Madam, I can place these

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figures on the Table of the House. If I go on narrating all these figures, it will take a lot of time of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot lay your speech on the Table of the House. You can hand it over to the Minister. It will be one and the same thing. If you hand it over to the Minister, he would read your good suggestions.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Madam, I want to save the time of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is good. I will ask the rest of the Members to do the same thing.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Then another declaration was made about forming a Non-Lapsable Pool. Many of the Departments have not contributed to the Non-Lapsable Pool. The 10 per cent allocation which has not been made to the North Eastern Region, should go to the Non-Lapsable pool. But many of the Departments have not even made a lump sum provision. The total allocation to the Non-Lapsable Pool was less than Rs. 500 crores. Madam, a lot of packages were declared by Shri Deve Gowda and Shri I.K. Gujaral in 1996-97. The total amount was Rs. 7,865 crores.

Then, the present Prime Minister, Vajpayeeji, declared a special package of Rs.10,000 crores for the North-East. And, the Shukla Commission recommended Rs.9,396 crores for meeting the backlog of basic minimum services. The Prime Minister has also declared that Rs.50 crores would be disbursed to the North-Eastern Finance Development Corporation for generating self-employment schemes in that region. This was only declared, but no money has been allocated to the Corporation. From which source is this money going to be disbursed to the NEFDC? This has not been specified. And, there is also a declaration that Rs.6,500 crores would be provided for the Rural Infrastructure Development Fund in the North-Eastern region. This has also not been provided in the Budget. Actually, there is an impression in the entire House and the entire country that a lot of money has been committed to the North-Eastern region; but, in reality, no additional money has been given. These are all declarations within the normal budgetary provisions and the normal provisions included in the Ninth Plan. These are being declared as a special package for the North-East; but no additional benefits are being given. I would request the Finance Ministry to be very practical if they really want to nurture the

North-Eastern region and to bring it on par with the other developed States which are all globally competitive. The Government should be very practical; it should be very precise. A false impression should not be given to the entire country.

My last point is in regard to some of the Budgetary provisions which are considered to be detrimental to the interests of the North-Eastern region. I want to state only one or two things. Budget 2000 has been rather harsh on industries of the North-East. Many of the tax provisions like hike in dividend tax to 20 per cent, imposition of Minimum Alternate Tax (MAT) at 7.5 per cent of book profit and gradual withdrawal of export tax benefits of sections 10A, 10B, 80 HHC, 80 HHE and 80 HHF will hit industries all over the country, and the North-East will not be any exception. The Government of India has been encouraging growth of export-oriented industrial undertakings by giving tax exemptions. Under Section 10 A, any industrial undertaking commencing manufacturing in any free trade zone after 1st day of April, 1981, or in any electronic hardware technology park or software technology park after 1st day of April, 1994, enjoyed total tax exemption for 10 years even from M.A.T. under Section 115 JA. Similar benefit was extended under Section 10 B to 100 per cent E.O.U.s commencing operation from 1st day of April, 1994. These tax benefits gave a major boost to export-oriented units particularly in the software sector. With such incentives, software export increased rapidly and is slated to reach 3.9 billion dollars in 1999-2000. As a part of the Finance Minister's revenue enhancement drive, both the above sections, 10A and 10B, have been withdrawn for such undertakings that commence operation after 31st March, 2000. Undertakings that commenced operation before that would continue to enjoy complete tax exemption including M.A.T. for 10 years. Unfortunately, the North-East totally failed to capitalise on the tax benefits during their tenure. There was no software export and hardly any EOU. This was mainly due to non-availability of infrastructure in the form of free trade zone, hardware park, software park and export processing zone. Only in recent times such an infrastructure is being created in the form of Software Technology Park at Guwahati, and Export Promotion Industrial Park at Guwahati and Byrnihat in Meghalaya. By the time the infrastructure has been made ready the tax benefit has been withdrawn. The irony is that old established units like Wipro, Infosys, Satya have their units in all the 14 existing STPs and would continue to enjoy tax benefits for the residual period out of ten years, whereas small software firms that are

not expected to come up in the North-East would enjoy no such tax exemption.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sarma, you have taken a lot of time. I am giving five minutes to everybody. I have given you 15 minutes. Now please conclude. You can give the papers to the Minister like the other Members have done.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA: Madam, I am now concluding. To set such anomalies right, Sections 10 A and 10 B should be continued for the north-eastern region at least for the next five years so that this underdeveloped part of the country gets an opportunity to catch up with the rest of the country. It is also important that the sanctity of the North-East Industrial Policy be maintained and industries operating in the North-East under Section 10C and 80 IE be exempted from MAT. With these points I thank you, Madam, for giving me this opportunity and I support the Budget.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Actually, I have heard two speakers, one was our monk and the other is Mr. Sarma. They mentioned about two areas which generally nobody focusses upon i.e. the region of Ladakh and the North-East. I think the Minister is here, he will take note of it. These are far off regions. They should not be neglected because of anybody from here makes a noise, it is heard. These regions should be the first to be heard. They do not have any industry, they do not have any infrastructure. It is very necessary that these regions are heard. They are all border regions and there are a lot of problems which these regions are facing - Ladakh, Leh, Kargil and, specially the North-East.

The next speaker is Shri Abdul Mirza Rashid. His State also has to be taken up. These are all terrorist-infected areas.

***मिर्जा अब्दुल रशीद (जम्मू और कश्मीर) :** उपसभापति महोदया, बजट पर बहस हो रही है। इससे पहले नॉर्थ-ईस्ट रीजन के साहब बोल रहे थे। मैं उनसे एक ही बात कहना चाहूंगा कि"

"सुबह हो न हो, ख्याबे सुबह देखा तो है,

जिस तरफ देखा न था उस तरफ देखा तो है।"

मैं उनको मुबारक देता हूँ कि नॉर्थ-ईस्ट की तरफ आज तक देखा नहीं गया था अब अगर उसे खुशुशी तवोज्जह दी जा रही है तो यह मुबारक है। ओनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब

* Transliteration of the speech in Persian script is available in the Hindi version of the debate.

ने जो बजट पेश किया है, काफी मेहनत के बाद एक बेलेंसड बजट पेश किया है। यह मुल्क बहुत बड़ा मुल्क है। इसकी अनगिनत मसाइलें हैं। सौ करोड़ की उछलती-कूदती आबादी है। हर साल दानिस्ता-नादानिस्तां तौर पर हम एक आस्ट्रेलिया से ज्यादा पैदा भी करते हैं। मसाइलें और प्रॉब्लम बढ़ती हैं। अक्सर यहां का मौसम भी नाराज होता है। नेचर पर भी हमारा अख्तियार नहीं होता। इन सब बातों के बावजूद उन्होंने एक बेलेंसड बजट पेश किया है जिसमें मुख्तलिफ़ स्टेट्स को डायरेक्शन्स दी हैं कि इखराजों को कम किया जाए, आमदनी को बढ़ाया जाए। फाइनेंसियल डिसिप्लिन के लिए मोनिटरिंग का क्लॉज भी रखा है इसलिए हमें उम्मीद है कि इन सब मुश्किलातके बावजूद दिस इज ए बैलेंसड बजट।

मुझे एहसास है कि टाइम थोड़ा है, इसलिए मैं अपनी रियासत जम्मू और कश्मीर की तरफ आनरेबल मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा जो कि पिछले दस सालों से चल रहा है। जम्मू-कश्मीर की जो रियासत है वहां अनडिक्लियर वार पिछले दस साल से चल रही है जिसकी वजह से वहां पर दरिया झेलम का जो पानी है वह नस्ले इंसानी के खून से रंगीन बह रहा है। अब दरिया चिनाव में भी रंगीनी आ रही है। इस वक्त इस बजट का इंतजार करने के लिए बीस हजार के लगभग विडोज बैठी हैं और हजारों यतीम बच्चों की आहें पुकार रही हैं कि इस बजट से हमें क्या मिलने वाला है क्योंकि पिछले दस सालों में, जो भी पिछले चालीस सालों में जम्हूराना तरीके से इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर की बुनियाद रखी गई थी उसको इन दस सालों में तहस-नहस किया गया है, मुक्कमल तबाह किया गया है। वहां पर हजारों पुलों को नजरे आतश किया गया है, बहुत सारे स्कूलों और बहुत सारे कालेजों की इमारतों को जलाया गया है, बहुत सारे पुलों को जलाया गया है, अस्पतालों को गिराया गया है और टूरिज्म का जितना भी इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर था उसको तबाह किया गया है। इसके बावजूद कारगिल की जंग इस साल भारत ने लड़ी है और उसमें हम कामयाब रहे। बेशक कारगिल की जंग हमने जीती है और अब उसकी आग ठंडी हो गई है लेकिन जम्मू कश्मीर के जो बार्डर हैं इस वक्त वहां बाकायदा हर रोज पाकिस्तान की तरफ से तोपों के गोले आते हैं। पुंछ और राजोरी में हर रोज सैकड़ों लोग शहीद हो रहे हैं। लेकिन इन सब हालतों के बावजूद मैं जिस बात की तरफ आनरेबल मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा वह यह है कि इस वक्त अगर वहां पर कोई वीर या बहादुर शहीद हो जाता है तो हमारे पास बजट में उसके कफन के लिए भी पैसा नहीं है। जो मैं मंत्री जी से गुजारिश करूंगा वह यह है कि कुदरत ने इस धरती को कभी बेसुर पैदा नहीं किया है। जम्मू और कश्मीर की धरती में जो लद्दाख का एरिया है वहां पर चार महीने वर्किंग सीजन होता है और कश्मीर की वादी में छह महीने होता है। दूसरे लफ्जों में मैं कहूंगा कि वर्किंग सीजन के हिसाब से कश्मीर में छह महीने काम करने का समय होता है और लद्दाख में चार महीने ही काम करने के होते हैं। इन चार और छह महीनों में से

दो महीने गुजर गए हैं लेकिन अभी तक वहां कोई बजट नहीं है। यदि दो-तीन महीने बाद वहां बजट दिया गया तो तीन महीने ही बजट के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के लिए रहेंगे। इसलिए मैं जनाब मंत्री जी से गुजारिश करूंगा कि बजट पास करते ही वहां पर पैसा भेजें ताकि वर्किंग सीजन जो दो महीने पहले से शुरू हुआ है उसके अंदर काम किया जाए।

दूसरी बात मैं मंत्री जी के नोटिस में लाना चाहूंगा कि जम्मू-कश्मीर रियासत में कुछ चंद अलग वजूहात हैं। सबसे बड़ी वजह यह है कि जो सेक्युरिटी रिलेटेड फंड है, अखराजात हैं वह पूरे तौर से सिस्टमेटिक ढंग से नहीं दिया जा रहा है। फिफथ पे कमीशन का जो इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हुआ है उससे भी 800 करोड़ रुपए का बोझ इस बजट पर पड़ा है। बिजली हम पैदा नहीं करते। पिछले पचास सालों में सिर्फ दो सौ मेगावाट बिजली वहां पर पैदा हुई है और 900 मरकजी इमदाद के जरिए पैदा की गई है। इसके लिए भी 800 करोड़ रुपए साल के देकर हमें इसे खरीदना पड़ता है। पिछले साल कंडी इलाके में, खासकर जम्मू-कश्मीर वादी में सूखा पड़ा है। वहां पर इस हद तक सूखा पड़ा कि झेलम तक में बच्चे क्रिकेट खेला करते थे। इससे वहां पर बड़ा नुकसान हो चुका है। इसको भी लोग फेस कर चुके हैं। इन सब बातों के होते हुए हम 80 फीसदी मरकजी सरकार की इमदाद पर डिपेंड करते हैं।

सर, जम्मू-कश्मीर में तीन चीजें हैं जिनका हम फायदा उठा सकते थे, लेकिन हमने इसका फायदा नहीं उठाया। इनमें एक है वहां का स्नोई सीजन। जब वहां पर 6 महीने बर्फ रहती है तो कश्मीर और लद्दाख के पहाड़ों में मैदानों में कोई फर्क नहीं होता। लेकिन इन 6 महीनों के लिए आज तक कोई भी ऐसा बंदोबस्त नहीं किया गया है जिससे दुनिया के अमीर लोग, विजिटर्स या टूरिस्ट यहां आयें और उनको वहां संभाला जाए। अगर ऐसा होता तो इससे वहां की आमदनी बढ़ सकती थी। दूसरा, वहां पर कुदरत ने जंगलात दिए हैं। हजरत इंसान ने इन जंगलों को खूब काटा भी है। लेकिन अब सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो आर्डर किया है उससे न कोई उनको गिरा सकता है और न उससे कोई आमदनी हो सकती है।

एक ही बहुत बड़ा दरिया है जो जम्मू कश्मीर की रियासत में वाफर पानी कुदरत ने दिया है वहां से 25000 मेगावाट बिजली पैदा की जा सकती है। इस बिजली को पैदा करने के सिलसिले में 1960 में इंडस वाटर ट्रीटी हुई थी। उसमें हमने यह तीनों दरिया पाकिस्तान को दे दिये और पाकिस्तान अपनी मरजी के खिलाफ हमें डैम नहीं बनाने देता और हमें सूखी नदी में दूसरी नदी का पानी कनवर्ट करने की इजाजत नहीं देता। हमें इरीगेशन के लिए अपनी मरजी से पानी नहीं मिल सकता। हम कोई नहर बनाना चाहें तो दूसरे दरिया का पानी हमें नहीं मिल सकता। इसलिए इस इंडस वाटर ट्रीटी को रिन्यु करवाया जाए और उसका

कंपनसेशन मरकज़ हम को दे या पाकिस्तान की तरफ से रिन्यूड इंडस वाटर ट्रीटी में रायल्टी हमें मिले ! अगर हमें रायल्टी मिलती है तो हम खुद कफील हो सकते हैं और सेंटर पर बोझ भी कम हो सकता है । इस वक्त जो बिजली वहां पर पैदा होती है दो प्रोजेक्ट हैं एक उड़ी है और दूसरा सलाल प्रोजेक्ट हैं । उनमें से 900 मैगावाट बिजली पैदा होती है । लेकिन उसके ग्रिड इस वक्त देश में राजस्थान और दूसरे इलाकों में बनाए गए हैं । यह बिजली 80 पैसे यूनिट के हिसाब से हमें कश्मीर में मिल सकती है लेकिन जब यह ग्रिड के ज़रिये रिस्टोर कर के दोबारा रीडिस्ट्रीब्यूट होती है तो तीन रुपये चालीस पैसे फी यूनिट पड़ती है । इससे वहां की सरकार को बड़ा पैसा देना पड़ता है । इसलिए हम यह गुज़ारिश करेंगे कि जिस पैसे को मरकज़ ने खर्च किया है, वह उसने वसूल कर लिया है । अब यह जम्मू कश्मीर को दे दिया जाए ताकि सरकार पर बोझ कम हो सके । एक बात मैं इसके साथ और गुज़ारिश करूंगा कि 1947 में शोरे कश्मीर ने वहां के मज़हब में बिखरे हुए जज़्बात जो इन्सानों के थे, उनका रुख तो देश की तरफ मोड़ दिया लेकिन पानी रुख खास कर के दरिया सिंध, दरिया जेहलम और दरिया चिनाब का रुख जो उस तरफ है, उसको इस तरफ मोड़ने के लिए या उस पर हमें रायल्टी के लिए हम यह ज़ोर देंगे कि ट्रीटी को रिन्यू कर के हमें रायल्टी दिलवाई जाए या कंपनसेशन दिया जाए ताकि हमारा बोझ मरकज़ पर कम हो सके । इसके इलावा मैं एक और गुज़ारिश करूंगा और वह यह है कि नार्थ ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स की तरह जिस तरह से मरकज़ ने इस वक्त 10200 करोड़ रुपये का इकोनोमिक पैकेज दिया है, यह बड़ी सराहना की बात है, बड़ी खुशी की बात है । हम चाहेंगे कि कम से कम इसी तरह का इकोनोमिक पैकेज जम्मू-कश्मीर के लिए भी दिया जाए क्योंकि कश्मीर में सिर्फ मिलिटेंसी नहीं है, वहां तो जंग जारी है, वहां के मौसम बिलकुल बिगड़े हुए हैं, वो भी नाराज़ हैं । वहां भी आमदनी नहीं है । दो चार साल से वहां पर 90 परसेंट एंड और 10 परसेंट जो लोन बार्डर रियासत के नाते उसको दे दिया जाता है तो हम मंत्री जी से तयक्को रखेंगे कि नार्थ ईस्टर्न स्टेट्स के बेसेज़ पर उसी तरह से हम को भी जम्मू कश्मीर में इस किस्म का इकोनोमिक पैकेज दिया जाए ताकि हमारा इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर दुरुस्त हो सके । साथ ही जो 10 परसेंट हर महकमे ने वहां के लिए वक्फ किया है, उसी तरह की स्कीम जम्मू कश्मीर में भी लागू की जाए ताकि यह रियासत जो इस वक्त बड़ी बुरी हालत में है जिसकी खास कर के इकोनोमिक कंडीशन बहुत बुरी है, इस वक्त जम्मू कश्मीर में ओवर ड्राफ्ट के ज़रिये दिन गुज़ारे जाते हैं । उस लिहाज़ से हम मंत्री जी से गुज़ारिश करेंगे कि यह दोनों चीज़ें हम दे दें । जैसे पंजाब में सिक्कुरिटी रिलेटिड फंड आपने दिया है, जो कर्जा था उसको माफ किया गया, यह खुशी की बात है, हमें भी उसी तरह से सिक्कुरिटी रिलेटिड फंड दिया जाए । जम्मू कश्मीर में यह कर्जा माफ नहीं किया गया है । हम मंत्री जी से गुज़ारिश करेंगे कि इन अखराजात को कम

7.00 P.M.

करने की कोशिश की जाए और हमें जितने भी अखराजात हैं, वह दिये जाएं। इतना कहते हुए मैं आपसे एक और गुज़ारिश करना चाहूंगा। जम्मू-कश्मीर की रियासत इस वक्त बड़ी मुश्किल में है। इस वक्त कश्मीर से ले कर कर्नाटक तक सरफेस ट्रांसपोर्ट के ज़रिये, रोड़ज़ के ज़रिये मिलाया जा रहा है, इंटीग्रेशन किया जा रहा है, उस काम को आपने कर्नाटक से शुरू किया है। क्या ही अच्छा होता साइमलटेनियसली इस काम को जम्मू कश्मीर से शुरू किया जाता तो एक सिगनल जाता कि जम्मू-कश्मीर से भी काम शुरू होगा और लोगों को मजदूरी मिलेगी। इसी तरीके से वहां अनइंप्लायमेंट बहुत है। लाखों लोग ग्रेजुयेशन करने के बाद भी बेकार पड़े हुए हैं। वह इस बजट का इंतज़ार करते हैं कि इस बजट में हमारे लिए और देश के लिए किस किसमें के रोज़गार रखे जाते हैं। मैं ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेते हुए इतना ही कहूंगा कि हमें मंत्री जी से पूरी तवक्को है कि जम्मू-कश्मीर की जो हालत है, उससे वह बाख़बर हैं और उससे निपटने के लिए यहां जो जंग जारी है, यह देश पर थोपी गई है, इस जंग के लिए सिर्फ़ धरती वहां चुनी गयी है जम्मू-काश्मीर की वरना यह सारे देश पर जंग है, पूरी कौम पर जंग है और पूरा मुल्क इस जंग को लड़ रहा है। लेकिन जिस धरती पर जंग लड़ी जाती है वहां बदबू ज्यादा होती है। उस बदबू को दूर करने के लिए ज्यादा ध्यान रखना पड़ता है। मैं इतना ही कहते हुए इस फाइनेंस बिल को सपोर्ट करता हूं। थैंक्यू।

उपसभापति : ओवर तो हो जाना चाहिए कायदे के लिहाज से मगर कभी-कभी हम लोग बेकायदा काम करते हैं। इसलिए मैं नरेन्द्र मोहन जी को बुलाती हूं।

श्री संघ प्रिय गौतम : आज अपना वीटो आप लागू कर दीजिए।

उपसभापति : अब आप कह रहे हैं वीटो लागू करने को, कर तो सकती हूं पर अब क्या करें। पांच मिनट बोलिएगा नरेन्द्र मोहन जी।

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairperson, I am extremely grateful to you and through you to the hon. Members who are here to listen to me and to the empty seats (*Interruptions*)... From empty seats, I can visualise, probably Pranabda who spoke like a fortune-teller, would have been here. He said that this Budget is going to fail. He gave certain reasons. He said that there is no credible physical framework and because there is no credible physical framework, this Budget is going to fail. He specially mentioned that there was a fall in tax-GDP ratio and unless the Finance Minister does something to improve this ratio, there is no possibility of getting what he is going to expect.

Madam, unfortunately, Pranabda has not gone through the records of the Controller General (Accounts). There is no doubt that in 1991 the gross tax revenue percentage was 10.8 per cent of the GDP. There is no doubt about it. But in 1997-98, it was 9.2 per cent. In 1998-99, it was 8.2 per cent. Now in 1999-2000 we expect it to be 9.2 per cent. So, I would say that the tax-GDP ratio is going to improve positively with this Budget. And with this I am going to demolish the concepts of Pranabji. He said that this Budget is going to fail. Perhaps, he should have known that there has been a reduction in direct as well indirect taxes. A number of exemptions and concessions have been given to the infrastructure sectors like telecom and power. Low inflation rate and low growth of our industries are responsible for low excise revenue. There are many reasons that I can give. There has been a decline in the contribution of the manufacturing sector to the overall GDP. This has resulted in the fall of tax GDP ratio. But then it is going to improve.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SURESH PACHOURI) in the Chair]

Again Pranabda has raised a very important point, and the point is about financial discipline. He said that it is practically impossible to manage the economy of one billion people unless there is a financial discipline in the country. Now, we have to see who is responsible for this, whether it is the Central Government or the State Governments. Sir, the Government of India cannot regulate the total finances of the country unless the State Governments directly cooperate. I would like to quote here a report, "The State Finances: Studies of Budgets," published by the Reserve Bank of India in January 2000. It says, "The critical role of the finances in the realignment and restoration of the micro balances in the economy is well recognised particularly in the contest of the economic restructuring. ..."

In India, the stabilisation in structural reforms initiated since 1991-92, following the macro economic crisis in 1990-91, aim at bringing about discipline and improvement in the management of finances of the country, *inter alia*, by bringing down the fiscal deficit and public debt in relation to the GDP..." - The most important point is here - "...The finances of the State Governments, however, have shown signs of deterioration in the 90s as compared to 80s and it is going down further and further." The whole position is in a shambles. The State Domestic Product (SDP) is constantly falling. Sir, States like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are hardly

growing. They are growing not even at the rate of 2 per cent per annum. Now, with that situation, how do we expect that only the Government of India will be able to manage the whole country? Certainly, there has been a fiscal deficit. I know that. But, the fiscal deficit is not always bad. If money used by fiscal deficit is for productive purposes, it helps the nation to grow as we have seen last year. On the question of financial indiscipline, which has practically been levelled against us by the other Opposition speakers, that they should amend themselves. We are for financial discipline. But the financial discipline needs a proper consensus on subsidies and a proper consensus on various other items. Unless we arrive at such a consensus, the allegation that we are moving towards a financial indiscipline is a politically motivated allegation. It is nothing more than that.

Again, a point was raised that the share market is not responding to the Government. Firstly, unfortunately, the share market in India rather behaves more on rumours. If the share market behaves on rumours, how should we condemn the Government of India or its economic policies? On the whole, they have to correct themselves. I would not pass any harsh remarks on the share market. But, certainly, I would say to the speakers on the other side that they should know as to how the Bombay Stock Exchange has behaved merely on rumours that the Government of India has not contributed properly, and has withdrawn certain concessions to the I.T. Industry. The concessions were never withdrawn. The Government never withdrew the concessions and still an allegation was levelled against the Government that it had withdrawn them and the share market got tumbled and went into problems. If they continue with these kinds of things, it is very difficult to imagine that we can have a consensus.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Madam, consensus is the need of the hour. We must have financial consensus. But what should we do if the Opposition is not willing to co-operate and wants to make allegations which are totally ill-founded? Madam Deputy Chairperson, I support the Finance Bill because it gives us a lot of tax reforms. It is for the first time that the Excise Laws are properly amended. There is a need for further amendment. We know that there should be a thinner excise manual. We know that. Is it not going to help us the way the CENVAT has been done? The way the excise reforms have been made are going to help the small scale sector. All small-scale sector

associations have welcomed the excise reforms. Why the Opposition does not want to congratulate the Finance Minister for that? Not even a word has been uttered about the excise reforms. This again is a biased attitude. You cannot run a great country like India unless there is support and a genuine support from all the political parties. We need a genuine support, a firm support, and then only we will grow. Madam, fifty years have been passed. We all know how we have managed the finances of the country. In early Nineties, the inflation rate was 17 per cent and now with an inflation rate of 6 per cent, we are crying. Who gave us 16 per cent or 15 per cent or double-digit inflation? Not this Government. It was the Congress Government, I charge who gave us 10 per cent, 12 per cent, 15 per cent, 17 per cent inflation in various years? So, now accusing us for rising prices, accusing us for giving inflation to the country, is wrong and I want to correct it, a proper message should be sent to the country that this Government stands for reforms, this Government stands for fiscal discipline, this Government stands for price regulations, this Government stands for low prices. My Leftist friend said that there should not be any disinvestment. Why? More than Rs. 2,50,000 crores has been invested in public sector industries. I am going to quote from the Reserve Bank's report of March, 2000. I am reading from the "Overview", Madam, it says, "The consolidated result of the financial performance of 820 selected large public limited companies revealed that there is negative growth." When there is a negative growth in the public sector undertakings, then, what do you expect? How much losses should we continue to bear? Why can the public sector industries not contribute to the national exchequer? Why should their productivity be so low? Why they are not willing to compete with the private sector? India is not a country which can just remain in isolation. Whatever happens in India in the economic field is going to affect the international trends. Similarly, whatever happens in the international economy is going to affect the Indian economy. That is what I want to emphasise here. That is why I want that we should support this Finance Bill because this Finance Bill is really going to give proper direction to the country. I am glad Pranabda is here, and he will agree with me earlier, he agreed, in principle that there should be a discussion on subsidies. If he demands a discussion, certainly we will welcome it. But, then, there should be an honest discussion, there should be a genuine discussion, there should be a discussion which will give us some hope that at least at end of the

tunnel we would be able to see some light. Unless the discussion results in giving such a light, it is futile. I request hon. Members of this great House to please approve this Finance Bill unanimously. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thought after seeing Shri Pranab Mukherjee you might start your speech all over again. (*Interruptions*) I was really scared. (*Interruptions*) श्री लछमन सिंह आप समय का ध्यान रखकर, संक्षेप में बोल दीजिए ।

श्री लछमन सिंह : मैडम, मैं तो बहुत पाबंद हूँ टाइम का । मुझे तो बोलना है, पढ़ना नहीं है । आप टाइम बता दो, मैं घड़ी देखकर बोलूंगा ।

उपसभापति : आप खुद सोचकर बोलिए ।

श्री लछमन सिंह : थैंक्यू मैडम । फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपने बजट को मिलेनियम बजट फरमाया है । मैडम, मैं इस बात का जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता था, लेकिन फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं, पेश्तर इसके कि मैं अपने ख्यालात का इजहार करूँ इस मुतबर्कि हाउस के सामने आप से एक फरमान चाहूंगा । पिछले साल, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने इसी हाउस में, on the record of the proceedings, कहा था कि 10 परसेंट जो सरचार्ज लगाया है, वह सिर्फ एक साल के लिए है, अगले साल इसे वापिस ले लिया जाएगा । लेकिन मोहतरम फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने बजाय वापिस लेने के इसे 15 परसेंट कर दिया है । मैं उन से जानना चाहूंगा कि इस का क्या जस्टीफिकेशन है क्योंकि यह हाउस और तो कुछ नहीं कर सकता, हमें तो 'यस' ही करना होगा, लेकिन क्या इसमें फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की जिम्मेदारी नहीं बनती थी कि वह इसे इस दफा नहीं बढ़ाते ? चलिए, इन्होंने जिक्र किया है कारगिल जंग का और कहते हैं कि हमने जंग जीती है । मैडम, मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि जंग 1965 में हुई थी हिन्दुस्तान में और बाबू जगजीवन राम जी ने यह कहा था "ऐ पाकिस्तान वालो, सुन लो, अगर तुमने जरा भी गलती की तो लड़ाई तुम्हारे इलाके में होगी, हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं ।" श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने 1971 में पाकिस्तान के दो टुकड़े किए, बंगला देश बना और उसके बाद इलेक्शन हुए देश में, एक लाख आदमी कैद भी रहे, स्वीप किया उन्होंने इलेक्शन में । कारगिल की लड़ाई के बाद भी इलेक्शन हुआ, लेकिन आप वहीं रहे जहां चले थे, 22, 23 या 25 घंटों की ही सरकार बनी उनकी । क्या यह जंग जीती ? दुश्मन हमारे इलाके में आया, 20-22 किलोमीटर अंदर तक आ गया और दो-तीन महीने तक सरकार को कोई पता नहीं लगा क्योंकि ये तो अपने संगठन को रोकने में उलझे रहे कि कहीं सरकार टूट न जाए । जब पता चला तो हमारे

कितने नौजवान शहीद हुए और वहां पर कितना नुकसान हुआ, यह जंग जीती है ? Madam, 1,000 million people have suffered humiliation. किसी देश की इतनी बेइज्जती नहीं हुई जितनी हमारे देश की बेइज्जती हुई है । एक छोटे से मुल्क ने हमारे खिलाफ इतना बड़ा जंग छेड़ा हुआ है ।

वित्त मंत्री जी, मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि कश्मीरियों के दिल जीतिए अगर आपने कश्मीर रखना है । अखबारों में बहुत खबरें छप रही हैं, मत कीजिए ऐसा उनके साथ, प्यार से आप उन्हें जीत पाओगे । प्यार से ही वह बताना शुरू कर देंगे कि उग्रवादी यहां छुपे हुए हैं और हमारी फोर्सिस उनको पकड़ लेंगी या जो चाहेंगी, करेंगी । जब तक लोकल आदमी आपके साथ नहीं होंगे, आप जो चाहे करें यह झगड़ा खत्म नहीं होगा । 1996 में क्यों नहीं थी इतनी गड़बड़ ? इन चार सालों में क्या हो गया है, क्या हुआ ? क्योंकि यहां पर कुछ लोग उनसे नफरत करते हैं, उनसे प्यार कीजिए, बात खत्म हो जाएगी । मैं तो आपको सुझाव दूंगा, श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया मेरा भाई है, मेरा तो गुरु है, यह आपके पास आ गए, आप पता नहीं कैसे बहकाकर ले गए उनको, मंत्री बना दीजिए उनको, कश्मीर का इंचार्ज बना दीजिए उनको, वह ठीक कर देंगे । सुषमा स्वराज वोट कर सकती हैं, उनको कोई जल्दी नहीं है, उन्होंने तो टी.वी. में फोटो ही देनी है, लेकिन इनको कश्मीर का इंचार्ज बनाइए, यह सब ठीक कर देंगे । उदास बैठे हैं, मैं कह रहा हूँ, चेहरा उड़ गया मेरे भाई का जब से उधर गए हैं । गमगीन हैं, उदास हैं, जब से उधर गए क्योंकि दिल तो लगता नहीं, पहुंच उधर गए । तो मेरा सुझाव है कि इनको आप मंत्री बनाइए, सब ठीक कर देंगे ।

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया (बिहार) : मेरा अगर चेहरा खिला तो इनकी बोलती बंद हो जाएगी । मैं उदास हूँ, इसलिए आप बोल लो ।

श्री लछमन सिंह : मैं तो आपकी तारीफ कर रहा हूँ, इसमें बुराई क्या है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Is it a Budget proposal?

श्री लछमन सिंह : मैडम, यह जंग नहीं थी, यह तो हमारे ऊपर एक इन्होंने बोझ लादा है ।

अब मैं एग्रीकल्चर के बारे में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ । रूरल डेवलपमेंट की बात इसी बजट में लिखी है । मैडम, पंजाब और हरियाणा, ये दोनों स्टेट हिन्दुस्तान की खुराक की खपत का 70 प्रतिशत पैदा करती हैं । वित्त मंत्री जी बैठे हैं यहां पर, मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब और हरियाणा के किसान के लिए इन्होंने इसमें क्या रखा है ? हिन्दुस्तान कितना इम्पोर्ट किया करता था अनाज, अहलुवालिया जी इस बात से तो आप ऐग्री करेंगे मेरे साथ कि हिन्दुस्तान कितना अनाज इम्पोर्ट किया करता था, लेकिन आज अगर इनके पास फॉरेन

ऐक्सचेंज का बैलेंस है तो इसी वजह से है कि आज अनाज यह एक्सपोर्ट करते हैं इम्पोर्ट नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि वहां के किसानों को इन्हें बिजली के लिए, पानी के लिए छूट देनी चाहिए। हरियाणा में तो बिल्कुल पानी नहीं है, खेत सूखे पड़े हैं, पांच-छः जिलों में तो सूखा है इधर महेन्द्रगढ़ वगैरह जो लास्ट का हिस्सा है, यहां सब जगह सूखा पड़ गया है। तो उनकी मदद करनी चाहिए, लेकिन सरकार कोई मदद नहीं करती। इसी तरह, मैडम, चंडीगढ़ के नज़दीक ज़मींदारों की ज़मीन है लेकिन वे मकान नहीं बना सकते, गिरा देते हैं बजाए इसके कि कुछ मदद करें, उनके मकान गिरा देते हैं लेकिन अमीर आदमियों को कोई कुछ नहीं कहता। पैरी-फैरी ऐक्ट जो लगा रखा है वहां पर, उसने बेड़ा गार्क कर दिया है। इससे तो अच्छा था कि उन बेचारों से वह ज़मीन भी ले लेते, वे कहीं चले जाते।

मैडम, ऐजुकेशन के बारे में बात करते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि पापुलेशन कंट्रोल के बगैर कभी इस देश का कोई मसला हल नहीं हो सकता और पापुलेशन कंट्रोल तब होगा जब हमारे देश की लंडकियों को बगैर किसी खर्च के ऐजुकेशन मिले और सरकार टोटल ऐक्सपेंसिस बीयर करे उनके चाहे वह किसी भी बिरादरी की हो, जाति की हो और अगर ये इफ-बट् करने लगेंगे तो ब्यूरोक्रेसी कभी कामयाब नहीं होने देगी। ऐसी फाइलें बना देंगे, जिस सैक्रेटरी ने कोई काम कराना है तो चले जाएंगे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के पास कि जनाब कुछ भी नहीं है, यह तो कोई खास बात नहीं है और वह ओ.के. हो जाएगा और जिसे नहीं कराना उसके लिए कहेंगे कि यह इतना बड़ा खतरनाक काम है, आपको पार्लियामेंट में जवाब देना मुश्किल हो जाएगा और मंत्री जी कहेंगे, अच्छा और वे छोड़ देंगे। तो यह ब्यूरोक्रेसी मंत्रियों को कहां चलने देती है? चलने ही नहीं देती। मेरा तो 15 साल का तजुर्बा है इस बारे में। मैडम, मेडिकल कॉलेज का इंचार्ज एक आई.ए.एस. है, भला उसको क्या पता कि क्लोरोमाइसिन किस तरह से बनती है, क्या होती है तो हमारे देश का ढांचा तो सारा ही बिगड़ा हुआ है और यहां ये डैफिशिट फाइनेंसिंग की बात करते हैं। मैडम, 50 बरस हो गए हैं, 1947 से लगातार बजट पेश होता रहा है, इस तरह 53 साल हो गए हैं, कब नहीं हुआ डैफिशिट फाइनेंसिंग? अहलुवालिया साहब, सुन लो, कभी भी क्या यह बजट बिहार के रिक्शे वाले को पूछकर बनाया है? उसने क्या लेना है इससे? उसको तो समझ ही नहीं आएगा। वह तो जब बाजार में खरीदने जाता है तो कहता है कि मेरे बस की नहीं है। कभी आप गरीब की बात सुनते हैं?

श्री एस.एस. अहलुवालिया : मैडम, ये चेयर को एड्रेस करें। मैंने तो इस बजट डिस्कशन में हिस्सा भी नहीं लिया है, ये मुझे क्यों एड्रेस कर रहे हैं?

श्री लखमन सिंह : अरे, आप तो मेरे दोस्त हैं। मैडम, यह बजट तो आता ही रहेगा। इससे उस गरीब को क्या लेना है? अब ये कहते हैं कि हमने 20 किलो आटा दिया

है । मैडम, जो सबसे घटिया कनक थी, पंजाब और हरियाणा में जो भीग गई, बरसात में खराब हो गई, वह गरीबों के गले पड़ गई । वह आदमी जो बिलो पोवर्टी लाईन रहता है, उसके घर में 10 बच्चे होते हैं । हर बच्चा आधा किलो खाता है और बड़ा आदमी एक किलो खाता है । उसका कम से कम एक महीने का 2 क्विंटल का खर्चा है । तो इस 20 किलो में क्या बनेगा ? एक दिन लेने में लग जाएगा गरीब का और 70-80 रुपए तो दिहाड़ी है आजकल । आप साढ़े पांच रुपए किलो के हिसाब से दे रहे हैं और 6 रुपए किलो तो बाजार में मिलता है, कोई पूछता नहीं । इन्होंने क्या काम किया कि 580 रुपए लेकर 900 रुपए का रेट एनाउंस कर दिया अखबार के अंदर । इस तरह एकदम करोड़ों रुपए बना लिए इन्होंने और 900 रुपए बोरी कर दिया आटे का भाव । अब बाजार जाकर कोई पूछे कि क्या बात है तो दुकानदार कहते हैं कि रेट बढ़ गया । पंजाब और हरियाणा में कोई पूछता नहीं है । कहते हैं कि अखबार में आ गया है कि सरकार ने रेट बढ़ा दिया है । उनसे पूछिए कि 900 रुपए का रेट कहां है ? अब क्या हुआ, क्या नहीं हुआ, कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है ।

मैडम, अब रहा सवाल टैक्सेशन का । फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब, सुन लीजिए, इंडिविजुअल टैक्स तो इंडिविजुअल देता है, जो कारपोरेट टैक्स है वह कंपनियां देती हैं और ऐक्साइज़ ड्यूटी पब्लिक देती है । यह इंडिविजुअल के ऊपर नहीं है । ये डालमिया, टाटा, बिड़ला नहीं देते । इसको हम लोग देते हैं, 100 करोड़ आदमी देते हैं, पब्लिक देती है । इंडिविजुअल टैक्स जो है वह टाटा का टाटा, के.के. बिरला का के.के. बिरला देगा और लछमन सिंह का लछमन सिंह देगा । इंडिविजुअल अपने आप देता है । अब इंडिविजुअल टैक्स पर इन्होंने 15 परसेंट का सरचार्ज लगा दिया है । भला देखिए जो सैलेरीड क्लास है, फिक्स्ड इनकम के लोग हैं, वे तो मर गए ना । पिछले साल फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने खुद कहा था, आपको भी याद होगा, *please recollect your memory*, उन्होंने खुद कहा था कि इसको वे हटा लेंगे । तो अगर इस हाऊस के अंदर फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब कोई वादा करते हैं तो उस वादे को इंप्लीमेंट करना चाहिए कि नहीं करना चाहिए ? आप मानती हैं ना इस बात को ? कह दीजिए ना ज़रा जुबान से, ज़रा रिकॉर्ड में आ जाए, बोल दीजिए ना मैडम ।

उपसभापति : मैं बिल्कुल मानती हूँ आपकी बात । आप जो अहलुवालिया के बारे में कह रहे हैं, वह भी मानती हूँ कि उनको मंत्री बना देना चाहिए ।

श्री लछमन सिंह : यह तो मेरा दोस्त है जी । मंत्री तो बन गया, जब हमने कह दिया । मंत्री तो बन ही जाएगा, इसमें कोई शक की बात नहीं है । ये तो बन ही जाएगा जी ।

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : तो ऐसा करिए सुषमा स्वराज जी को भी मंत्री बनवा दीजिए ।

SHRI LACHHMAN SINGH : She can wait. वे इंतजार कर सकती हैं, कोई जल्दी नहीं है, वे बाद में बन जाएंगी। मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि इस सरचार्ज को वापस ले लेना चाहिए। वैसे देखिए He is good at talk and he is good at walk. वे बहुत अच्छे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर हैं, बहुत खूबसूरत हैं और बिहार से हैं। बिहार के अंदर तो अभी बहुत गुरबत है, बहुत झगड़े हैं, कोई हिसाब-किताब तो है नहीं बिहार के अंदर। मेरा भाई भी बिहार का है। अभी इनके घर हम मेहमान बनकर जा रहे हैं थोड़े दिनों के अंदर।

इसलिए मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से अपील करना चाहूंगा कि ये सब एदाद-व-शुमाद किताबों में रह जाएंगे। कौन पढ़ेगा इनको? कौन देखता है इनको? जब आप बाजार में चीज खरीदने जाएंगे तो उस समय की बात कीजिए, प्रैक्टिकल बात कीजिए कि क्या इससे गरीब को फायदा हुआ है? यह तो सब ग्रंथों में लिखा है कि करने से पहले सोच लो कि इससे किसी का भला होगा कि नहीं होगा। आप पंजाब और हरियाणा के किसान की मदद कीजिए। इससे आपका मसला हल हो जाएगा। ये बजट तो ऐसे ही रहेगा। कल को कोई और फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर आएगा और वह बजट पेश करेगा। इससे कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। न इससे कुछ मिलता है। इतनी किताबें हैं, कोई ईमानदारी से कह दे कि पढ़ी हैं। पढ़ी हैं किसी ने? कौन पढ़ता है इनको? कहां पढ़ी जाती हैं ये? ये तो पढ़ी ही नहीं जा सकती। ये तो वैसे ही हम लेकर चले जाते हैं। उसमें बात है कोई?

मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि ये जो गंदा आटा आप दे रहे हैं, इसे बंद कीजिए। मर जाएंगे लोग। यह भीगा हुआ गंदम, बेकार पड़ी गंदम हम तो लेते नहीं, कोई खाता नहीं। मेरे भाई गुस्सा न करें, वे एक किलो आटा लेकर अपने बच्चों को खिलाकर दिखाएं। वे गरीब भी किसी के बच्चे हैं। वे भूखे मर रहे हैं। कोई ले नहीं रहा है इस गंदम को। मैडम, पंजाब और हरियाणा में तो कोई लेता नहीं है। वह पता नहीं कहीं जा रहा है या नहीं? ऐसे एरियाज हैं जहां पर कंजम्पशन नहीं होती होगी...(व्यवधान)... क्या मेरा टाईम खत्म हो गया?

उपसभापति : बहुत पहले खत्म हो गया।

श्री लछमन सिंह : आपकी मर्जी की बात है। अगर आप यही समझती हैं तो मैं फिर मजबूर हूं, आपका कहना तो मानना ही पड़ेगा। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

उपसभापति : लछमन सिंह जी, आपने भाषण अच्छा किया, आपने अपनी बात कही। परन्तु आपकी एक बात पर हमको शिकायत है कि आप डिस्क्रीमिनेशन कर रहे हैं। आप अहलुवालिया जी को ही क्यों बनवा रहे हैं, और आप अपनी हरियाणा की सुषमा स्वराज को नहीं बना रहे हैं। वह भी बहुत खूबसूरत हैं।...(व्यवधान)...

श्री लछमन सिंह : मैडम्, यह कश्मीर का मसला हल नहीं कर सकती, यह तो बाहर नहीं जा सकती। मेरा भाई बाहर जा सकता है। इन्होंने महकमा तो वही लेना है जो टी0वी0 वाला है। क्या फर्क पड़ता है? उनको कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता।

उपसभापति : यह आपका मसला हल कर देंगे। That, I can assure you. (Interruption). No. It is not a maiden speech. He was here, in this House, before. And, he has already lost his maiden chance.

डा. फागुनी राम (बिहार) : महोदया, हम आपके बड़े आभारी हैं कि आपने हमको बोलने का अवसर दिया। हमारा देश -भारतवर्ष बड़ा महान देश है। हमारे देश में बराबर का आचार विचार एवं व्यवहार का आदर्श रहा है। यह कहा गया है कि:

‘अयं निजं परोवेति गणनां लघुचेष्टताम्,

उदार चरितानाम, वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्’

हमारा देश आज भी बहुत लार्ज स्केल पर, बहु संख्या में बहुत जगह भाई चारे पर आधारित है, क्योंकि आज भी देहातों में बहुत लोग, लोगों को किसी का नाम लेकर प्रायः नहीं पुकारते हैं। बहुत आदमी भाई कह कर, पिता कह कर पुकारते हैं और मुझे विश्वास है कि जब तक यह भाईचारे का गठबंधन जितना मजबूत होगा, जितना सशक्त होगा और जितना व्यापक होगा हमारा राष्ट्र उतना ही उदारशील होगा। हम वित्त मंत्री जी के आभारी हैं कि उन्होंने बहुत समेकित बजट लाने का प्रयास किया है, हम उनके प्रति आभार व्यक्त करते हैं। हमारा देश बड़ा महान देश है। इसमें विभिन्न तरह की बोलियां विभिन्न तरह की जातियां, विभिन्न तरह के रहन-सहन, विभिन्न तरह के आचार विचार, विभिन्न तरह की जलवायु हैं। लेकिन हमारा देश इन विभिन्नताओं में भी एक है। यही हमारे देश की विरासत है, यही हमारे देश की खूबसूरती है और यही अनेकता में एकता का पाठ हमें पढ़ाता है। हमारे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने बहुत से बिन्दुओं पर अपने विचार व्यक्त किए, मैं उनको दोबारा नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। प्रायः लोग बड़े लोगों की बातें करते हैं। मैं जरा गरीबी रेखा की तरफ ले चलूं। हमारा देश कृषि प्रधान देश है। हमारे देश में कृषि की प्रमुखता है और जब तक हमारा देश कृषि के क्षेत्र में उन्नत नहीं होगा और जब तक कृषि का सर्वांगीण विकास नहीं हो सकेगा, तब तक हमारा देश बहुत उन्नत नहीं हो सकता है, क्योंकि इसमें आज भी 70 से 80 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर आधारित हैं। आज भी हमारे जो खेत हैं वह पुराने तौर-तरीके से चलाये जा रहे हैं। आज वही बैल, वही किसान, वही हल, वही व्यवसाय, वही क्षेत्र का जो गंदोश है या गंदी चीजें हैं वही खेत में डालते हैं और उसी को लेकर उर्वरक या खाद के रूप में व्यवहार करते हैं। हम

आपके माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री महोदय को अनुरोध करेंगे कि कृषि के समेकित विकास के लिए समुचित योजना बनाई जाए। आज हम पढ़ते हैं कि पम्पाज और प्रेरिज दो ऐसे मैदान हैं जहां कृषि को उन्नत कर उस देश को सम्पन्न कहा जाता है। हमारे यहां गंगा पर इतने बड़े बेसिन हैं जो गंगोत्री से शुरू होकर के बंगाल की खाड़ी तक जाता है। अगर उसके बेसिन को हम उन्नत कर दें और खेती का सही तरीके से हम इसका उपयोग करें तो हमारे देश का नाम और इस गंगा बेसिन का नाम इस देश में ही नहीं विदेशों में भी बड़े गौरव से लिया जाएगा। आज आप देखते हैं कि किसान और मजदूर खेती पर ही निर्भर करते हैं। दोनों की हालत खराब है। क्योंकि बहुत सी जगहों में पानी, खाद और बीज की सुविधाएं प्रायः अपर्याप्त एवं पुरानी हैं। हम अगर बिहार को लें, एक तरफ बिहार पहाड़ी है और दूसरी तरफ मैदानी है और तीसरी तरफ बाढ़ है। बिहार प्रांत में यह तीनों की स्थिति है। जब हम उत्तर में चलते हैं तो देखते हैं कि जब-जब बारिश होती है तब तब नेपाल से पानी आकर बिहार को जल प्लावित कर देता है। मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि अगर उस जल को स्टोर करके उसको सिंचाई के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया जाये तो उससे हमारी फसल बढ़ेगी, हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। इससे कृषकों को लाभ होगा, मजदूरों को लाभ होगा और अल्टीमेटली देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश में जागृति फैले। आज हमारे देश में बहुत से अनुसंधान हो रहे हैं। खाद पर अनुसंधान हो रहा है, मिट्टी पर अनुसंधान हो रहा है, बीज पर अनुसंधान हो रहा है, लेकिन आज भी उन अनुसंधानों का प्रकाश देहातों में कम गया है। मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि लैंड टू लैंड अनुसंधान होना चाहिए। जो अनुसंधान होते हैं वह जमीन खेत पर होने चाहिए और वहां पर मिट्टी की पैमाइश करके, मिट्टी के लिए उपयुक्त और उस नई फसल की जांच करके यह पता लगाया जाना चाहिए कि किस खेती में, किस रीजन में, इसके लिए किस क्लाइमेट की जरूरत है। वहां पर कैसी सिंचाई की जरूरत है। इन सबकी जानकारी लेकर वहां के किसानों को दी जानी चाहिए जिससे कि उसका अधिक प्रभावशाली ढंग से उपयोग करके उत्पादन को बढ़ाया जा सके। आज बहुत सी इंडस्ट्रीज कृषि पर आधारित हैं। कृषि पर आधारित उद्योगों को बढ़ावा दिया जाना चाहिए। जैसे- घास का काम है, डेयरी का काम है, जूता बनाने का काम है या बेलदार का काम है, सुनार का काम है, लुहार का काम है, बढ़ई का काम है, इन कामों को करने वाले लोग आज भी पुरानी परिपाटी पर ही चल रहे हैं। आज के वैज्ञानिक युग में साइंस एंड टेक्नालॉजी के युग में इतने उन्नत औजार हो गए हैं, इतने उन्नत उपकरण आ गए हैं इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि इन नई चीजों, उपकरणों का व्यापक प्रचार किया जाए और इनकी पूरी जानकारी उनको भी दी जाए। उनको ट्रेनिंग दी जाए और उनको सुझाव दिए जायें और उनका प्रदर्शन किया जाए ताकि वे उपयुक्त फसल लेकर अधिक से अधिक लाभ प्राप्त कर सकें। क्योंकि हमारे किसान, हमारे भाई, हमारे किसान-मजदूर जो उत्पादन करते हैं वे

बेचारे प्रकृति को ही अपना सब कुछ मानते हैं। एक नवजात शिशु एयरकंडीशन में पलता है और एक नवजात जन्मा बच्चा एक गरीब महिला, खेतिहर मजदूर महिला के यहां पलता है। वे महिलायें नवें मास तक 40-50 किलो वजन अपने सिर पर लेकर चलती हैं। आप उस परिस्थिति को भी देखिए। उनको देखकर बहुत से लोगों की आंखों में आंसू आ जाते हैं। कभी-कभी ट्रेन में जाते हुए, कभी खेत में काम करते हुए, कभी खेत से घर जाते समय, पानी ले जाते समय, खाना ले जाते समय उनकी डिलीवरी हो जाती है। उनके स्वास्थ्य के बारे में क्या कभी सोचा जाएगा? देहातों में पुआल पर, घास का जो पात होता है उस पर नवजात बच्चा सोया रहता है, वहां पर उसको न छाया मिलती है, न पानी ही मिलता है। उसको सब कुछ प्रकृति ही प्रदान करती है। उन्हीं बच्चों में से अच्छे लोग निकल कर आते हैं, उनमें से ही बड़े-बड़े लोग निकलकर आते हैं। इसलिए मेरा अनुरोध है कि उनके लिए भी सुविधायुक्त लालन-पालन का कुछ प्रबंध होना चाहिए। जैसे - नौकरी करने वाली जो महिलायें होती हैं उन्हें मैटरनिटी लीव दी जाती है, उनको उस दौरान पूरा वेतन दिया जाता है क्या उन महिलाओं के लिए भी ऐसा प्रबन्ध नहीं हो सकता है कि जो खेती और मजदूरी के काम करने वाली महिलाएं हैं, जो रोजगार में लगी हुई हैं, नेशनल उत्पादन में लगी हुई हैं, उन महिलाओं के लिए भी एक निश्चित अवधि के लिए अवकाश की व्यवस्था की जाए और उस अवकाश के दौरान उन्हें भी रेगुलर मजदूरी दी जाए जिससे कि वे भी बच्चों को ठीक से जन्म देकर उसकी देखभाल कर सकें, आराम से बच्चे का पालन-पोषण कर सकें। मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि इस बात की ओर पूरा ध्यान दिया जाएगा। भाई लक्ष्मण सिंह जी ने खाने की बात कही है और मैं पानी की बात करता हूँ क्योंकि पानी भी जीवन के लिए जरूरी है। आप पम्प को देख लीजिए, टंकी को देख लीजिए, टैप को खोलकर देख लीजिए और स्वच्छ जल पी लीजिए पर जो खेती करते हैं क्या उनके बारे में कभी सोचा गया है? जो प्रकृति के साथ रहते हैं, जो माघ के ठंडे महीने में, जेट की कड़ी दुपहरी में और भादों के घनघोर अंधकार एवं बरसात में खेतों में काम करते हैं। जो अपने बैलों के साथ खेती को जोतते हैं, उन्हें आज भी जब प्यास लगती है तो वे क्या करते हैं यह मैं आपको बताता हूँ। जिस खेत में वे बैल चलाते हैं, उसी खेत में बैल मल-मूत्र का त्याग करता है और किसान वहीं से पानी निकाल करके चुल्हूभर पानी पी लेता है। मैडम, क्या कभी उसके स्वास्थ्य के बारे में सोचा गया है? जब यह कहा जाता है कि जल ही जीवन है तो उसके लिए जल कैसा जीवन है? हम लोग पानी को फिल्टर करके पीते हैं, ठीक है पीना चाहिए, पानी स्वास्थ्य के लिए जरूरी है क्योंकि बहुसंख्यक बीमारियां खराब पानी के कारण ही होती हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि खेतों में एक निश्चित दूरी पर पीने के लिए साफ पानी की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। ताकि खेत पर काम करते हुए, खेती करते हुए, प्रकृति से जुड़ते हुए मजदूर को जब प्यास लगे तो कम से कम वह वहां जाकर स्वच्छ पानी पी सके,

स्वच्छ पानी पीकर ही संतुष्ट हो जाए क्योंकि पानी ही प्रायः उसका भोजन है। अब मैं थोड़ा सा स्वास्थ्य के बारे में बात करना चाहता हूँ। स्वास्थ्य जरूरी है, स्वास्थ्य ही जीवन है, स्वास्थ्य ही धन है लेकिन गरीबों के लिए तो स्वास्थ्य मात्र जीवन ही नहीं, उनकी पूंजी भी है क्योंकि उसी स्वास्थ्य के आधार पर ही वह परिश्रम करके उत्पादन करता है, कमाई करता है, अर्जन करता है, एक परिवार को पालता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उसके लिए सबसे ज्यादा जरूरी है कि उसका स्वास्थ्य ठीक रहे। इसलिए उसके स्वास्थ्य पर उचित ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। महोदया, जो लोग सर्विस से रिटायर होते हैं, उनको पेंशन दी जाती है, उनको रहने की सुविधा दी जाती है, यह उचित है- लेकिन जो खेतों पर काम करते-करते बूढ़े हो जाते हैं, जो 80 वर्ष की आयु पूरी कर लेते हैं, जो अशक्त हो जाते हैं, जो चल नहीं सकते, जो अर्जन नहीं कर सकते, उनके स्वास्थ्य के बारे में भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि जब वे बीमार पड़ जाते हैं तो उनको देखने वाला कोई नहीं होता है। जब वे बीमार पड़ जाते हैं तो घर के लोग गरीबी एवं काम पर होने की वजह से उनकी देखभाल नहीं कर पाते। इसके अतिरिक्त परिवार के सदस्यों की संख्या इतनी सिकुड़ गयी है कि उनको देखने वाला कोई नहीं होता है। इसलिए महोदया, मैं यह अनुरोध करता हूँ, मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस पर विचार किया जाना चाहिए और उन सभी वृद्धों के लिए - चाहे वह महिला हो या पुरुष हो - उनके रहने के लिए घर की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, रैन-बसेरा होना चाहिए, विश्रामालय होने चाहिए। उन विश्रामालयों में पानी होना चाहिए, दवा होनी चाहिए, डाक्टर होने चाहिए ताकि उनको लगे कि अपने जिस देश के उत्पादन में उन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन बिताया, उस देश में अंत समय में भी वह अच्छा जीवन व्यतीत कर सकेंगे। महोदया, हमारा देश प्रगति के रास्ते पर तेजी से चल रहा है, बहुत प्रगति हुई है, आगे के लिए भी सफल प्रयास हो रहे हैं, सबने प्रयास किया है और मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारा देश एक दिन आगे बढ़ते हुए शीघ्र ही उन्नति के शिखर पर पहुंचेगा और इस आदर्श के साथ कि

सर्वं भवन्तु सुखिन, सर्वं सन्तु निरामयः,

सर्वं भद्राणि पश्यन्तु, मा कश्चिद् दुःखभागभवेत् ।

हमारा देश इस आदर्श की गौरवपूर्ण उपलब्धि कर सकेगा, यह मुझे विश्वास है। इसी श्रद्धा एवं विश्वास के साथ मैं अपनी अभिव्यक्ति को विराम देता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

उपसभापति : आप बहुत अच्छा बोले और महिला के बारे में बोले, यह और भी अच्छी बात है।

All the speeches are over. Mr. Virumbi, you want to say something. You want me to look into the record. ...*(Interruptions)*... He wants to tell me something that happened in the House. He wanted to raise a point.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI : Madam, you know that the Council of States is a national forum, it is an apex body of our democracy, and whatever we utter or whatever observation we make, it has its own reflection throughout the country. Therefore, we adhere to the Rules of Procedure and the customs and conventions. If any Member, from any side, makes an allegation, that should be substantiated with proof. Without substantiation, it amounts to be a false allegation, a frivolous one. In that context, what I want to say, Madam, is that today when the discussion on the Finance Bill was going on, my friend, hon. Niraikulathan, when he was addressing the Budget, made some allegation against the PDS supply of rice as well as against the quality of rice as if it is. ...*(Interruptions)*... He has made some allegation. Practically, he has not proved anything. He simply made allegations, and then he went on to some other subjects. Therefore, what I feel is that as far as the PDS supply of rice in Tamil Nadu is concerned, it is being maintained in a very proper and efficient manner. In the rarest of rare occasions, if any mistake is committed, Madam, the people who commit the mistake are caught red-handed and put behind the bars. The law of the land will take its own course. Therefore, the observation, the allegation made by the hon. Member is a totally baseless, unwarranted, incorrect one. I hope, Madam, that you will advise them not to make such false and frivolous allegations, whenever they make their speeches in the House.

SHRI P.N. SIVA (Tamil Nadu): Madam, if any false allegation has been made, that should be expunged. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI KA. RA. SUBBIAN (Tamil Nadu): Madam, if an allegation has not been substantiated with proof, that should be expunged. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, please look into the record. It should not be a general practice.

[9 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will look into the record and see that if any allegation is made, which is not substantiated with proof, it will not go on record. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: Madam, it is relating to my State Government; that is why I am much hurt. This should not be repeated.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will see the record. I have always given a ruling here that anyone who makes an allegation should substantiate it because those people, against whom the allegations are made, are not here to defend themselves.

Now, the discussion is over. Mr. Finance Minister, would you like to reply now?

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Thank you, Madam Deputy Chairperson. I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members-- many of them are not present in the House now--for having participated in this discussion on the Finance Bill. I must render an apology to the House and to the hon. Members who took part in the discussion, for not being present throughout in the House, as I should have been, to listen to all the valuable speeches which have been made. But, unfortunately, it was the call of duty which had taken me to the other House and I think I will be forgiven for this absence. I am particularly unhappy and I regret the fact that I could not listen to the speech personally of a senior Member and former Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. I will go through the entire text of his speech. I have got a list of the important points which were made.

Madam, I would like to begin by saying that--just as the saying goes--it is only the wearer who knows where the shoe pinches. Pranab Babu and the Leader of the Opposition, who, unfortunately, is not here, are the two who know about the difficulties, the challenges, of the job of the Finance Minister of India, even in the best of circumstances. I am extremely grateful to the suggestions, very constructive suggestions, which Pranab Babu, Biplab Babu and many others, cutting across party lines, have made. I have no quarrel with the criticisms which have been levelled. In fact, Salveji has started the whole discussion by referring to a particular newspaper and the story that it carried, about my concern about some of the difficulties, some of the weaknesses, in our economic system at the

moment. Now, the problem that I am facing is a little bit of a paradox. That paradox is, according to all indices, the economy of the country appears to be doing well, whether we take the growth rate of GDP, whether we take the foreign exchange reserves, whether we take the current account deficit of the economy, whether we take the foodgrains stock, whether we take the rate of inflation. In all these areas, the economy obviously appears to be doing very well. But there is one area of concern to which Members have repeatedly referred, and that is the area of fiscal deficit, the continuing imbalances in the Budgets of the Government of India, and also now, the Budgets of the State Governments. The national fiscal deficit is, indeed, a matter of concern. During the two years or 26 months that I have been the Finance Minister of this country, I have lost no opportunity, missed no occasion, to draw the attention of the Parliament and the people of this country in regard to the need for a better fiscal management. But without trying to sound political or recriminatory, I would like to say that the problem of fiscal deficit is not really a problem which has arisen in the last two years. It has, unfortunately, been a chronic problem afflicting our economy for almost two decades now. It is bad today because the problem is chronic. If the problem had not been chronic, perhaps, it would have been easier for any Finance Minister to tackle it far more firmly than I have been able to, during the last two years. But because it is a long-standing problem, a chronic problem, it is taking time. Now, I will not go into the figures of fiscal deficit during the various regimes. But the point which I would like to make is that, as far as I am concerned, it is not that there is a lack of will; it is not that I don't want to cut expenditure.

But, yesterday, when we were discussing the Appropriation Bill, I referred to the rigidities, to which Biplabbabu had made a mention, the rigidities in our expenditure. There is very little which is within the hands of any Finance Minister. There is hardly any elbow room. You might cut a hundred crore here, fifty crore there, a few lakhs there. But as far as the major items of expenditure are concerned, there is, as I said, hardly any room. Just to give you a figure, for instance; the fiscal deficit has increased, in absolute numbers, from Rs.66,733 crore in 1996-97 to Rs. 1,11,275 crores in 2000-2001. There is an increase of Rs.44,542 crores. It looks very frightening. But during the same period, Madam, the interest payment alone has increased from Rs.59,478 crores to Rs.1,10,266 crores; an

increase of Rs.41,788 crores. This increase in fiscal deficit of Rs.44, 542 crores, during these four years, is largely accounted for by an increase of Rs.41,788 crores on account of interest payment. Now, there is very little any Finance Minister can do about it because interest is something which has to be paid. These are the inflexibilities, these are the rigidities, with which one is faced while preparing the Budget. Pranabbabu will know, many other Members will know, that whenever we start the Budget exercise, the first thing that any Finance Minister asks the officials to do is, to work out the estimates for the next year. Then he looks at the figures of the fiscal deficit. Initially, the fiscal deficit looks much, much bigger. Then you set to work on how you can reduce the fiscal deficit, where you can cut expenditure, where you can increase the taxes, how much buoyancy you can build or you can expect from the system and, finally, you arrive at a certain figure. Now, it is true that as far as 1999-2000 was concerned, I had projected the fiscal deficit at 4%. We ended the year with 5.6%. There was a slip up. There is no doubt about it. Because we went up from 4% to 5.6%. And that was at Rs.28,000 crores or so, to which Bipplabbabu was referring. When I was preparing the Budget for this year, I was trying my best to see whether I can come below 5%. Even a figure below 5% would have given some satisfaction. But despite my best efforts, I was able to reduce it by only .5%, i.e. from 5.6% to 5.1%. Why I didn't come to a figure lesser than 5.1%. For the simple reason, building on the experience of earlier years I wanted to be very realistic. And I found that there was no point in painting a more rosier picture than one could expect in the current fiscal year. Therefore, we have settled for 5.1%. I will just mention four items of expenditure. There is an increase of Rs.13,000 crore in defence expenditure. I would like to say this without bringing any politics into it. Forget about what happened in Kargil, as Lachhman Singhji was saying, whether we won or lost. I am not going into it. But what I am saying is that the 'fifty-days' war did put a strain on our resources. We have to replenish the stocks which have been expended in the Kargil operations. Therefore, while holding discussions with the Ministry of Finance, we had to settle for the Defence budget of around Rs.58,000 crores, which is Rs.13,000 crores more than last year's. Now, there was an addition of Rs. 13,000 crores. Then we had an increase in the interest payments from Rs. 90,000 crores to Rs. 1,01,000 crores, i.e. Rs. 11,000 crores. So Rs. 13,000 crores plus Rs. 11,000 crores comes to Rs. 24,000 crores. Then

came the Interim Award of the 11th Finance Commission. They said, "You must set apart Rs. 11,000 crores as grants and wait for our final recommendations to be given to the State Governments." Now I could have tried to be clever by half. I could have said, "I will wait for the final report of the Finance Commission and I will not include this figure in the Budget." But I knew that then I will have to come to Parliament with my Supplementary Demands when I get the final report. Therefore, I decided that I will take the bull by the horns and include this figure also in my Budget Estimates for this year. So, Rs. 24,000 crores plus Rs. 11,000 crores comes to Rs. 35,000 crores. Then there was a choice with us. Shri Pranab Mukherjee has also worked as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. He is aware of the tug-of-war which goes on between the Planning Commission and the Finance Ministry. Every year, the budgetary support for the Annual Plan is discussed. Quite frankly, we had a choice. Last year, the gross budgetary support was Rs. 77,000 crores. One could have said, "Well, we will settle for Rs. 81,000 crores and will not go beyond that." I would have borne some criticism in this House. The Members would have pointed out, "This figure has gone down or that figure has gone down and that we are spending much less on human resource development and on health but more on something else." But what did we do? We did not settle for a reduction in the increase in the Plan allocation. As far as the gross budgetary support for the Plan is concerned, this year we have raised it from Rs. 77,000 crores to Rs. 88,100 crores. That is a gain to the States. That is a gain to the various Ministries of the Government of India because we came to the conclusion that the Government spending, especially on Plan should not be squeezed because the economy is just about reviving and any squeeze in the Government expenditure would have an adverse impact on the economy. Therefore, we have given this hefty increase of Rs. 11,000 crores in the Plan. Now these four items alone add up to Rs. 46,000 crores in this year's Budget and Rs. 46,000 crores is 2.2 per cent or so of the GDP. When you look at the fiscal deficit of 5.1 per cent, please remember that these four items of expenditure alone have created this problem for me and left me with very little flexibility. That is the problem that anyone would have faced in my position. I am faced with this problem. Therefore, the criticism which is being levelled that why did I not more resolutely reduce the size of the Government, it has its own political implications. But with the best will in the world absolutely nobody

can order that from tomorrow the Government of India would have 4,000 or 5,000 less people. You cannot do it because they are all Government employees. They have a contract of service. The only thing you can do is that you can take them from some Departments and put them in a surplus pool. But you will still have to pay them. So all this talk about a massive reduction in expenditure is not correct- - I think, Shri K.K. Birla was referring to it and many other Members also mentioned it and there are also media reports which talk about it -- everybody facilely and most conveniently talks about reducing the size of the Government, cutting down wasteful expenditure and saving thousands of crores of rupees. Anyone who has any experience of running the Finance Ministry or any job of the Government of India would know that it is a very very difficult task and certainly cannot be achieved overnight. Salveji was referring to Dr. Manmohan Singh. He said, "Though he was a thorough gentleman, he was very very strict as Finance Minister. What to talk of crores of rupees, he did not give even one lakh of rupees." I do not know since when Finance Ministers concern themselves with lakhs of rupees. There are procedures in the Government of India which say that only a certain expenditure would go to the Finance Minister; otherwise, the Financial Advisor of the Ministry is competent to take a decision with the approval of the Departmental Minister. But the question is: What is the increase in non-Plan expenditure? It is less than two per cent, or 1.8 per cent to be precise. That is the strict control that we are exercising on non-Plan expenditure. We are not letting it go out of hand. Now Pranabbabu was referring to the fact that in terms of REs, since 1996-97, there has been a trend that the actual RE even compared to the RE itself...

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: I said that there is a shortfall between BE and RE.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Between BE and RE, there is a shortfall. And between RE and the actual also, there has been a shortfall in some years. Now one tries to do his best. But it is true that there has been a shortfall since 1996-97. There has been a shortfall since 1996-97 because the economy was in a slow-down phase. When we came into office in 1998, the Indian economy was already caught in a slow-down phase, and, therefore, I remember, the moment I entered the office in the North Block, the first question which the media was putting to me was, what I was going to do to kickstart the Indian economy. That was the first question put by

them. "How much money will you spend? What is it that you will do on the fiscal front?" Kickstarting the Indian economy was the most important challenge internally. Of course, externally, we had the East Asian crisis looming over not only the whole of Asia but also the whole of the world. That was the external situation. We were in a recessionary condition. And that is the reason why we had this problem right from 1996-97 till 1998-99. Tax revenues turned out to be not so boiling as it was imagined, and there was a shortfall between BE and RE; there was also a shortfall between RE and the actual. But what has been the position this year since the industrial production picked up? As a result of that, while there is some shortfall between the BE and the RE, as far as the actual performance is concerned, according to the figures that we have now, we have performed better than the RE this year in terms of revenue collection. It is about a Rs.1000 crores more now. Therefore, fiscal deficit is a major problem that is confronting us nationally, and I can't be expected to be reducing taxes. K.K. Birlaji talked about Indian taxes being doubled. Lachhmanji was talking about the removal of surcharge...*(Interruptions)* I had merely said, "Surcharge will be temporary." I did not say that it will be removed within 12 months.

SHRI LACHHMAN SINGH: You said 'one year'.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No. I also remember what I said, Sir. So, I can't be expected to be reducing taxes on the one hand and expanding expenditure on the other hand, and still maintain the fiscal balance. As I said it yesterday in the House, "Every Finance Minister is some kind of a magician. I have not become such a magician that I can do this." Therefore, we had to take certain unpleasant decisions. The unpleasant decisions were in regard to taxes also. K.K. Birlaji is quite right in feeling bad about dividend taxes. But I would like to remind him one thing. He asked: "Isn't it double taxation?" There are two schools of thought in economics, in economic literature, -- Biplabbabu who is an economist, Pranabbabu who is a former Finance Minister, and other Members who know about these things, will bear me out when I say this -- on whether dividend tax is a double taxation or it is not a double taxation. But dividend tax before 1997-98 was payable at the marginal rate of tax in the hand of the recipient. But, now, if I receive the dividend and if I was paying tax at 30 per cent, then, I will pay tax on dividend also at 30 per cent. It is not because the corporates had paid the corporate tax, and, therefore, that money was purified, and that when it came to me, I could claim exemption

from tax. That was not the situation. What one of my predecessors, Mr. Chidambaram, did was, in 1997-98, he went along with this thesis that dividend tax was double taxation and, therefore, he made it exempt in the hand of the recipient and imposed a tax of 10 per cent on the dividend in the hands of the corporate sector and the corporate sector paid that ten per cent. If, clearly, he was of the view that dividend tax is double taxation, then he should not have even imposed that ten per cent tax. You cannot do running with the hare and hunting with the hound. You accept one thesis or another thesis. What was my argument? I need money; therefore, I had raised the dividend tax from ten per cent to twenty per cent and I knew that the corporate sector will not welcome it. But we have personal income tax rates of 10 per cent, 20 per cent and 30 per cent, with surcharge. Now, on a balance, therefore, I thought that a 20 per cent tax on dividend will be reasonable because that is the middle way in the level of personal taxation. There is no reason why the corporate sector which was in a position to make profits; and not only make profits also distribute it to the shareholders - which means that they don't need that money for fresh investment, for setting up new industries, - should not pay the dividend tax. That is why you distribute dividend. Therefore, I felt it would be reasonable to tax them by 20 per cent. Specially, in the context of the fact that of a large section of the middle-class, we were withdrawing certain facilities, through an increase or reduction in the subsidy levels. There was no way I could have let the corporate sector off. Therefore, I have raised it. I have stood by it; I have not amended it because I feel there is enough justification for the corporate sector to pay this 20 per cent tax. If any corporate sector does not want to pay this 20 per cent tax, it is open to it to keep that money back and invest it. It is only on distributed dividend that you have to pay this tax. So, therefore, there is enough justification, Madam, for what we have done. I would also like to take this House into confidence and ask: wasn't there a time, immediately after the Kargil conflict, when there was speculation in the media that the Government was going to impose a Kargil tax; whether we were to impose Kargil tax or not, what will be the nature of that tax was something which was speculated in the media all the time, and you must congratulate the Government that we did not impose any tax after Kargil. Forget about other things, even the Rs. 13,000 crores increase in the Defence expenditure is not something which I have passed on completely to the people of this country. Therefore, if some such charges have been

made, I do not think, as a people, as a nation, we should complain about it because, after all, a nation can become great only if the nation learns to make sacrifices. We are often accused of being a soft nation. That is exactly the kind of mindset that we have to get out and we have to show that India is capable of taking hard decisions, if hard decisions, indeed, become essential, and that the people have the grit and determination to be able to live with those hard decisions, in the national interest. Madam, the external situation was again something which was referred to by various Members. Salveji said, 'trade deficit has increased.' I would only like to remind the House that during the past 12 months, the crude price had gone up by 300 per cent. It was the same situation, I repeat, the same situation, which had overtaken this country in 1991, in the wake of the Gulf crisis. Even then, the prices of crude had gone up by almost the same percentage. In those days, this country faced a terrible balance of payment situation and I happened to be the Finance Minister, briefly, during that period. So, I know it personally what one had to face. This year, once again, the crude prices went up by 300 per cent. Did anybody in this country talk about rationing petroleum products? Did anyone even get to know about it? It was not even discussed. Why? Because, despite the increase in the crude prices, despite the fact that our petroleum import bill went up by over six billion dollars, our foreign exchange reserves, at the same time, also kept on increasing, and we have added something like ten to twelve billion dollars to our reserves during the last two years and, therefore, it was not a problem. But the problem was there. And I am not taking credit for it. I would like to give the credit very fairly to all the Governments since 1991 because we managed the external situation in such a way that our external debt liabilities, as a percentage of our earnings, as a percentage of our GDP have been going down, and our foreign exchange reserves have been continuously rising. During the last two years, in 1998-99, the current account deficit was less than one per cent. In 1999-2000, it could be in the neighbourhood of 1.3 or 1.4 per cent. Now that the petroleum prices have eased, I am hoping that this year we will finish it with a very satisfactory figure also. It will be certainly less than 1.5 per cent. So, there is absolutely nothing to worry about, as far as the external situation is concerned. The share of short-term debt - which is the real culprit, which is what brought East Asia to its knee and created all these problems in our external debt profile, has now come down to 4.4 per cent which is the lowest ever. This is the way

8.00 P.M.

we have managed in the last two years and this is the way the previous Governments have managed the external front and, therefore, I would like to say that we have nothing at all to worry, as far as the external situation is concerned. The East Asian crisis has impacted on our exports. The East Asian situation has improved. All other situations the world over have improved. World trade is now picking up and that is why our exports in 1999-2000 have recorded a growth rate of over 11 per cent, a double digit after some years and we are hoping that this year our exports will pick up and they will contribute to the national growth rate also. So, this is the external front. There is nothing to be complacent about. I am not complacent at all because I would also like to take the House into confidence and say that the East Asian countries had much larger reserves than we had. When Brazil was engulfed by this crisis, they had reserves of something like 75 billion dollars. It took only 15 days for those 75 billion dollars to come down to something like 30 billion dollars. In 15 days, they lost 45 billion dollars because of the haemorrhaging that was taking place all the time; they were bleeding on the external front. So, one has to be cautious and this is exactly what we kept on telling the world community. When I told Biplabbabu earlier in the day that we do not have to learn from the World Bank and the IMF - in fact, we have a thing or two to teach them this is exactly what I meant, that previously, the fact that we were managing our affairs in this manner, was a point of criticism with the IMF and the World Bank; it is a point of praise now. They have learnt and they are now full of praise for the manner in which India has managed its economy. We have managed our external sector; not only during the last two years, but ever since we launched ourselves on the reform path, since 1991. It is this which gave me the courage, when I went to the ADB meeting recently in Chiang Mai in Thailand, to tell the developed countries, "Your sermons are getting shriller and shriller and the aid package is getting reduced and further reduced. So, do not preach to us". When the World Bank holds its meeting on the Comprehensive Development Strategy for Poverty Reduction, they look to India because we have a lot of experience in poverty reduction. We tell them how the world should go about it. So, we have a very special place in regard to multilateral institutions. I would like to take the House into confidence that now India speaks in a voice which is one of confidence, which is one of determination, and the rest of the world listens to us because that is the way things are, internationally.

Madam, there has been a talk about the poor; there has been a talk about the agricultural sector. An impression is sought to be created as if we are not caring for the agriculturists and that we are only bothered about the stock market and things like that. Agricultural production has not fallen. I would like to quote figures from the First Five-Year Plan, 1951-56. What was it in the First Five-Year Plan? The growth of agriculture during that period of time was 3.2%. From 1956 to 1961, it was 3.6%. From 1961 to 1966, it was -0.8%. From 1969 to 1974, it was 3%. For the three Annual Plans, between 1974 and 1979, it was 4%. 1980 to 1985, was the only period when it went up to 6.2%, the highest recorded ever. During 1985-1990, it was 3.6%. During 1992-97, it was 4.1%. In 1998-99, it was 7.2%. In 1999-2000, it is expected to decline to 0.8%. If I take the two-year average, then it will be something like 4%. There have been ups and downs. If you look at the trend of growth rate of agriculture, you will find that we have been between 3 and 4%. Despite the Green Revolution, there has not been a tremendous spurt in the agricultural prices, except for that one period that I referred to. Therefore, there is a need for all of us to ensure that the agricultural production picks up. Why has this growth rate from 6.8% in 1998-99 gone down to 5.9% in 1999-2000? Industrial production has gone up; in fact, the industry has come out of the recession. It is only because the 7.2% of the agricultural growth rate has got reduced to 0.8%. That is the reason why the growth rate of the economy as a whole has been pulled down. Therefore, both from the point of view of growth, and from the point of view of the importance of agriculture in our country, it is very important that we devote our attention to agriculture, whether it is irrigation or technology or marketing or having the support to agriculture we have a responsibility. We are not running away from that responsibility. We are determined to do our best to promote agriculture not only in Punjab and Haryana, but also all over the country, so that the rest of the country could also achieve the levels of growth in agricultural production that our brothers in Punjab and Haryana have been able to achieve. India has a potential to become the granary of the world. We can feed half of the world, if we are able to increase agricultural productivity. With regard to credit for agriculture, I thought of credit card. I can take some credit for the fact that in my first Budget of 1998-99, I devised a system of Kisan Credit Cards. In fact, one friend from the media had come and asked me recently as to what would I regard as my most important achievement as a Finance Minister. I

told him, 'not Bombay Stock Exchange, not what is happening on the industrial front, but the Kisan Credit Cards is something which I am really proud of.' I am really proud of the fact that after 1998, when I thought of this, 50 lakh farmers in this country have secured Kisan Credit Cards. Our target is 75 lakh for the current year. Seventy-five lakh Kisan Credit Cards would be distributed among the farmers of this country.

We are also taking care of the rural areas. Fifty thousand Self Help Groups have been promoted in one year. We are going to raise that figure to 1 lakh. They are small groups. Vegetable vendors, carpenters, blacksmiths, small artisans; these are the kind of people whom we are trying to help by bringing them together in Self Help Groups and now they are coming up all over the country.

Therefore, agriculture and rural development that is the point which I have made my Budget as the strategy for this year. It has been the centrepiece of our economic policy and will remain the centrepiece of our economic policy in the years to come. We shall not rest, Madam, until we have completed whatever we have set out to achieve on the agricultural front. Now, coming to poverty, I think one of the hon. Members here, Swamiji from Bihar, pointed out that since I was in the bureaucracy I do not know poverty. I was not born into the bureaucracy. I joined bureaucracy at a certain point of time in my life. Therefore, to say that I am absolutely unaware of the poverty of this country is not correct. ...*(Interruptions)*...

VEN'BLE DHAMMAVIRIYO : Madam, the hon. Minister is explaining nicely what he has done for agriculture. ...*(Interruptions)*.. But I would like to know as to what protection has been given to the soil of the farmers. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him complete. ...*(Interruptions)*.. Let him complete his speech so that you can understand the whole thing in totality. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, this Government has clearly stated... *(Interruptions)*... Madam, we were talking about 'human face'. "Human face" has become a hackneyed phrase. Reforms with human face, we are all talking of that. That is not our slogan. We are talking of economic growth, economic reforms with equity and social justice. Equity will include self-reliance and social justice. We all understand what

it means. It is employment at the core of it, high growth with employment. It is not a jobless growth that we are talking about. That is why whether it is the Prime Minister's National Highway Project or it is the encouragement that we have given to housing or it is the information technology and other knowledge industries, all these are going to contribute directly to the creation of larger employment opportunities. We all must have read the news that Hyderabad has overtaken Bangalore in terms of export of IT software. Now, if Hyderabad is exporting more IT software than Bangalore, it means that a number of employment opportunities must have been created, jobs opportunities must have been created in the IT sector. In this Budget, in the amendments which I moved in the Lok Sabha, Madam, for venture capital now we have given a complete pass-through. I have extended the tax benefit on a graded basis to the software firms which are in the software development parts or in the export processing zone, as indeed to the others. This is one area which is going to become really the cutting edge of our growth in the years to come. India is in the lead world over now. Let me take the House into confidence to say that world over the image of India has undergone a dramatic change and you must have noticed, Madam, when you went abroad. It has undergone a dramatic change in the last few months, in the last 12 or 18 months only because of the competence and capability of our engineers and scientists in the knowledge industry. I was in Germany a few weeks ago. There the Chancellor of the German Republic, Chancellor Schroeder, announced that he would give 20,000 green cards, visas, to non-European Union specialists to come to Germany to help it to build its information technology industry. When he talked about these twenty thousand Green Cards, we should remember that the Germans are a little sensitive about foreigners coming and working there. They have a long tradition of what they called gastarbeiter - guest workers - and they all think that these are the people who work with their hands, they are muscle people, they come and work on the roads and take up other tough jobs.

They were having election in one of their States, and one of their candidates, for the Chief Ministership, gave a slogan and that slogan in Germany was, "Kinder not Inder", that means, "Children, not Indians." This was a huge controversy that was going on in Germany when I landed there. And everybody came and asked me what did I think of the slogan "Kinder not Inder." I said, "Indians are not dying to come to Germany. We

are a self-respecting people and if you want us to come and help you set up your I.T. Industry, maybe, some Indians will agree to come to you. But, don't think that we are coming begging that you give us the Green Cards." This is the one thing which has completely changed the image of India in Germany and in Western Europe because the Germans are a proud people - proud of their technology, proud of their powers - and, for the first time, they are feeling helpless. They are saying, "Suddenly, India has an advantage which we don't have." In Washington, they came and told me that when two people, who are in the I.T. sector, meet each other, the first thing which the owners of companies ask each other is, "How many Indians are working for your company?" And if the number in one company is larger than the other company, then that company has a larger or a better status symbol. There is a story. It is like this. Somebody wanted to go and register his I.T. firm on the NASDAQ. He came and gave all his presentation. He was told that the presentation was all very beautiful and very good and then they asked that gentleman who was supposed to bring his firm on the NASDAQ, "What is your name? He gave a name - like, let us say - Adam Smith. They said, "This will not sell. If you are a Subrahmanyam or Nath or something like that, that name will sell but Adam Smith will not sell." That is the change which has come about. That is the kind of India that is now emerging. But there is a paradox; and that paradox is that, we have an over-hang of poverty. Madam, 400 million people, out of one billion people, are still living below the poverty line. We have, in this country, people living in every century of time. Even in my own constituency, within a distance of 10 kms., if you cross one mountain range, you come into the 21st Century, and before you cross that mountain range, you are, probably, in the 5th Century B.C., because the people are living in the same conditions in which they might have lived 2,500 years ago. That is the kind of a country we have. Therefore, we cannot neglect any part of our population. We will have to think of all those who are below the poverty line. We will have to think of all those who are engaged in agriculture. We have to think of all those who are living in the rural areas and, at the same time, we will have to think of the brick and the mortar industry - the brick and mortar economy. We will also have to think in terms of the new economy - the knowledge-based economy. We will have to, on the one hand, keep on discovering the new molecules which will give the world a new medical system and, on the other, we will have to continue

to grapple with poverty. That is the country that we have. Therefore, when I am told, at times, that the Budget lacks focus and where does it concentrate, my simple answer to that is, in a country like India, you cannot have a Budget which focuses only on one thing. It will have to focus on a number of areas. We will have to think of the new economy. We will have to think of the old economy. We will have to think of the older economy, which is the agricultural economy - the bullock and the plough economy. This is exactly what we have tried to do through this Budget. The Finance Bill is an aid to that Budget. And, therefore, I would like to suggest that I have done my best, the Government have done its best, and we will continue to do our best, and I will plead with my friends on the Opposition to please bear with us for a while until we are really able to translate into reality what Pranabbabu referred, with approval, in my Budget Speech mainly that this will be a decade of development for India and, by 2010, Madam, India will be a different country. Thank you very much.

SHRI SANGH PRIYA GAUTAM: Madam, I think, there is no need to seek any clarifications.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think, what the hon. Finance Minister mentioned about information technology is correct because I had experienced it during my visit to Jordan, where even the King said that he wants India to help them in information technology. He personally asked me to convey it. IT people have really done a wonderful job of which we are really proud. *(Interruptions)*

I don't know, after such a long speech, at so late an hour, what clarification would you like to seek, Dr. Biplab Dasgupta? *(Interruptions)* You have received a lot of praise. If you start asking questions, then many other Members would start asking questions, there will be no end to it. So, I think, be satisfied for now. You are going to have more Budgets, more opportunities. You can seek redressal for your grievances. *(Interruptions)*

श्री रामदास अग्रवाल : मैडम, बहुत सारे प्वाइंट्स जो हम लोगों ने उठाए थे, चूंकि वित्त मंत्री महोदय, उस समय यहां मौजूद नहीं थे, इसलिए उन्होंने उनका जवाब नहीं दिया है(व्यवधान)....

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, the hon. Finance Minister has not replied to my question. For example, I had specifically asked a question about the rural wealth tax. He very safely evaded that question. I know he has evaded that question. *(Interruptions)*

[9 MAY, 2000]

RAJYA SABHA

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: No, Madam, I have not evaded any question. A number of points has been asked. Unfortunately, I don't have the time. I have to speak for another hour in order to reply to all the points. I would like to tell Biplabbabu, there is no distinction between rural and urban people, so far as wealth tax is concerned. The only thing is... *(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Biplabbabu, you please take your seat. He is replying. ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री नरेन्द्र मोहन : मैडम, इस पर चर्चा हो चुकी है ...*(व्यवधान)*... मैडम, आप जानती हैं कि इस पर चर्चा हो चुकी है । फिर उसके बाद ये ऐसी बात कर रहे हैं ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: आप बैठिए ना । Please do not disturb the House. Let Mr. Birla ask his question, please. ...*(Interruptions)*...

VEN'BLE DHAMMA VIRIYO: You are free to....*(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: Let us discuss about the realities. *(Interruptions)* Don't talk about subsidy and price-rise. This is the issue which should be discussed. Please sort it out. *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order. *(Interruptions)*

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: We are walking out in protest, Madam. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI DIPANKAR MUKHERJEE: Yes. This is not the way. We are walking out. *(Interruptions)*

उपसभापति: अच्छा, आप जाइए।

(At this stage, some hon. Members left the Chamber.)

You see, it will be much easier if you people... *(Interruptions)* Let me handle it.

SHRI N. R. DASARI (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, I would like to seek clarifications because... *(Interruptions)*...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, it is not a statement. It is a reply on the Budget. There is no provision for clarifications on a Budget reply. If

he had made a suo motu statement, I would have permitted you.
...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI N. R. DASARI: No. Madam, you are not allowing me to seek clarifications. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. K. BIRLA: Madam, I don't have... *(Interruptions)*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No clarifications, please.

SHRI K. K. BIRLA: Madam, I don't have any clarifications to seek from the hon. Finance Minister. I only wanted him to confirm what he has said about the image of Indians going very high during the last few months. Madam, from my organisation, there are at least 20 visits per year to foreign countries and our experience has been, much to our pleasant surprise, that in the last four or five months, the image of Indians has got very high. Now, it is not only because of the IT industry, which, of course, is the main reason; IT industry is important and as a result of that, people have found out that the Indians are hardworking, they have ability and they have got honesty and vision. That is why, Madam, the image has gone very high and as a result of that, the image of the Indian collaborators, Indian partners, has also gone very high. I would only like to confirm what Finance Minister has said.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Finance Minister, Sir, if you remember, I made a comment about three areas. One is the North-East, the second is Ladakh, Leh and Kargil, and the third is about Kashmir. These three areas are infested with terrorism and other problems and they are far away behind the mountains. Sometimes, we forget about them.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I am in remiss in not referring to it. I should have, because you had also directed from the Chair and expressed your concern about these farflung areas.

I would like to refer to paragraphs 58 and 59 of my Budget speech where I have made a special mention of the North-East and what we have proposed to do. We have also streamlined our procedure and that 10% of the unspent balance, which is earmarked for the North-East, is something which has been streamlined and that money is now available in the expenditure Budget for the North-East. As far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, we have gone out of our way to help Jammu and Kashmir, not

only by way of security-related expenditure, but also, as far as the Plan is concerned, there has been an increase of 120% in the Plan outlay of Jammu & Kashmir. There is a non-plan support also that we give to Jammu & Kashmir, in order to be able to save the Plan size. So, we are aware of our responsibilities in regard to the far-flung areas and the border areas. The Prime Minister himself was in Shillong some two-three months ago. We had a meeting there. All the senior Ministers were in Shillong, along with the Prime Minister, and we had a discussion with the Chief Minister and the Governor. As far as Assam is concerned, I personally went to Assam - Guwahati - and in consultation with the Governor and the Chief Minister, we started a scheme of installation of one lakh shallow tubewells. The Governor of Assam had come to call on me recently and told me that something like 70,000 tubewells have been dug in Assam during the last few months. So, a lot of developmental activities are being unleashed in the North-East and in Jammu and Kashmir. Madam, I would like to mention about Ladakh, in particular, because last year, I was there personally. There is a power project which can come up on the Indus River. My colleague, Shri P.R. Kumaramangalam, is in consultation with the Government of Jammu and Kashmir so that we can increase the supply of energy. I have already, as I said, extended the tax benefits to the North-East, including special software zones and all that. So, I think it should be possible for the economies of these areas also to take off.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Specially, the IT industry is very suitable for these areas because it has a cleaner atmosphere.

श्री सुरेश पचौरी : महोदया, जहां तक वित्त मंत्री जी का प्रश्न है, उन्होंने अपने जवाब में बहुत कुछ बातें कही हैं। सामान्य आदमी के उपयोग में आने वाली वस्तुओं की दरों में जो वृद्धि हुई है उसके प्रति सभी ने चिंता व्यक्त की है, हमने भी चिंता व्यक्त की है। ईंधन और गैस के दाम भी बढ़े हैं। पार्लियामेंट्री अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर यहां मौजूद हैं। हमेशा राज्य सभा को या तो साइड लाईन किया जाता है या इग्नोर किया जाता है। हमें पता चला है कि अभी भी लोक सभा चल रही है। उनके तो खाने का प्रबंध हो गया है लेकिन राज्य सभा को यहां भी दरकिनार किया गया है। यद्यपि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो बिल रखा है उसका समर्थन करने के लिए हम यहां मौजूद हैं। हालांकि कीमतें बहुत बढ़ गई हैं फिर भी हम लोगों को नजर अंदाज किया गया है। इस ओर जरूर हम आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहते हैं।

संसदीय कार्य मंत्री तथा सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी मंत्री (श्री प्रमोद महाजन) : खाने को तो आप सब लोग आ सकते हैं।

उपसभापति : पार्लियामेंट्री अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर यह भूल गए कि यह हमारे हाऊस के भी मेंबर हैं और आप हमारे अंतर्गत आते हैं।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन : पहले तो दोनों सदनों के भोजन में हम कोई फर्क नहीं करते हैं। फर्क इतना ही है कि लोक सभा वालों को मैं 11-11 बजे तक बैठता हूं और चूंकि मैं इस सदन का होने के कारण इनको ऐसा कष्ट नहीं देता। यहां आठ, साढ़े आठ बजे खत्म करते हैं ताकि लोग घर जाकर खाना खा सकें।

उपसभापति : हाऊस को आप नहीं बिठाते, हम लोग चेयर पर बैठकर जल्दी खत्म कर देते हैं। आप तो कम से कम हम लोगों के ही भोजन-का इंतजाम कर दीजिए। वित्त मंत्री जी बेचारे यहां पर कई घंटों से बैठे थे। मैंने उन्हें स्लिप लिखकर भेजी कि मेरे कमरे में जाकर आप चाय या काफी वगैरह पी लीजिए ताकि आंख खुली रहे आपकी।

The question is :

"that the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 2000-2001, as passed by Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 to 122 were added to the Bill.

The First Schedule, the Second Schedule, the Third Schedule, the Fourth Schedule, the Fifth Schedule and the Sixth Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: Madam, I move:

'That the Bill be returned.'

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Constitution (Eighty-Ninth Amendment) Bill, 2000.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Madam, I beg to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:-