

दोहराने की आवश्यकता हैं। जैसा मैंने कहा कि अदालत की प्रक्रिया में हमारा पूरा विश्वास हैं और इस मामले में सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का जो भी निर्णय होगा उसे दृढ़ता के साथ कार्यान्वित किया जाएगा। मैं इस बात को भी कह चुका हूँ कि यह मामला नाजुक हैं, भावनाओं से जुड़ा हैं, अदालत के सामने वर्षों से पड़ा हैं। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय सभा मामलों का जल्दी निबटारा करे, इस बात की आवश्यकता हैं। निबटारा जो होगा उसे उसी रूप में स्वीकार किया जाएगा और सभी स्वीकार करेंगे, यह मैं आशा करता हूँ। इस समय विवाद ग्रस्त क्षेत्र केन्द्र सरकार के संरक्षण में हैं। उसकी पूरी रक्षा की जाएगी। उसकी स्थिति में किसी को भी किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन नहीं करने दिया जाएगा। वहां कड़ा पहरा हैं, सुरक्षा बल लगे हुए हैं। एक मजिस्ट्रेट हैं जो 24 घंटे तैनात हैं। सचमुच में प्रतिबंध इतने कड़े हैं कि यात्रियों को जाने में कठिनाई हो रही हैं। अब कोई अचानक आकर गुपचुप तैयारी करके वहां मंदिर का निर्माण कर लेगा, इसकी तो कल्पना भी नहीं की जा सकती। भावनाओं को भड़का कर किसी ढांचे को ढाया जा सकता हैं, मगर सोमनाथ जैसे भव्य और दिव्य मंदिर का निर्माण नहीं किया जा सकता और इस तरह की आशंका मन में से निकाल दें, वर्तमान सरकार के चलते ऐसा नहीं होने दिया जाएगा। 6 दिसंबर, 1992 को जो कुछ हुआ उसकी जांच लिब्रहैन आयोग कर रहा हैं। आयोग का कार्यकाल 30 जून को समाप्त होने जा रहा हैं। कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने आयोग कार्यकाल बढ़ाने की मांग की हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि सच्चाई सामने आए, इसलिए आयोग की अवधि को बढ़ाने का फैसला किया जा रहा हैं।

सभापति महोदय, अंत में मैं यही कहना चाहूंगा कि जब अयोध्या हमने नेशनल एजेंडा में छोड़ दिया तो आपने उसे क्यों ग्रहण कर लिया। अब अयोध्या के प्रति अगर भक्ति भाव जागा हो तो मुझे कोई आपत्ति नहीं हैं, लेकिन वक्त की नज़ाकत को देखते हुए ऐसे प्रश्नों पर एक संतुलित दृष्टिकोण अपनाने की आवश्यकता हैं। इसमें हमारी तरफ से कमी नहीं होगी। देश में एक उत्तरदायित्व का वातावरण बनाने की आवश्यकता हैं और यह चर्चा उसमें बाधक न बने, इस आशा के साथ आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए, सभापति महोदय, मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

#### THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1998-99 (CONTD.)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): The point which I was trying to drive at is about the fallacy in projecting

higher allocations by comparing between non-comparables and it has happened not in one year alone. It has happened almost for the last three consecutive years. What is the basic problem? The basic problem is this. We suggested that the public sector enterprises should raise their resources from the market or by generating their internal resources. They have -not been able to do that. I would not like to multiply the examples. Take the power sector, the coal sector, the communication sector and even the railways except in recent years when the Railway Finance Corporation has been able to raise some resources, have not been able to raise the resources they were expected to raise. But when they fail to raise the resources, there is a shortfall in the overall Plan Outlay.

The second point which I was dealing with is about the depressed expenditure figure and the inflated receipt figure. Take the case of defence expenditure. From 1995-96 onwards, there has been 10% to 14% step up in the defence expenditure every year. And you cannot just expect that this step up in this budget is going to be adequate. Therefore, there comes the question of having a higher fiscal deficit and imbalance in our financial structure. Now, the Finance Minister, while presenting his Budget, came out with three very laudable ideas. He wanted to have a simplified tax structure, a *saral* structure. He wanted to have better compliance by giving *sammaan* to the tax-payer. Thirdly, he also wanted to give them some relief by providing *samadhaan*. Two other aspects have been dealt with. It is proper on the part of the Finance Minister to bring another voluntary disclosure scheme with some other name—of course, I am not going into the rationality of that aspect; it has been dealt with. But where is the *saralata* in his tax structure? Mr. Finance Minister, when the finance Bill is discussed clause-by-clause, we will show how you have made the tax structure more complex. I am giving you just two examples.

Before the changes were to be introduced, there were nine customs rates. You have increased it to 12 customs rates. Similarly, in the excise duty also you have increased it. You have said in your Budget statement that would like to do away with the large number of unnecessary reductions which are making the tax laws complex. I agree with you. It should have been done. I had suggested this in an article before the Budget was presented, that the Finance Minister may consider having only two types of concessions. The first is a higher depreciation account—I am talking of the corporate sector—and then you have introduced some sort of investment allowance and these after do away with all other deductions, which will help you to simplify the tax structure. Perhaps, it may be too radical. But what have you done? You have withdrawn a set of some concessions, and again introduced some other sets of concessions and in the process the structure has become complex.

The third point on which I would like to comment and I would not like to take more time of the House, is about the adverse impact of the sanctions. Yes, I know your own assessment of the situation when you dismissed the whole thing in one sentence of your Budget speech. This is in the very first page itself where you say, "I am confident that this initial negative response will be moderated as our position gets better understood and we will not have any significant impact- on our economic development".

Mr. Finance Minister, you are entitled to have this view, but perhaps, it is not correct. I am not concerned about 150 million US dollars which you are going to have directly as aid from USA. If it is not available we can manage without that. But it has its wider ramifications. I am prepared to go with you considering that one estimate projecting that the total impact will be about 21 billion US dollars

is exaggerated. It may be all right that it may not be to that extent. But sanction going to affect the inflow of capital; it is going to affect the import of technology, particularly the *dual-use* technology; it is going to affect your exports; it is going to affect many of the projects which you are exposing for support from multilateral agencies. This year it was expected you will have about three billion US dollars from the World Bank on different projects. Since the events of 11th and 13th of May, how many projects have been deferred in the World Bank? It is just the beginning. I am giving you one example. One of the private airlines of India was to buy some aircraft, Boeing 737; some sort of contract was entered into. Boeing planned their exports depending on getting support from the Exim Bank of USA to the extent of 200 million US dollars. Now they are renegotiating taking into account the impact of sanctions, about 10.2 billion US dollars are being provided for insurance and financing overseas US companies which make investment approved. These are the companies which make investment and they get insurance coverage; they get financial support from this Company. Now, if they find that these are going to have an adverse impact on your inflow of capital. At some point of time, you will have to address these problems. Yes, you may require time. There is no harm if you take time—two months, three months, four months. But after that please come with a detailed assessment.

The other day, we were discussing about the debt problem. If you look at the debt problem, the basic fundamental which you are talking of is no doubt strong. But it did not come out of accident; for that people had to work, people had to plan. In 1991, our debt—GDP ratio—I am talking of the external debt—as percentage of GDP was 30.4 per cent. It went a little high in 1992 when it was 41 per cent. And thereafter according to the book circulated by you there has been a continuous downward

trend. It is given in your own document, Mr. Finance Minister, which you have circulated to us, this is one of the basic strengths of our economy. I would like to know whether this basic strength is going to last, is going to continue. For two consecutive years you have negative growth in your exports; for two consecutive years you have slow industrial growth and what is the assessment on which you have come to the conclusion that you are going to have seven per cent GDP growth, if there is no step-up in industrial development, if there is no step-up in export growth? If these trends are not reversed, whatever be the balance position today, I am afraid, the BOP crisis is bound to emerge.

One warning signal you should take from the observations of Dr. Manmohan Singh which he elaborated and I would just like to touch that point with three percentage revenue deficit, with 6.5 per cent fiscal deficit, the real interest rate is going to be higher. And if real interest rate is going to be higher—already our exports are having infrastructural input constraints—with a higher rate of interest, with bitter competitiveness in the international market, how are we going to compete with others?

I do not find it practical either from the amended Exim Policy or from your Budget proposals. I do not know whether according to some calculations the revenue concessions which the Commerce Minister has demanded as a measure of export promotion amounting to Rs. 13,000 crores have been taken into account in your figures. What is the indication? What is the positive direction for having higher growth in export and higher growth in industrial development? The present type of industrial depression which is going on, to my mind, requires a one-time step-up of public expenditure and had you provided a one-time step-up in the public expenditure, particularly in the power sector, in the construction sector, roads transport and communications, perhaps the slump which is faced in the steel industry or the

cement industry or in the aluminium industry would have been covered. Yes, there is a Central public sector outlay of Rs. 1,05,000 crores but the Budgetary support is only Rs. 42,000 crores. Internal resources and extra-budgetary support are nearly Rs. 63,000 crores which will not materialise and at the end of the year, we will be faced with a situation where there will be a shortfall in plan outlay. I do not blame anybody. It has been the pattern because to have a higher outlay we project it and thereafter when the public sector enterprises fail to mop up this level of resources, they ultimately end up compromising with the overall Plan expenditure.

I now come to the last point on which I will comment and thereafter I will conclude. Sir, the basic of the economy today with which we are confronted despite strong fundamentals which we have, is serious fiscal distortions and internal debt. Every year it is going up. Yes, you have decided to widen the tax base but still I do feel that there is adequate scope of expanding the direct tax net. Why am I talking of direct taxes?

This is non-inflationary. I do not believe one thing like you; you also mentioned it. There is scope for expansion of tax base. If you assume that there are 200 million middle-class people in this country, at least there are 40 million households. How is it that not more than 12 million people are direct tax payers? It leads to a conclusion that a large number of people are outside the direct tax net. But the various measures which you are talking of, or which you have not talked of, do not give any indication that you are seriously concerned with this.

We were hoping that when the Electricity Regulatory Authority Bill was introduced, certain important issues would be dealt with to make the SEBs economically viable. But then I understand your political compulsions. But, if there is a confrontationist position between economic requirements and political convenience, as a Finance

Minister, it is expected of you that you will put your foot down and say that certain things can not be done. You are expecting that there will be a substantial investment in the power sector from the private sector. What is the basis of this expectation? Who will generate Power and who will give it to the State Electricity Boards? The State Electricity Boards will not be in a position to pay the money for the power they will purchase. That is the scenario which has been created and as a result, despite our wish and desire, we are not getting adequate investments in the power sector.

Subsidy is another area and I expected the Finance Minister to deal with it. A discussion paper has been circulated by your Ministry. Incumbents of the office may change but we were expecting that this paper which had been circulated is for discussion. I expected this aspect will be dealt with in your budget. If I remember—correctly, total quantum of subsidy is about Rs. 1,38,000 crores. In percentage terms, it is around 14.4 per cent of the GDP, at current prices of 1994-95. But in your whole speech, you did not mention it at all, as if it does not exist.

It is for you to decide. It is for the Government of the day to decide as to in which areas you would like to have subsidy. But, as I pointed out, a discussion was initiated, a paper was prepared and, thereafter, the Finance Ministry is not doing anything about it. I hope, while replying to the debate, you would enlighten us on what you are going to do in this regard.

Non-Plan expenditure cut—we have been talking of. Almost every finance Minister has been saying about this. Sometime ago, we heard of setting Up an Expenditure Commission. I myself, as the Deputy Chairman of the Planning commission, tried to venture. I appointed a Committee, under the Chairmanship of the then Orissa Chief Minister, Shri Biju Patnaik. This Committee came out with

an excellent report. I think if any Finance Minister just simply tries to implement that report, it would be more than adequate to reduce some of the non-Plan expenditure and it would provide some elbow-room to the Government.

Sir, in regard to the basic issues which we are confronted with today, we will have to choose whether we will go in for the higher growth syndrome or not. If we want to go in for the higher growth syndrome, surely, we should be clear, honest; we should be determined in our objective. We must . priorities. Prioritization should be in the rear sense of the term. Priorities cannot be hundered-and-one things. Our priorities must be limited. If we want that the infrastructural constraints and deficiencies should be removed, if we want that the fiscal imbalance should be corrected, if we want to ensure that the Government does not depend on internal borrowings, for all times to come, we must prioritise.

I think, this year, our total debt servicing—including principal and interest payments—is much more than our total revenue—tax and non-tax. In the earlier years, at least, at the Budget Estimates stage, we had a little consolation. At the Budget Estimates stage, there used to be some surplus figure. But, this year, even this little consolation is not available. I find that our total revenue receipts—tax and non-tax—is Rs. 1,61,994 crores. On the other hand, the repayment of debt—principal and interest payments taken together—is Rs. 1,75,253 crores.

Sir, unless the Government's own revenue is enchanced, we. cannot come out of this present scenario. This is a problem which has to be addressed immediately. If you are talking of a Government through consensus, this is an area where there could be consensus. That is why the earlier Government—it was not our Government—the United Front Government, circulated a paper on subsidv. I do understand that it

is not possible for any individual party—whatever be its numerical strength on the floor of the House—to take certain unpleasant decisions. But if we can arrive at a national consensus through debate, through discussion, it would help you to take certain strong measures which you cannot take otherwise. I do hope that you would take some initiatives, introduce some innovations and, at the same time, take some of the initiatives of your predecessors to their logical conclusion.

With these words, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

(ends)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri R. Margabandu. He is not here. Shri M. Venkaiah Naidu.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU (Karnataka): Mr. Chairman, I thank you for giving me this opportunity... (Interruptions)...

I hope that you will not make any point of order.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE: Nobody is going to interrupt you because it is your maiden speech.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Thank you, Sir.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: We are on a point of order now.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think you come over here. Please come and take over.

[The Vice-Chairman (Miss Saroj Khaparde) in the Chair]

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, I will start my submission by reading out two or three lines from an editorial on the Budget, which appeared in "THE HINDUSTAN TIMES":

"On the whole it is a realistic Budget in the sense that its ear is to the ground and its finger is on the pulse of the people. There is much focus on the problems of the common man rather than opening up to the world or giving priority to foreign

investors or for that matter even giving impetus to export growth."

Sir, this Budget which is the maiden Budget of the BJP led Government, is the best Budget in recent years. It is a pro-growth, pro-employment and pro-farmer Budget. It is pro-rural, pro-industry, investor friendly and also consumer friendly.

Sir, the tax-payer also will be happy because the Budget is friendly towards the honest tax-payer. The Finance Minister really deserves to be congratulated for the bold, imaginative, innovative and realistic Budget he has presented under the extremely difficult economic situation we have inherited from the other side. The Budget has lived up to the promises made in the national Agenda. So, I have no hesitation in supporting the Budget.

I would also like to share my views with the rest of the House. After the last 45 or 46 years of the Congress rule or misrule, what is the situation in the country today? I have been hearing about this from my friends on the other side. Everybody has been saying that 50 per cent of the people are living below the poverty-line. The Congress people, even the people in the Left and other people are also saying the same thing. It is a fact. There may be some variation. It may be 40, 46, 48 or 50. The fact remains that a good number of people of this country are still living below the poverty-line. Who is to be blamed for this? Who has to take the responsibility for this? Is it the BJP Government which has come to power only 80 days back or the people who have ruled the country for all these years?

Secondly, they are also talking about drinking water. They are also talking about the lack of infrastructure facilities in the rural areas. They are also talking about the lack of facilities for the agriculture sector. There are so many references with regard to the poverty and the place of India with regard to the human resources in the comity of nations.

We are now at the 138th place. With regard to the debt, I think, we are at the third place or the fourth place. This is the situation that the BJP Government has inherited from others. It is mostly the Congress party which has to take the responsibility for this. Its policies were lopsided. Its policies were aimed at helping a select few, and its policies were aimed at helping the rich. Talking about the poor and helping the rich has been the practice so far. For the first time the Finance Minister has taken a bold initiative. In spite of all the difficulties, he has come out with programmes for and with allocations to various sectors. He has given a *swadeshi* thrust to the Budget. He has given more allocation to the rural sector. He has given more allocation to the small-scale industry. He has given more allocation to education. The social sector is getting 91 per cent, an all-time-high record. Agriculture has been given 58 per cent. Education has been given 50 per cent. Health has been given 35 per cent. At this rate, if you go through the allocations made for various sectors, there is no comparison whatsoever. The United Front Government had earlier said that it would allocate 60 per cent of the Plan allocation to the agriculture sector. If you go through the figures, that was not done.

I have read an article in THE INDIAN EXPRESS". I think it was written by our friend, Prof. Alag. The heading really attracted me, I come from a rural area. I am a son of a *kisan*. I have the common interests of *Kisans* in my heart. Though I work for my party at the all-India level, I still feel that the common man in the village has been badly neglected all these years. Professor's article says, "Speak the Language of the Farmers." yes, that is the need of the hour today. Even after 50 years of the Independence 78 per cent of our people who are living in the rural areas, are still starving of the basic amenities and necessities.

Sir, during the last 50 years we have developed this country into two countries. There are two countries in this country today. This is my feeling. One is India, and the other is Bharat. In India, you go to any five-star hotel. All hotels are full. In India, you go to a train. All the air-conditions compartments are full. You go to an airport. All "J" class seats are full. As MPs now we are also entitled to travel by the "J" class. I see that most of the "J" class seats are occupied. Sometimes we are put in the waiting list. We have airconditions for a number of rooms here. We have bypass roads, we have flyover bridges, we have overhead tanks for each house. On the other hand, the situation in rural India i.e. Bharat is: starvation deaths, suicide by farmers, migration towards urban areas, malnutrition. Even basic amenity like drinking water is not available. If a woman has to go to a toilet in a village, she has to go half a kilometre away from her house, because many people do not have even the basic latrine facility in the village. If a man or a cyclist goes on the road, the woman has to rise. This is the situation in the rural areas today. Even after 50 years of our independence, and even when eight Five-Year Plans are almost over, - that is the situation today. We, at least now look back and see to it that greater attention is given to the rural sector, to the agricultural sector, the rural artisans, the toddy-tapper, the weaver, the *beddi* roller, the fisherman. The rural artisan has been badly neglected and the people are feeling that it is a sin to continue in agriculture and its related functions. Therefore, they are trying to migrate to urban areas in favour of white-collared jobs, even that of a messenger.

In such situation what will happen to the country? With the help of the planning process we have been able to maintain our food production. There may be some shortfalls here and there, but still hats off to the farmers in the rural areas, who have been producing for the sake of the country. We have not paid enough attention to them. The Finance

Minister in his Budget speech has said that the Government is thinking of introducing a pilot scheme for crop insurance. Sir, I urge upon the Finance Minister that he should take it up seriously. Merc pilot schemes will not help. The crop insurance, which is in vogue today, is not a crop insurance. It is a loan-insurance. Banks, which are giving loans are forcefully insuring their part of the loan, which they are giving to them. But, once a crop gets affected by natural calamities like cyclone, flood, drought, the farmer is totally in distress. The questions which banks put really are surprising. They ask: Your crop is lost. That of the entire village also must have been lost. What about that of the Mandal? They want 80 per cent of the crop in the entire mandal to be affected so that you are eligible for crop insurance. I don't understand all this. If something happens to me, my wife will get compensation. Nobody will ask my wife: As your husband died, husbands of other women in the village also died. Here is a question which causes a grave injustice to the farming community of the country. So, the first and foremost thing that this Government should do is to come out with a comprehensive crop insurance scheme covering all crops, including commercial crops, so that the farmer does not depend on the mercy of somebody.

Sir, farmers also want restrictions on foodgrains movement to be removed. India has to be made a one-food zone. Successive Governments have been saying: Yes, India is one-food zone, but I have been seeing it otherwise. There are restrictions not from State to State, but even from district to district. I am from Nellore in Andhra Pradesh. Paddy in Nellore is surplus. If I transport it to Chennai, I get more price. If I transport it to Kerala, I get a still more remunerative price. But, I am not allowed, because of meaningless restrictions. People who make watches, can export them abroad. People who produce other goods, they can export to

any place. But, people who produce foodgrains, they are prevented from selling to other parts of the country forget about selling abroad. Within the country these sorts of restrictions are meaningless. I request the hon. Finance Minister to take initiative and convince the State Government to lift these restrictions. I had a talk with the Prime Minister. He told me that there are no restrictions. But, in the State I come from, I find even intra-district restrictions. Thereby the farmer is put to distress. At the time of the harvest, he is under compulsion to sell away his products, because there is no godown facility. He has no credit facility to sustain. Money-lenders come and demand. So, he is forced to sell his produce in distress incurring losses. Therefore, crop insurance, increase in the rural godowns and increase in the rural infrastructure are very much necessary. We can really export mangoes abroad and get foreign exchange if we have sufficient cold storage. There are a vast mineral resources, aquaculture, sericulture. Pisciculture piggery, dairy, all these agro-based industries, agro-related industries have to be given importance. Along with these, the rural artisans also should be given importance. Sir, the Indian rural artisans are very famous and it has been recognised all over the world. Even abroad there is a lot of demand for handloom clothes. Then even ornaments which are prepared by our goldsmiths are having a lot of demand abroad. These rural artisans are really the source of strength to our economy. They have to be given importance. They have to be given recognition. More than that, they have to be given their due place in the society. Today, these downtrodden backward classes, whatever you may call, OBCs or BCs or whatever it is, they differ from State to State, have been neglected all these years. Today, they have to be given top priority. In addition to this, we must also go in for a comprehensive insurance scheme for the agricultural labour. The old age pension scheme for the agriculture labour and one

welfare scheme, the scheme that is in vogue in Kerala has to be studied. An all-India scheme on the basis of Kerala legislation can also be thought of by the Government.

Madam, in this Budget we have orientation development and orientation rural. We are thinking in terms of introducing credit cards for kisans. It is really a bold and welcome step. At least here is a Government which is thinking in terms of the ordinary kisan of giving him a kisan credit card. At the same time, unless adequate instructions are given, unless adequate arrangements are made to link it with his land holding, with regard to his production capacity, with regard to his titles of the land register, the banks will not accept the kisan credit card unless the kisan deposits the amount in advance. Today no kisan is in a position to deposit the money in advance like a businessman or like a trader or like an industrialist. So, the credit card will become meaningless. Unless it is linked up with the land holding of the person and also linked up with the Record of Right (ROR), banks will not advance him loan.

Then, with regard to the village, Mahatma Gandhi gave a slogan. "Back to villages". But our Congress friends all these years—friends means not these Members—Planners have shown their back to the villages and they have moved towards cities. That is why all urban areas, even urban people are suffering a lot. The urban areas have become slum areas. There is congestion. There is a lot mindless migration taking place to the urban areas. So, the village has to be taken as a unit. The planning has to be village-oriented. There has to be integrated development. Schemes like the DRDA, IRDP, TRYSEM, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana which are in vogue in rural areas are not sufficient. I suggest to the Government to think in terms of a scheme which was introduced and implemented effectively in Rajasthan. It is called Antyodaya scheme. Its objective is to uplift the poorest of the poor. A

five-year plan or a ten-year plan on the lines of the Antyodaya scheme of Rajasthan can be evolved at the national level. The Government should come to the rescue of the downtrodden in the villages and identify such families, ten families in every village and try to help them so that their families get uplifted from below the poverty line. This is one important aspect which I request the Finance Minister to keep in mind and evolve it in course of time.

The excise duty on jute production is reduced. Biopesticides import has been reduced. Local bio-fertilizer units have been given a total tax concession. This is really a welcome step.

With regard to the urea price, my friends from the Congress party have agitating. They were really very much agitated. They were saying that this Government is anti-farmer. I heard the speech of our former Prime Minister, Shri Deve Gowda. He was also very, very forthright and effective in defending and talking about the farmers' problems. Madam, let me bring to the notice of this House what the Congress Party did during its tenure with regard to this particular issue. The Congress Party which is now shedding crocodile tears for the farmers had increased the price of urea when they were in power in 1991—94 by Rs. 980. Today the same party is demonstrating in front of the Parliament. What moral right have they got to talk about the welfare of the farmers? They have imposed extra burden on the farmers. They were pro-farmer! But when our Finance Minister comes up with a proposal to impose a burden of Re. 0.50 per kg urea, they say it is anti-farmer.

Then you raise a lot of hue and cry. Similarly, they had raised another issue. The issue was that they organised a demonstration outside about which there was a mention in the House also. We had discussed it at length yesterday. It was said that the Youth Congress workers



protesting against the enhancement of the retirement age, had organised a violent demonstration against increase in the retirement age of the Government employees. Madam, it really pains me because the Congress party is still having some stalwarts in its ranks. There are wisemen like Pranab Mukherjee ji, Dr. Manmohan Singh Ji and Shri S.B. Chavan Ji. They are still there in the Congress Party, who are leading the party today. Even in the Lok Sabha also, there are senior leaders. I do not know whether they have gone through their manifesto before allowing the Youth Congress workers to organise such a demonstration in front of Parliament. Madam, this is a step which has been taken as per the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Naidu, are you speaking on the Congress Party?

AN HON. MEMBER: Madam he is just making a comparison.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Comparison is all right. But he is going on mentioning the name of a particular political party. Mr. Naidu, you speak about the Budget. I am not stopping you. I am just cautioning you.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, I am thankful to you for your guidance. If the same guidance. If the same guidance is given to the Members sitting on the other side of the House. I will be most happy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I will definitely give this guidance if somebody tries to speak in the way.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: I just conclude about the manifesto of the Congress party in once sentence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Don't conclude your speech,

DR. BIPLAB DASGUPTA: Madam, it is his maiden speech. He should be allowed to speak.

SHRI M. VENKAIAH NAIDU: Madam, I would like to draw the attention of the leaders to page 45 of the Congress Party Manifesto. I am not making any derogatory remark against anybody. I am referring to a fact. At page 45 of manifesto, it has been stated and I quote:

"In keeping with the recommendations of the Fifth Pay Commission, the retirement age will be raised to sixty years."

We have done the same thing. I do not know what has really angered them and forced them to organise a demonstration here and then make so much *nulla baloo* Sir, when we talk of consensus, these are the areas where we can build up consensus. I heard with rapt attention the speech of Shri Pranab Mukherjee Ji and also Dr. Manmohan Singh Ji. They made very many salient points. They made a lot of valuable suggestions. They did not cover politics in their speeches. I should admit that they did not talk of politics. We should really appreciate that. But the Budget was projected outside in such a way as if the heavens had fallen, as if everything had gone wrong. If you go through the editorials of various newspapers, if you go through the general reaction of the common man in the country, you will come to know about the real picture. The common man is happy because he has been taken care of, not the foreign investors. The common man is happy because the Indian interests, the rural interests, the artisans' interests have been taken care of, for the first time, in an appropriate way. This is the feeling of the common man in the country. In addition to this, the scheme that has been announced for NRIs, is really getting widespread response from various parts of the world that they should really engage themselves and utilise the scheme to strengthen the economy of their motherland.

In addition to this, I suggest that the Agricultural Prices Commission has to be totally revamped. The real representatives of farmers have to be brought into the Agricultural Prices Commission. The rural banks in the rural areas are not functioning effectively. They are not able to serve the needs of the agriculturists and are unable to come to their rescue during the times of distress. So, the rural banking system has to be strengthened. The Finance Minister has talked about reorganisation and increase of equity for NABARD from Rs. 2,500 crores to Rs. 3,000 crores. He has made good allocation for that. But along with that, I request the Finance Minister to see to it that the attitude of Banks changes. Banks are not honouring their commitment with regard to the rural credit to the agricultural sector. I don't have that much time to go into the details. But I only urge upon the Finance Minister to see to it that the bank officials are properly motivated and their mindset is changed. Bank is not for the rich alone, bank is not for the business community alone, it is for all the people. This has to be kept in mind and an integrated course has to be arranged for all those who are working in the rural banks, particularly.

Then I come to the backward areas in the country, because of the lopsided planning in the country, there are certain areas in each State which have been neglected. Unless you come out with a comprehensive scheme, there will be a demand for separate State in each State and in each division also.

Carving small States is one solution. That alone is not going to take care of it because there are certain areas, even in districts, which are totally backward, and there are certain areas which are forward. So, that being the case, the national agenda speaks about the backward area development. I did not find enough allocation or enough mention about it in the budget. I request the Finance Minister to pay necessary attention to this very im-

portant issue of ending the regional imbalances and come out with a scheme in consultation with the States to see to it that a special allocation is made for these backward areas so that they can come up along with the other regions and other areas in due course of time. A beginning has to be made. Sir, I come from a State where—in the morning my friends were talking about Telangana—Telangana is a backward area. It is a neglected area. There is an area called Rayalseema. It is totally drought-stricken. There is a district called Anantapur. People call it "Antapur"; that is totally poor. In this district, rainfall is the lowest in the country. Out of the hundred areas that have been identified as the least — rainfall areas in the country, Jaisalmer and Anantapur come on the top. Our former Prime Minister, Narasimha Raoji, had mentioned about allocating some 800 crores of rupees to that district alone, from where Shri Satya Sai Baba hails; he has given some contribution, by way of his own donation, towards drinking water problem of the district, but P.M.'s promise of Rs. 800 crores assistance from the Centre has never come true. I request the Finance Minister to pay enough attention—I am not talking about Anantapur alone. I am just making a mention of it—to Anantapur and other backward areas in the country, and they have to be identified and they have to be given special and extra care. This is another point I wanted to suggest.

Then with regard to the housing problem, I urge upon the Finance Minister that he has given enough importance to the housing sector and the national agenda speaks about building up of 20 lakh houses each year. That is a very good and noble idea. Sir, unless private Sector, participation is encouraged, things won't improve. He has given certain concessions with regard to income tax also for improving the condition of dilapidated houses. That will go a long way. But, at the same time, much more concessions are required to get enough inflow of

investment into the housing sector. Housing is a major problem and I see my countrymen, ordinary people living on the footpaths of Bangalore or Calcutta or Hyderabad or some other places; I really feel sad that after so many years we have not been able to provide them a house. I know it is not so easy to construct a house overnight, but this important problem of housing has to be given enough care and it should become a national programme and the State also has to be involved in this task. Sir, I may mention here that Shri N. T. Rama Rao, our former Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh—unfortunately, he is no more now—had built, during his regime, 5 lakh houses per year, in one State. Five lakh houses in a year! During eight years of his tenure, he built 40 lakh houses! Whatever may be his other omissions or failures, one should appreciate it, the entire country should appreciate it. He did not belong to my party. I should really bring the memories of the great man to the notice of the Finance Minister and request that on the lines of our Andhra Pradesh housing, a similar scheme has to be evolved for the entire country to take care of the housing sector, both urban and rural. I am happy that with regard to housing also, he said, "The maximum allocation has been made with regard to the rural sector." The same trend should continue. India lives in villages. India lives on agriculture. Agriculture alone can bring prosperity for this country. We have the capacity in agriculture. We have the capacity to export without any additional technology, without any import, without investing even a rupee of foreign investment. If you really boost up agriculture, the country will become prosperous. I am not against industry. Industry and agriculture are like the two eyes of a human being, but, at the same time, the other eye has been given enough importance all these years, and this eye has been neglected totally. Now if you allocate more resources and if you really translate the national agenda of 60 per cent allocation to the rural sector in a sustained manner, on a

regular basis, the rural areas will be taken care of and you can see a change in the rural areas in the coming days. This is another point. I urge upon the Finance Minister to take care of it.

And then with regard to the schemes of Samadhan, Saral and Samman, they have mentioned that there are Rs. 40,000 crores locked up in litigation.

If the Samadhan Scheme can be utilised by these people who are involved in litigations and if a good amount of money comes, it will be really good for the country. It will be an incentive. Similarly, I suggest to the Finance Minister that with regard to the rural areas, people who make prompt payment of their loans should be given rebate in the payment of interest. This is my concrete suggestion to the Finance Minister. The rural people are getting credit at the rate of 12% for agriculture. Earlier it was 9%. People who make prompt payment should be given some rebate. Suppose I take a crop loan and after some months I repay it, if my sincerity is recognised, I must be given some rebate. I am not asking for any waiver of any loan. I am not asking for any concession. It is to encourage a sincere and honest person in the rural areas who is repaying the money. There is a tendency to look towards the Government for waiver. Waiver is not possible. We have realised it. After coming to power we have realised it much more than earlier. Earlier, as an activist, I used to demand outside every time to waive this loan or to waive that loan. On all these things we used to make demands earlier. Now everybody realises, after the previous experience, that we cannot go in for a total waiver. Today the situation is that because of continuous calamities the farmer is affected. Today he is in distress and he is committing suicide. We have heard that in Maharashtra 45 people died, in Andhra Pradesh more than 220 people died and in Karnataka 20 or 28 people died. They committed suicide because they felt there was no other way of repaying loans. So, they are in distress.

There is no other reason. The Government cannot come to the rescue of peasants by giving them Rs. 5 lakhs or Rs. 10 lakhs. It is not possible. We have to go to the root cause of the reason what prompted him to commit suicide and see to it that he is bailed out of the situation, the desperation. For that you have to think in terms of giving certain incentives to honest people in the rural areas who make prompt payment of their loans and also creating the necessary infrastructure in the rural areas. You have also to provide him storing facilities and the required support price for what he produces, and to allow him to export like other industrial finished goods. If you allow agricultural produce also to be totally exported, this problem can really be solved in the long run.

Madam Vice-Chairperson, this being my first speech on the Budget, I don't want to go into any of the controversies or other things as you have rightly cautioned and guided me. My friends have given me a patient hearing. I am really thankful to them. I hope the Finance Minister will take note of some of the suggestions that I have made and incorporate them during the course of his reply or whenever it is possible in future. I thank you and I thank him.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): I wanted to raise a point of order at that time from my seat. But the hon. Chairman asked me to sit in the Chair. Otherwise, I would have stood up and raised a point of order. But you spoke very well. It was your maiden speech. So, I also thought to give you some more time.

SHRI ). CHITHARANJAN (Kerala): Madam, I consider this Budget as very hard towards the poor and, at the same time, very soft towards the rich. In fact, this Budget has given several concessions and incentives to the industrialists, businessmen, MNCs, tax evaders and real estate owners. Such a Budget is being presented at a time when our country is facing very serious economic crisis. Our

industrial growth has been declining year after year in the last three years. In the same way, our exports are dwindling. Our revenue income is below the budgeted target.

The amount that we have to pay by way of interest and instalments against the loan that we had taken is increasing substantially. There is already a negative growth in agriculture production. There are certain other developments, like the turmoil that has taken place in South East Asian and East Asian countries, sanctions declared by certain countries after the explosions of 11th and 13th of May, depreciation in the value of the yen, etc. All these developments have confounded the situation. Now in a situation like this when the Budget is presented, normally what needs to be attempted to is, how to give a kick-start to the economy and how to increase the rate of production in industry and in agriculture. But I am disappointed to find out that this Budget has not at all given attention to those problems and has not at all tried to solve those problems. While presenting the Budget, the hon. Finance Minister has mainly depended on complete liberalisation and also on private capital, both Indian as well as foreign for economic growth. He thinks that these policies can save the country and that these policies can give the necessary money that is required. If you go into the past experience, the position is different. For example, after 1991, successive Governments almost followed the same policy. They were having great expectations from the private sector. But very responsible persons who implemented this policy, who advocated this policy, thought that the private sector would come forward and help them in bringing up of pollution because of the infrastructure sector. Their expectations were belied. They themselves said that the expectation of the Government were belied and that the Government itself would have to invest money in that. The same person who initiated this policy had come to this conclusion. Unfortunately, the present

Finance Minister does not think like this. The experience of South-East-Asian and East-Asian countries should persuade us to rethink the whole thing. Unfortunately, he is not doing it. If we consider the sluggish growth in our economy, one of the main bottlenecks is the lack of purchasing capacity of a large section of the people. I don't find anything in the Budget which can improve the purchasing capacity of the masses in general. In fact, several aspects of this Budget are going to create an inflationary tendency. I don't want to go into more details. I am afraid, perhaps the inflation rate may go up to 8.5 per cent, as Dr. Manmohan Singh pointed out. I think that it may perhaps touch the double-digit figure. If it touches the double-digit figure, I will not be surprised. When inflation takes place, who are the people who are hard hit? Majority of toiling people in our country. Peasants, agricultural labourers, industrial workers and workers in the unorganised sector are the most affected people. Their condition will be deteriorating. And their purchasing capacity itself will go down. Then, take the case of public sector enterprises. Perhaps this is the first Budget which has given a clear idea of a plan to dismantle the public sector undertakings within a short period, say within the next two or three years. They have talked about disinvestment. Shares of Navratnas are being sold to private industrials. It has also been declared that in all public sector undertakings other than those belonging to the strategic sector, the Government's share will be brought down to 26 per cent which means that 74 per cent share will be given to the private sector. It means that the process of privatisation, in fact, is taking place. The Finance Minister also made it clear that there are certain public sector undertakings which cannot be revived and that these undertakings will have to be closed down. But he has also provided for them a Budgetary allocation of Rs. 1,400 crores. What is it for? Is it for rehabilitation, reorganisation and modernisation of public sector

undertakings so as to make them more efficient and more profitable? No, Sir. That money has been set apart only for paying wages and for providing other benefits to the workers who are, otherwise, entitled to get the same, say.

for the next two or three months. While that has been done, the intention is to close down the factories. So, it is clear for what purpose this money has been set apart. Another thing is that it has been said that the VRS scheme is being introduced with a new addition. The only new thing is that persons who have completed 30 years of service will be given the benefits which have been given to those people who have not completed

30 years of service. That is the only thing new in that. The peculiarity of this is that while giving this benefit, the Government is retrenching workers in certain factories. While the retrenchment takes place, the Finance Minister says categorically that the Government will be at liberty to sell the assets of these companies as it likes. Therefore, what is going to happen with public sector undertakings? The public sector units are not going to develop. There is disinvestment taking place and the money that is obtained out of disinvestment is being spent for certain other purposes. It is not being utilised for creating further assets or for expanding certain public institutions or for creating new units. In fact, they are spending it for meeting certain expenditures. That is what is being intended. What has this resulted in? Jewels of the families are being sold for meeting the grocery bills. Sir, while

we are thinking of increasing the purchasing power, the main thing that has to be done is to implement the land reforms. Sir, that aspect is not being touched upon at all. And I am quite sure that Government are not intending to do anything about it. At the same time, the Minister has said that the Urban Land Ceiling Act will be repealed. I don't want to go into the details of that. Why is it being repealed? Is it their thinking to abolish the land ceiling as well?

Therefore, there will be no question of any land reforms.

Sir, unless land reforms are effected on a large scale, the conditions of the poor peasants in the villages, the agricultural labour can not be improved. We are talking about suicides of peasants which are taking place in several States. I am afraid that this phenomenon is going to take place almost in every State and on a much wider scale. Sir, the main reason is debts in which they are trapped. They are neck-deep in very severe debts. The hon. Finance Minister had made certain proposals. Those proposals will not be of any help because those peasants who are committing suicides have not got loans from societies or from commercial banks. They were taking money from the private money-lenders. Their land, every asset is in the hands of the money-lenders. Have you got any plan to save these peasants from the clutches of these private moneylenders? Have you got any concrete plan? I do not see anything in this. In the same way another thing that is affecting the agriculturists, the cultivators is the fall in prices of some commodities. There is a fall in the price of copra, the price of rubber, the price of cotton and the prices of several other commodities, even onions and potatoes and such other crops. There is a heavy fall, a steep fall in the prices on several occasions. Along with that there are natural calamities also. If these things are added together, the peasants are being brought to a situation where they find it very difficult to pay the loans. Then, the hon. Finance Minister had said that the banks will provide necessary funds. I am quite sure they are not going to do it. The Government policy is not in favour of it. You see, previously there was a condition that was insisted. The nationalised banks, the commercial banks will have to spend about 40 per cent of the money that they could lend for priority sectors. But now, that percentage is being reduced. Now, the Narasimhan committee had submitted its Report. In that Report it had specifically made a suggestion that it

should be brought down to 10%. What I think is, that the Government is favourably considering it. There is no meaning in saying in the Budget that the banks will take care of the credit needs of the peasants. They are not going to do it. It is going to become much worse. Coming to the price of these commodities, it so happens in certain cases because import is allowed. In today's newspapers, there is a statement by our Commerce Minister. What he said was, the import of second hand used tyres from foreign countries could not be stopped. What happened? Is it because of the conditions of WTO that we have agreed to? If it is so, are we not reconsidering the whole thing? Why should we import second hand tyres from America?

It has resulted in a steep fall in the prices of rubber or of some other commodity. Therefore, unless the Government prepares a plan or considers the question of ensuring remunerative prices to the agriculturists and also the question of ensuring proper credit, the peasants can not be saved and the agricultural sector will not be saved. Another question about agricultural workers is, when you are thinking of increasing the productivity or the production in agriculture, which is the main section of people that can contribute to it. It is the agricultural workers who will make an effective contribution towards increasing the agricultural production.

That is the one section which has been completely left out of security. In most of the places they are being denied even the minimum wages that have been fixed. The Government is not taking any step to ensure minimum wages. In the same way, they have not been given any social security. I agree with that colleague who has suggested that, as has been done in Kerala, we should think of having an Act which will ensure a reasonable minimum wage, some security of employment and the necessary social security and welfare.

In fact, this had been agreed to by the previous Government. Towards the end of the last Government, a Bill had already been prepared and it was to be introduced in the Parliament, but it could not be introduced due to certain reasons. The Government will have to consider that now.

Another thing that I have to say is about the unemployment problem. Unemployment is increasing. And it is going to increase because in the private sector there will be no possibility of more employment opportunities. In fact, those who are in employment will be retrenched. Most of the factories will be closed down. I don't find any particular scheme for creating more employment. One thing that is being stated is, if a private employer, an industrialist, engages one worker more, 30% of the additional wage commitment of that employer will be reduced from the profit. I don't think any employer on earth will appoint a new worker because of that. I have been in the trade unions for decades. I know how the employers think. When we talk of employing one worker more, what the employer says is that his total commitment will be so much more by way of Basic Pay, Dearness and other allowances, Provident Fund, etc. He calculates the entire amount. If 30% of that amount is being deducted from the profit, do you think any employer will take a new worker? No. No employer on earth will take. There are certain other proposals also. I will not go into them. But they are not concrete proposals. So, the Government will have to think seriously and prepare a plan to tackle the problem of unemployment and reduce unemployment year after year. The backlog has to be reduced gradually, say, within a fixed period. Something of that sort will have to be done.

Then, I come to the question of taxes. Madam, another peculiarity of this Budget is that the indirect taxes have been increased and as a consequence of that the percentage of indirect taxes

against GDP will be higher and the percentage of the amount realised by direct taxes will be lesser. This is the first time that such a phenomenon has taken place in the Budget. The amount being calculated is Rs. 5,000 crores by way of increase in Excise Duty. Shri Pranab Mukherjee has gone into the details of it. I am not going into this. But I am quite sure that the basis on which these calculations have been made is very unreal. It doesn't take into account the realities. For the last three years, there has been a slackness in the industrial development. How do you think there will be an increase in industrial development immediately, that there will be a spurt in industrial activity? I don't think so.

Therefore, those calculations are really made on an unreal basis. Madam, as has been pointed out by my other hon. colleagues, the Crop Insurance Scheme is a repetition of what is being done. But unless a real comprehensive Crop Insurance Scheme is worked out, implemented and enforced, peasants could not be saved.

Madam, I may say one more point regarding the *Samadhaan* and also regarding the non-performing assets of banks. As far as I know, the Minister himself has given a reply in Parliament that about 40,000 crores of rupees are due from — there are defaulters who have not paid either the interest or the principal. It has been demanded several times that you give the list of those persons who have cheated the commercial banks and thereby cheated the public. The Governments, one after another, are refusing to do it. Why? If an ordinary man takes some money from a co-operative bank — there is a record, everybody knew — action is taken, but no action is taken against these well-to-do people. I understand that out of these 45,000 crores of rupees, more than 35,000 crores of rupees is cornered by a few people — the big industrialists. What prevents you from publishing the names of those people?

What prevents you from realising this money from these people? If you take bold steps to realise that money of course, you will be applauded by everybody because those people are cheating the country. Same is the case with the *Samadhaan* and tribunals in banks. You see, these tribunals are generally being utilised for giving concessions or settling matters by receiving some money from the man who had taken credits and savings. This is not right. In the same way, I am afraid, there is also an arrangement in the *Samadhaan* to help these people, moneyed people who have taken money, but are not remitting the instalments and interests at regular intervals. Here, those people are given a chance to settle the whole thing for a pittance. Therefore, this matter will have to be looked into. Madam, I don't want to take much time of the House. With these words, I conclude. I think the hon. Finance Minister will consider all the points that I have made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE): Shri Adhik Shirodkar, ^- not here. Shrimati Shabana Azmi.

SHRIMATI SHABANA AZMI (Nominated): Madam, the Annual Budget has evoked different responses from different Members. While taking note of the hon. Minister's predicament in placing the proposals at a difficult time, I consider it necessary to highlight certain concerns for consideration before the House. Hon. Minister, it might help if you look in my direction and listen to what I am saying. I would really appreciate it. The Budget ostensibly contains stimulus packages with the Government seeking to spend more on infrastructure. There has been an increase of 35 per cent — Rs. 61,146 crores investment in irrigation, housing, etc. There is an imposition of additional import duty to neutralise disadvantages about tariffs faced by domestic industry. These decisions are based on

the assumption that Government spending will generate demand. However, bulk of the money is supposed to be collected by way of indirect taxes and disinvestment of public sector units. The increase in indirect taxes is more than Rs. 8,000 crores and inflationary. Firstly, Madam, I have my apprehensions on the over-reliance on indirect taxes by way of increase in both Customs and Excise. Such a measure will result in rise in prices of manufactured items by almost ten per cent.

Such a step would be inflationary and it cross-purposes with an aim of increasing demand. Prices of common household items like packaged tea prices, etc., have been increased. The hon. Minister in his speech has stated that the Government would be going ahead with disinvestments in Videsh Sanchar Nigam Limited, Indian Oil Corporation, Gas Authority of India and try to raise Rs. 5,000 crores. My apprehension is that so far there is not even a whisper on the modalities and the time-frame to be adhered to in this regard. Non-adherence in the disinvestment plan would only mean increase in the fiscal deficit. May I suggest that these quality scrips should be offered in a phased manner for optimum price realisation to the Indian public? Then only such shares should be sold in the international market.

With regard to the direct tax proposals, the Fine print at three places creates doubts. Much has been said about incentives given to the housing sector and I welcome the fact that housing has been put in the nation Budget. जैसा कि एक शायर ने कहा है कि

—  
“एक हाथ से देती हैं दुनियां सौ हाथ से ले लेती हैं

यह खेल है कब से जारी।”

तो अब इतना की अलका की रिपील की जो बात हैं उसके बारे में मुझे सख्त ऐतराज हैं।

It is believed that by repealing the ULC-RA a lot of land will be available and construction activity would be generated. Does availability of more land necessarily lead to rapid construction and develop-



ment activity? Experience reveals that it is not so. Construction is undertaken by private investors only upon demand and sales. Market conditions and speculation prevail. Sales are promoted for maximising profits in the shortest time. An investor-builder regulatory mechanism controls production and influences real estate prices. Past records show that private sector's record in construction of low cost tenements is abysmal. In our cities the housing needs of the poor are much greater for which the Government has to take responsibility. It is a myth to think that the vacant lands, if released, will be developed for housing the poor and thereby ease the shortage in housing. In the absence of ULCRA, how does the Government propose to acquire sufficient lands to make mass housing for the economically weaker sections particularly those living in slums a reality? Will it buy land at market rates? The Government needs to specify those projects that are going to be given tax-holidays for approved projects. Among other things it needs to be made clear as to what kind of mechanism is to be put in place for approval of these projects. My fear is that the Union Government's decision of repealing ULCRA and tax holiday benefits for approved projects, those marginalised in our metros in *jhuggi-jhompri* clusters will be further marginalised. Madam, in order to protect the interests of the economically weaker sections it is imperative that before any project is approved or specified by the Government, at least 40%— I would have said entirely but I would now realistically say 40%— of the units at specified locations should be earmarked for the under-privileged. I therefore, seek an assurance from the Minister that specified housing projects would have provision for housing the poor also. The rules, if any, prescribed in this regard would need such objectives. Past experience shows that such arrangements are often misused and such units should be non-transferable for a period of 15 years.

While complimenting the hon. Minister for giving incentives to facilitate better

waste management by local bodies through private participation, I wish to draw the hon. Minister's attention to a tax benefit for employees generating employment. The benefit for generating employment is indeed thoughtful, perhaps a bit philosophical as factories after close-down necessitate deployment of worker elsewhere. However, the proposed benefit of 30% of additional wages to be allowed is a case of allowing too little. This is particularly so, as new concerns employing at least 100 workers may not have profits after depreciation for the initial two to three years. If the incentive is not to remain sterile and a dead letter, to make the benefit meaningful the hon. Minister may consider suitable changes in this regard. The Budget proposals, if suitably modified may be less harsh and more realistic. Then, perhaps, I would not agree with the critics who have called the Budget as being one of the lobbies, by the lobbies and for the lobbies.

Thank you.

SHRI M.P. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI (Kerala): Thank you, Madam Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Budget.

This is the first Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. I welcome his maiden Budget.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): This is his second Budget.

SHRI MP. ABDUSSAMAD SAMADANI: As a comprehensive Budget, this is his first Budget. The first one was only an interim Budget.

Madam, we welcome it, as a maiden Budget. We do appreciate the serious consideration which the hon. Finance Minister has given to some aspects of our economy. At the same time, we have to disagree with the spirit of the Budget and the philosophy adopted by the Finance Minister in dealing with the problems related to the economy of the country.

The Finance Minister has said that this is a defining moment of history. But the content and the spirit of the Budget does not justify this kind of interpretation. The

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Finance Minister has tried to cope with the severe economic pressures. But we are waiting for the results. We are waiting for the results, for the goods that are going to be delivered.

To my mind, if a Budget has to be a sensible, purposeful and meaningful document, one should have the political courage; especially, the courage of conviction. Without a political conviction, no party, no Government, can tackle the serious economic issues that are faced by the country.

The Budget presented by the Finance Minister has some positive sides. For example, the line of free marketing; movement of foodgrains; removal of the constraints on agricultural exports. But delivering the goods to larger sections of the people—especially, the consumers and taxpayers—has to be given primary importance, serious importance. Then only there would be a proper economic growth.

Nowadays, the Budget is considered as the main vehicle of policy changes. The domestic economy, nowadays—this is so for the last few years—is getting more and more importance. The hon. Member from the other side was saying that the Budget has given a lot of importance to the agricultural sector. I agree that the hon. Finance Minister has given some consideration to the agricultural sector. I agree that the agricultural sector has been taken into consideration. There are some measures proposed. But I do not think the agricultural sector, which is an important field of activity for most of the people of our country, has been given the consideration which it deserves.

Then, Madam, the Budget does not say much about the productivity aspect. Dismantling of the Governmental regulations is very much essential for both making productivity a reality and for solving the problems faced by the farmers. I do not know why, even after fifty years of our Independence, particularly, in a country which has Mahatma Gandhi as the Father of the Nation, we are not ready to give

ample importance to agriculture. Industry is very important. No doubt about that. Industrialisation of the country cannot be ignored. As I said, I do appreciate the fact that the Finance Minister has given some consideration. But that is not enough. The agricultural sector deserves more. Instead of harassing the poor, instead of harassing the farmers, we should tax the rich more and more.

Madam, one positive aspect of the Budget is that it is maintaining the tempo of reforms. Maintenance of the tempo of the reforms is important, and that is to be appreciated, especially regarding FDI and fiscal adjustments.

Madam, the increase in the funding in the fields of rural development and education is another aspect of this Budget. But, even after the allocation of this fund, some basic issues, especially some basic problems relating to agriculture, remain. They have not even been mentioned in the Budget. But, here, my request to the hon. Finance Minister is that the funds allocated should reach the poor. Every Budget has something to speak about the poor people's problems, but we are not making it sure that the fund is reaching them. Interference of intermediaries is a problem which has to be solved. Social justice and economic growth are to be blended in a balanced manner.

Another very important aspect of the Budget that is very much spoken about is the inflation rate. The Budget is also speaking about control on the expenditure. Our fear is that the inflation may push up further the already high level of the Government borrowing and the RBI credit. I do not know what is going to happen. I hope the hon. Minister will be enlightening us on this aspect in his reply that we expect. If such a thing happens, it will result in a combination of high interest rates and high inflation. That will be a serious problem.

Now regarding the hike in the price of petroleum, this was discussed. The hon.

Minister then become ready to reverse the situation. We are all thankful. But again I fear how things of this kind happen. When the international price is low, why are we increasing this? I cannot understand this. Especially the hike in the petroleum price affects every commodity. Every commodity is affected. Especially the cost of travel both on the earth and in the sky is affected. Even the previous Government had done it, but that had created much hue and cry, much protest throughout the country. The Minister has stated in his budget Speech that it was for construction of National Highways. Especially in this age of liberalisation and privatisation why should we go in for this hike to build our National Highways? There are special schemes like the BOLT, Build, Operate, Lease and Transfer Scheme. When this kind of schemes are prevalent, why should we go in for this hike for construction of National Highway? This is a very important point to be pondered over. Sometimes it might have been done to conceal the threat of the much feared sanctions which have not been referred to at all in the Budget presented by the hon. Minister.

Madam, as a representative of the State of Kerala, I have to mention some very important problems of Kerala. The hon. Member who spoke before me, Mr. Chitharanjan, was also referring to them. Budget after budget is ignoring even the basic problems of our State. For example, the FACT which is a leading public sector undertaking in Kerala, was ignored previously also. Especially the import duty on caprolactam has been reduced from 30 per cent to 20 per cent. So, that is going to affect the FACT in a very bad manner. That is the biggest public sector unit in Kerala. I request the hon. Minister to consider this point because the FACT is very important to Kerala.

Another request to the Finance Minister is regarding coconut. The economy of the farmers in Kerala is

mainly based on the coconut plantation. There is an international propaganda going on against coconut and coconut oil that these may cause cholesterol and other problems.

Medical scientists have proved that this propaganda is wrong. Some interested parties are actually working behind it. So, something should be urgently done to protect the coconut cultivators of the State. The Finance Ministry can think of providing them subsidies.

Consideration towards the NRIs is worth appreciation. Actually the position of the NRIs is "not required in India". Though the Government is now thinking of issuing them P.I.O. Cards, it has first to look to their more important problem, their right of franchise. Of course, it is not directly related to the Budget, but I use this opportunity to emphasise this point. Many Indians employed abroad do not have a right of franchise. The proposal to issue PIO Card to NRIs is a good gesture, but before that their names are to be entered into the Voters' List. When they go out, they also, in a way, work for the country and also contribute to the public exchequer. But they do not have the right of franchise. Their name is not found in the Voters' List and they are treated as second class citizens. Therefore, I would request the Government to favourably consider this case.

The Finance Minister and some experts have claimed that pushing up of the tax-GDP ratio is due to the liberal tax reforms, but I would like to point out that India's is still far below the international average. For example, Malaysia's total tax revenue to GDP is 22 per cent, Indonesia's 18 per cent, South Korea's 17 per cent., Thailand's 16 per cent and ours' is only 11 per cent. So, it is already low.

Now I come to the productivity aspect. If 7 to 8 per cent is the growth target, as is envisaged by the hon. Finance Minister, there should be sharp improvement in productivity. Otherwise, this goal would not be realised.

Another thing I would like to point out is the sharp fall in the value of the rupee against the dollar. Some hon. Members have also spoken on this. We cannot speak about the health of the economy without looking at this. So, market psychology has to be changed. Only then the problem about the value of the rupee can be dealt with.

Sir, the Budget has also to be concerned with production, distribution, employment, utilisation of surplus labour and creation of capital, removal of in-tersectoral imbalances between agriculture and industry or villages and towns. I do not think all these aspects have been covered in the present Budget. How power can be resisted and how the weak can stand up to the strong should also be the central point of the economic philosophy while bring out the Budget. Reduction in fiscal deficit is considered now-a-days as a most important aspect of the Budget. So, we have to stress on blending together the reform process with pragmatism. They are to be taken in a balanced way at least in the coming days. You are proceeding with the process of reforms, but you have to blend pragmatism and the problems related with this. That is what we have to wait and see. There is a couplet in Urdu:

मैला लिबास देखकर कुछ फैसला न कर,

यह कौन सा दरख्त हैं यह फल बतायेगा ।,

So, we are all waiting for the fruits. I wish that the present Budget contributes to the betterment of the economy. Thank you

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairperson, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. Although we have inherited a no-growth and a sluggish economy and although there is a slide in exports and there are problems which we are facing on foreign exchange side, still our Finance Minister has been able to give us

a very bold Budget. I say it is a bold Budget because it is also growth-oriented, not only in one way, but in several ways. This Budget is also a pro-rural and pro-poor Budget. It is also a reformist Budget. I say it is a reformist Budget because certain steps have been taken which were long overdue, for example, the abolition of FERA, and introduction of FEMA, the discontinuance of levy on gift tax. This is a reformist Budget in that sense also. Madam, continuing with reforms and making the Budget pro-poor, pro-rural was a difficult task. But fortunately the Finance Minister has been able to do it. He deserves all the support of this House and also our congratulations. It is a difficult job because we have inherited a sluggish economy, very poor industrial activity with a fall in exports, poor mining activity and slide in manufacturing and even gross domestic savings have fallen. There is less agricultural production. All these things have created a situation which is very difficult. Under these circumstances, if the Budget with a total Central Plan of Rs. 1,05,197 crores is prepared, then, it is a good achievement. This amount is Rs.25,000 crores more than what it was earlier. The whole problem is availability of finances which are at his disposal. The problems which the other Governments have created for the present Government were leading us towards a sort of sliding towards the debt trap. I would like to quote from the latest issue of the Economic Survey. It says, "Total internal liabilities of the Central Government as proportion of GDP has been in the range of about 51 per cent in 1997-98 to around 53 per cent in 1990-91." Then, it says, "Should this limit be fixed in terms of a legislative ceiling on public debt? What should be the ambit of public debt? Should the limit be confined to "public debt" or include "other liabilities" of the Government also? Should the limit be fixed in absolute terms or as a proportion of GDP?" The experts believe when the internal and external debts go above 50 per cent or 55 per cent, we are near the debt trap. This is what we have inherited. Under these

circumstances, trying to mobilise foreign resources was a difficult task. However, our Finance Minister is very hopeful because the savings of our NRIs are about \$400 billion per year. Out of \$400 billion, if he is able to get \$4 or \$5 billion a year because of his noble ideas, the incentives which he has given to the NRIs, it will be much more than what he has expected. Then, this investment will come for our infrastructure sector, for our industrial sector, for our housing sector, for our telecommunication sector and even for those industries which are very weak in our country. So, he deserves full compliments. In these circumstances, he is working. Our friends from the other side are criticising him that not much has been done for the infrastructure sector. This is wrong. Although the energy sector, the transport sector and the communication sector need more budget, now whatever has been allocated to these sectors is much more than what was allocated in the earlier Budgets.

6 P.M.

So, he should be complimented for that. I do not know how they say that this Budget is not going to help the infrastructure. (*Time Bell rings*)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे) :** मुझे यह मालूम था कि घंटी बजाने के बाद आज जरूर मुझसे पूछेंगे कि क्या बात हो गयी। असल में सेक्रेटेरियट ने अभी मेरे ध्यान में यह बात लाई कि आपकी पार्टी का समय खत्म हो चुका है। लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी....

I am trying to accommodate everybody. But I won't be able to give you more than ten minutes. I was supposed to give you five minutes. Five minutes are over. Now, you have to conclude within five minutes.

**SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN:** Madam, this Budget is a very important Budget, and I would be very grateful to you if you permit me to speak for another ten minutes.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE):** This Budget is an important Budget for you as well as

for others. There are so many speakers who want to speak. Please go ahead.

**SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN:** Madam, I shall abide by your orders. But the Congress party has been given 30 minutes extra.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE):** They have only been given 20 minutes extra. That is all. On that basis I am giving you extra time.

**SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN:** Madam, through this Budget, we are trying to build India with Indians, and that is more important. But we have been criticised for that. A question was put as to from where we will get the money for defence. This is a very ticklish point. Perhaps, those who are criticising us on defence, should know that China is spending approximately fifty billion dollars a year on defence whereas we are investing nine billion dollars. They should also know that we are spending only 2.6 per cent of our GDP on defence while Pakistan is spending approximately 7 per cent of GDP on defence, and still there is a criticism. Why is this criticism? This criticism is definitely a politically motivated criticism. This should be avoided. After all, this country is facing so many challenges, including the challenge on the defence front. Now, if we are not able to unite ourselves, if this House is not going to support the Finance Minister for spending 2.6 per cent of the GDP for defence, then on what issue will they support the Government? This is a national cause and

I request this House to support the Finance Minister.

It has been stated by some hon. Members that for the construction activity, not much funds have bee.ii allocated. This is wrong. I personally believe that for the first time in the country so much funds have been allocated for the construction activity. We all know that in the construction activity sector, whatever we spend on the construction activity, fifty per cent of that

goes to the gross capital formation. If we spend one rupee on the construction activity, fifty paise will go for gross capital formation. This is a known economic formula, and Mr. Pranab Mukherjee knows it fully. But still he has criticised it. I do not know the reason for doing so. When I said that the Budget is pro-poor, there was a remark from the Opposition Benches. This is a pro-poor and pro-rural Budget because for the first time, the crop insurance scheme has been introduced in twenty-four selected areas. The Budget allocation for agriculture has gone up from Rs.1807 crores to Rs.2,854 crores. For rural development, earlier, we were having an allocation of Rs.8,356 crores. Now, we are having an allocation of Rs. 9,912 crores. In rural housing, we are going to have 13 lakh rural houses. There is a hassle-free settlement for overdue arrears. For the first time, there is an effort to remove rural unemployment and under-employment by creating a situation where the artisans, the weavers and other workers' will get employment. There is a scheme for self-employment. Such a scheme has been included in the Budget and still it is being said that this Budget is not pro-poor or pro-rural. This is not a justified criticism.. This is wrong. I think such a criticism is political. I personally feel that we should expect good foreign direct investment. Money will come because our credibility is very high in the foreign market. Whatever Americans may say, whatever the World Bank may do, our credibility is so high that we are definitely going to get sufficient funds. To remove delays in foreign investment is one of the major things which has been specially mentioned in this Budget. If that is so, and if the Finance Minister is able to implement the scheme, definitely, this scheme is going to do a lot of good to the

Indian economy. Regarding the GDP, it is said, "It is not going to increase the GDP by more than 3 percent." I think this is Wrong. Our GDP with this Budget is going to be increased by more than 5 per cent. I say so because definitely

agriculture which was sliding, is going to improve, for the first time, we have seen the signs of Improvement in agriculture after a gap of two years. There is a cycle in sugarcane industry. This year, we expect a good sugarcane crop. Similarly, our industry has started picking up. So, even if there is a 5 per cent extra growth in agriculture, the GDP will be definitely what is being projected by this Government. The Budget is creating a very sound credit and financial market for agriculture, and this is what we need, this is what our farmers need, this is what our economy needs. And still to say that this is not going to create a right type of market for the economy is definitely a *mala fide* allegation. I request that something should be thought about it. In 1993-94, it was only 4 per cent GDP. In 1995-96, it was only 3.2 per cent GDP. The projected revenue deficit is about 3 per cent. With less revenue deficit than in 1993-94 and 1994-95, how do you say that it is a bad Budget? In 1997-98, the revenue deficit is approximately 3.1 per cent, and this projected revenue deficit is approximately 3 per cent of GDP. With this revenue deficit, I think, it cannot be said that it is going to be an inflationary Budget. It could be an inflationary Budget if the revenue deficit had been above 5 per cent. If it is less than 5 per cent, it cannot be called an inflationary Budget. Budget is not an indicator showing as to how the stock market behaves. I know, stock market is not behaving properly. But it doesn't give an indication to criticise the Budget. Stock markets in India today are being ruled by speculators. They are not ruled by those who are having a nationalist approach. So, I request my friends from the Opposition that they should not be guided by how the stock market is behaving at present. They should judge this Budget only after it is put into implementation. They should support it. ...*(interruption)*... I am grateful to somebody reminding me to finish my speech, but that is the duty of Madam. Madam, I am grateful to you. ... *(interruptions)*...

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU: We are appreciative of your guidance to the people.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Thank you, thank you. I am expecting that thing from you.

This Budget is an indicator that a lot of self-confidence has been generated in the Government, in the industry, in the rural sector, in those sections for whom we are to implement the Budget. If there is a criticism to that extent that this Budget is going to bring in inflation, that this Budget is going to bring in price-rise, then that will definitely dampen their spirits. I personally believe Mr. Pranab Mukherjee is a good economist; he will go with me—that up to 6 per cent or 7 per cent of inflation there is nothing to worry for this country.

SHRI JINBON ROY (West Bengal): It is already 6.5 per cent.

(THE -VICE-CHAIRMAN, SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI, IN THE CHAIR.)

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: 6.5 per cent or 7 per cent one can just easily take. This is what has been inherited; 6.5 per cent we have inherited. We are going to peg it at 7 per cent inflation. And once we are going to peg it at 7 per cent inflation, we should not worry. You should worry only if the inflation rate is more than 7 per cent, only if the price-rise is more than 7 per cent in essential commodities. The question is: Where is the price-rise? Is it in essential commodities?

SHRI JIBON ROY: If it goes beyond 7 per cent, then you will call it an anti-people Budget!

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: I hope, it will not reach,, and I hope the projections given by our hon. Finance Minister will be all right.

I am grateful to the Finance Minister for taking special care of the right to information. But I request him to kindly look into the promises which we have

I given to the newspaper industry. When the customs duty was imposed for the first time on newspaper industry, the price of imported newsprint was 450 dollars per tonne. The Finance Minister will be kind enough to look into it. At that point of time, Mr. Finance Minister, it was promised to the newspaper industry that whenever it would be more than 575 dollars per tonne the customs duty of 10% would be removed. You have been kind enough to remove this customs duty partly. In the interest of the right to information, Mr. finance Minister, it is your duty to see that, the promises which were made to the newspaper industry by the former Finance Ministers are met. The present newsprint price is 590 dollars per tonne. At present the value of a dollar is more than Rs. 42. So, overall the newsprint price in India is so expensive.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU : Is it also inherited?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: No. This is the international market price.

SHRI NILOTPAL BASU : Do you also say that it is inherited from the previous Government?

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: Mr. Nilotpal Basu, the point I am trying to make is that the Government makes certain promises. I am only requesting the Finance Minister that these promises should be kept.

Similarly, in the case of industries like micromotors he has suddenly reduced the customs duty to such an extent that it is going to affect the Indian micro-motor industry. Mr. Finance Minister, I request you to kindly look into this issue of micro-motor industries which is very vital. In India there are 20 micro-motor companies which are producing about 20 million micro-motors per year. In Japan there are micro-motor companies which are producing two million micro-motors per day. Their production is two million micro-motors per day. Now you cannot compete with those micro-motor

companies in Japan. Japan has dumped its micro-motors on India. Japan has dumped its micro-motors on Europe. The micro-motor industry of Europe is totally crippled and there is no longer any micro-motor industry in Europe.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Please conclude.

SHRI NARENDRA MOHAN: This should not happen in India. I am only trying to bring it to the kind notice of the Finance Minister. I hope the hon. Finance Minister will definitely look into the problems of these two industries, one is the newspaper industry and the other is the micro-motor industry which I have brought to his notice just now.

With these words I am supporting this Budget. According to me, this is going to give a good kickstart to the economy. I hope in the name of globalisation and liberalisation he will not get into the traps of the World Bank, etc. I am very grateful to the Finance Minister for bringing such a Budget which is definitely growth-oriented. Thank you.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for allowing me to participate in the Budget discussion. The people expected a revolutionary Budget. But it has been fulfilled only to some extent. Agriculture and industry are the mainstays of our economy. The hon. Finance Minister in his Budget Speech gave priority to agriculture. But no concrete proposals have been enunciated. Our farmers are not getting remunerative prices for their produce. Prices of inputs like fertilizers, pesticides and seeds have risen very much. Prices of complex fertilizers like, DAP, NPK and muriates of potash have risen after decontrol.

Prices of all types of pesticides have risen. I don't find any justification in raising the price of urea by 50 paise per kilo because most of the small and marginal farmers apply urea. Of course,

they apply complex fertilizers also. Since urea is cheaper, they are using it.

Sir, agriculture depends upon vagaries of monsoon and natural calamities like cyclones, depressions, floods, drought and hailstorms. To save the farmers from these natural calamities, there must be a comprehensive crop insurance scheme, as my friend, Shri Venkaiah Naidu pointed out. There must be a comprehensive crop insurance scheme for all crops. The pilot project of crop insurance which applies to 24 districts must be implemented throughout the country and all the districts should be covered. The present crop insurance scheme insures only crop loan and not crops. This scheme must be for all crops including commercial crops like cotton, chillies, tobacco etc.

Then for the purpose of assessment of crop damage instead of considering one Block or one Mandal as a unit, one village should be considered as a unit. If one village is considered as a unit, most of the farmers will be getting the benefits of crop insurance scheme. Introduction of Kisan Cash Credit Card is a good scheme. It would serve a useful purpose for farmers.

Sir, our farmers must be saved from the clutches of private money lenders and traders. In Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Karnataka many farmers have committed suicide because of crop failure and indebtedness. In Andhra Pradesh, 150 farmers have died. In Maharashtra 22 farmers have died and in Karnataka 14 farmers have died. I would like to request the Government to take necessary steps to help the farmers. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has taken all the steps to help the aggrieved families. I would like to request the Union Government to help the State in a big way and allocate Rs. 500 crores in order to help the farmers.

The Indian industry?, particularly the small-scale industry must be safeguarded from the multinational companies.

THE MINISTER OF POWER (SHRI P.R. KUMARAMANGALAM): Sir, if the



House agrees, we can extend the time of the House till 9 O' clock so that all the speakers get a chance to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN' (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): There are still many speakers who want to participate in the discussion. If the House so agrees, we can extend the time of the sitting up to 9.30 p.m. It will enable the Secretariat to make arrangements for some snacks.

SHRI R. KUMARAMANGALAM: We will arrange for dinner. The Lok Sabha has already made the arrangement and we will extend it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): I would only request the hon. Members to co-operate as regards the duration of their speeches.

SHRI YERRA NARAYANASWAMY: Sir, out of the total industrial production, small industries contribute 40 per cent of the total production and small industries exports constitute 31 per cent of the total production. They are employing about one-and-a-half crores of people. So, I request the Finance Minister to save our small industries. The Government must safeguard their interests. Sir, as regards raising of postal charges, it is mostly the common people, the middle-class people, who use postal envelopes and inland letters. It is unfair to raise the cost of envelopes from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3. I request the Minister not to enhance the postal rates. Then, in Andhra Pradesh, the Janmabhoomi scheme has been introduced through out the State. People's participation in it is there in every village. This scheme has been introduced for developmental activities, namely for providing minimum facilities like drinking water supply Primary School buildings community halls, libraries, etc. The State Government is not able to bear the additional expenditure. Our Chief Minister has also requested the hon. Finance Minister to give Central

assistance to the Janmabhoomi scheme as well. I also request the Minister to consider it. Then, regarding the Members of Parliament Local Area Development Scheme, under this scheme, many programmes have been undertaken in the rural as well as urban areas. I request the Finance Minister to enhance the contribution towards the MPLAD scheme from Rs. 1 crore to Rs. 2 crores. Sir, regarding primary education, after the operation Blackboard scheme, there is no central scheme for developing infrastructural facilities like building of primary schools, providing equipment to schools and so on. So, I request the Government to see to it that primary school buildings and other infrastructural facilities are improved for providing better primary education. Sir, at the same time, in many villages, the people are not having proper drinking water. So, all the habitats of the backward areas must be provided with drinking water. I also request the Finance Minister to allot more funds for the Accelerated Rural Water Supply Scheme. Then, due to the unusual heat this year many people from Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and various other States are dying because of sunstroke. Four hundred people have died because of sunstroke in Andhra Pradesh itself and mostly the poor people have died. I request the Prime Minister to give some relief from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. Sir, again, regarding the hike in the petrol prices, there is no justification for increasing the cost of petrol even by Re. 1 per litre. Out of total Consumption of Petrol two-third of it consumed by two-wheelers and three-wheelers and out of the remaining one-third, half of it is being consumed by Government vehicles. Sir, I request the Finance Minister to take away the increase of Re. 1 per litre.

With these words, Sir, I support the Budget.

श्री गांधी आज़ाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, आज यहां बजट पर चर्चा चल रही है। मैं इस बजट के विरोध में बोलने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ क्योंकि यह बजट आम

जनता के हितों के विरुद्ध हैं। इस बजट में खेतिहर मजदूरों एवं असंगठित मजदूरों पर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है जब कि इनकी संख्या इस देश में एक-तिहाई से अधिक है। इसके हितों की अनदेखी कर दी गई है। इसलिए मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ। आज देश में अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों की आबादी 13.82 करोड़ है जो देश की कुल आबादी का छूटा भाग है किंतु ये अनुसूचित जातियों देश की आर्थिक मीनार में सबसे नीचे हैं। अपने शारीरिक श्रम, चाहे वह अपनी जमीन पर किया जाता हो या दूसरे की जमीन पर किया जाता हो, सफाई, चर्मशोधन आदि कार्यों के रूम में अनुसूचित जातियाँ देश की अर्थव्यवस्था में सबसे अधिक भौतिक योगदान करती हैं।

महोदय, अनुसूचित जातियों की कुल आबादी के दो-तिहाई से अधिक लोग मूल व्यवसायों में लगे हुए हैं जब कि इन व्यवसायों में लगे लोगों का राष्ट्रीय औसत 67 प्रतिशत है। भारत के कुल श्रमिकों में 20 प्रतिशत श्रमिक गैर-कृषक काम करते हैं। इनमें अनुसूचित जातियों का अनुपात 13 प्रतिशत है। महोदय, आर्थिक परिस्थितियों से बाध्य होकर खास नीर पर अनुसूचित जाति की महिलाओं को श्रम करना पड़ता है। अनुसूचित जातियों की प्रति व्यक्ति आय सबसे कम है। इससे पता चलता है कि उनको अधिपत्य वाले वर्गों अथवा समुदायों को गुलामी करनी पड़ती है। बहुत से राज्यों में महिलाओं को भागीदारी राष्ट्रीय औसत से कहीं अधिक है।

महोदय, अनुसूचित जाति के श्रमिकों के बारे में सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य यह है कि 26 प्रतिशत के राष्ट्रीय औसत की तुलना में अनुसूचित जातियों के आधे श्रमिक कृषक मजदूर हैं। इसी प्रकार 31 प्रतिशत राष्ट्रीय औसत कृषक हैं। इनमें से भी अधिकांश छोटे और सीमांत किसान हैं। किन्तु इस बजट में इनमें विकास की कोई चर्चा तक नहीं की गई है। महोदय, मैं सदन के माध्यम से यह स्पष्ट करना चाहूंगा कि पृथक्करण और जातिवाद की कठोर मान्यताओं के रहते हुए अनुसूचित जाति के श्रमिक केवल शारीरिक श्रमिक बनकर रह गए हैं और घटिया व्यवसायों तक सीमित रह गए हैं। उदारीकरण और सामाजिक कानूनों से भी उनकी व्यावसायिक पद्धति में कोई सार्थक परिवर्तन नहीं आया। कुल मिलाकर उनको खतरनाक श्रमसाध्य और निम्न श्रेणी के कार्यों में लगाया जाता रहा है जो शोषण के प्रतीक हैं जिसके कारण वे उत्पादक व्यवसायों में नहीं आ सके। उनके बच्चे उनका हाथ बंटाने के लिए अपना जीवन शुरू करते हैं और जैसे-जैसे वे बड़े होते जाते हैं, वे भी अपने

माता-पिता के उसी व्यवसाय का हिस्सा बन जाते हैं और इस प्रकार उनकी गरीबी और दासता स्थाई बनकर रह जाती है। उनको गरीबी और दासता से उबारने के लिए इस बजट में कोई प्रावधान नहीं किया गया है। इसी प्रकार दिहाड़ी मजदूरों, कृषकों, व्यावसायिक काश्तकारों, चर्मकारों, बुनकरों, अन्य काश्तकारों, मछुआरों, अनिवार्य स्वास्थ्य कार्यकर्ताओं, नागरिक सफाई कर्मियों, व्यावसायिक दाइयों, शहरी सीमांत श्रमिकों के कौशल में सुधार न होने और उनके व्यवसायों का आधुनिकीकरण न किए जाने के कारण स्वतंत्रता के इतने दिनों बाद भी कोई परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है और न ही इस बजट द्वारा सहयोग करके उसमें परिवर्तन करने के उपाय बताए गए हैं। इस प्रकार यह बजट इन सभी लोगों के विरुद्ध है।

महोदय, आर्थिक और सामाजिक मजबूरियों के कारण एवं सामंतशाही व्यवस्था से भयभीत होकर आज बहुजन समाज के लोग गांव छोड़कर शहरों की ओर पलायन कर रहे हैं और सड़कों के किनारे, रेल की पटरियों के किनारे या गंदे नाले के किनारे झोंपड़ी-झुग्गी डालकर, अपना श्रम बेचकर गुजर-बसर कर रहे हैं।

ये आश्रित लोग ग्रामों में जमींदारों एवं सूदखोरों के चंगुल से बचकर भागे लेकिन शहरों में स्लम लाइंस के चंगुल में जा फंसे हैं। एक मोटे अनुमान के अनुसार 10 करोड़ से अधिक विस्थापित गरीब लोग महानगरों की गन्दी बस्तियों में दासता और शोषण की दुखदाई परिस्थितियों में रहते हैं। कलकत्ता शहर की निर्वाचन सूची में 10 लाख से भी अधिक पटरियों पर रहने वाले मतदाता बताए जाते हैं। दिल्ली में झुग्गी झोंपड़ी कालोनियों में रहने वालों की अनुमानित आबादी 10 लाख है। मुम्बई में झोपड़ पट्टी में रहने वालों की संख्या बहुत ज्यादा है। सबसे धनी लोगों की इस राजधानी में 75 प्रतिशत लोग बिना छत के गन्दी बस्तियों में आजीविका के साधनों के बिना रह रहे हैं। इसी प्रकार मद्रास, अहमदाबाद, बंगलौर, हैदराबाद आदि महानगरों में भी हैं। किन्तु बजट में उनके सुधार के लिए कोई प्रावधान नहीं किया गया है। आज देश में आर्थिक असमानताएं ज्यों की त्यों नहीं बनी हुई हैं। बल्कि यह असमानताएं पहले से ज्यादा बढ़ चुकी हैं। आज भारत में सर्वाधिक धनी व्यक्ति जितनी धनराशि एक नाशे पर व्यय करता है वह देश में सबसे निर्धन व्यक्ति की सम्पूर्ण आर्थिक सम्पत्ति से कई गुना अधिक है। इस

असमानता को दूर करने की बजट में कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है जिसके कारण इस बजट में अमीर और अमीर होता जाएगा और गरीब और गरीब होता जाएगा। इसलिए हम इस बजट का विरोध करते हैं।

इस सदन में माध्यम से मैं अवगत कराना चाहता हूँ कि अनुसूचित जनजातियों के हालात तो और भी चिंताजनक हैं। विकास की किरण आजादी के इतने दिनों बाद भी सुदूर जंगलों में रहने वाले आदिवासियों, अनुसूचित जनजातियों तक अभी तक नहीं पहुंची है। मुझे खेद के साथ सदन में कहना पड़ रहा है कि आज भी सुदूर आदिवासियों, अनुसूचित जनजातियों को दो वक्त का भोजन नसीब नहीं होता है और इतना ही नहीं कहीं-कहीं पर दो औरतों के बीच में एक साड़ी हुआ करती है। जब एक औरत साड़ी पहन कर बाहर जाती है तो दूसरी घर में नंगी बैठती है। यह इस देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि इस बजट में उन लोगों का ध्यान भी नहीं दिया गया है।

आज देश में कृषि में मशीनीकरण और उद्योगों में मशीनीकरण बढ़ने के कारण कृषि उत्पादन एवं औद्योगिक उत्पादनों में वृद्धि अवश्य हुई है। लेकिन इस सदन के माध्यम से मैं इसके दुष्परिणाम की ओर ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आज कृषि कार्य जुताई, बुआई, सिंचाई, कटाई, पिसाई, कुटाई सभी कार्य मशीनों से किये जा रहे हैं जिसके कारण गांव के खेतिहर मजदूर बेकार होते जा रहे हैं। उनके पास अपना खेत नहीं है कि उसमें कार्य करके अपना गुजरा-बसर करें। अतः मजबूर होकर उन्हें गांव छोड़कर शहर की ओर भागना पड़ता है। और शहरों में भी ऑटोमेटिक मशीनीकरण के प्रयोसों के कारण मजदूरों को काम नहीं मिल पाता है जिस कारण गांव और शहर दोनों में बेरोजगारी बढ़ती जा रही है। बेरोजगारी की बढ़ती हुई जमात को रोकने के लिए वित्त मंत्री द्वारा कोई समुचित प्रयास नहीं किया गया है। मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से मांग करता हूँ कि देश को यदि समृद्धशाली बनाना है तो बेरोजगारों के हर हाथों को काम देना होगा और उत्पादन के साधनों में मजदूरों की भागीदारी को सुनिश्चित करना होगा। यदि उत्पादन के हर साधनों में मजदूरों की भागीदारी को सुनिश्चित किया जाएगा तो मजदूरों की क्रय-शक्ति में विकास होगा और भागीदारी मिलने में देश के हित में मेहनत और लगन से काम करेगा तो आज जो उत्पादन हो रहा है उत्पादन हर हालत में बढ़ेगा, देश का हर क्षेत्र विकास की ओर होगा। इसी तरह से भूमि सुधार पर कोई प्रयास नहीं

किया गया है। भूमि सुधार करके जो लोग भूमिहीन हैं और भूमिहीन के कारण गांव छोड़ करके शहर में भागते हैं उनके लिए खेती की व्यवस्था करने का उपाय किया जाना चाहिए।

माननीय मंत्री जी ने निरक्षरता को दूर करने की बात कही है। लेकिन किस तरह से करेंगे इसका जिक्र नहीं किया गया है। क निरक्षर व्यक्ति प्रतिस्पर्द्धायुक्त समाज में एक स्थाई अपंग होता है। साक्षरता से जीवन के संघर्ष में भाग लेने की क्षमता बढ़ती है। यह निर्भरता से मुक्ति तथा सामाजिक न्याय प्राप्त करने का मुख्य कारक है। शोषित वर्ग के शिक्षा स्तर में सुधार लाने के नियोजित प्रयास अधिकांशतः कागजों पर ही रह गए हैं। हमारे नियोजकों ने ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में विशेषकर अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति बहुल क्षेत्रों में शिक्षा के प्रसार पर विशेष बल दिया है। प्रत्येक योजना में प्राथमिक विद्यालय खोलने पर प्राथमिकता दी जाती है। उक्त प्रयासों के बावजूद वास्तविक उपलब्धि बिल्कुल उत्साहवर्द्धक नहीं रही है। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में 10,59,191 बस्तियों में से केवल 5,32,962 में प्राथमिक विद्यालय हैं। 1,45,824 बस्तियों में उच्च विद्यालय हैं तथा केवल 11955 बस्तियों में उच्चतर विद्यालय हैं। इस प्रकार देश में 5 लाख से अधिक ग्रामीण बस्तियों में जो कुल देश का लगभग 50 प्रतिशत हैं, कोई विद्यालय नहीं है। अनुसूचित जातियों एवं आदिवासियों को अपने खुद के स्कूल खोलने का कोई प्रोत्साहन भी नहीं दिया जाता है। इस प्रकार 52.21 प्रतिशत के राष्ट्रीय औसत की तुलना में अनुसूचित जातियों की साक्षरता दर 37.41 प्रतिशत है। यद्यपि देश में दो-तिहाई पुरुष शिक्षित हैं किंतु अनुसूचित जातियों के केवल आधे पुरुष ही शिक्षित हैं। जहां तक महिलाओं का संबंध है, अनुसूचित जातियों की तीन-चौथाई से अधिक महिलाएं अशिक्षित हैं जबकि सामान्य तौर पर महिलाओं की साक्षरता 39.29 प्रतिशत है। इस प्रकार इस बजट में इन्हें शिक्षित करने का कोई विशेष प्रावधान नहीं किया गया है जबकि संविधान में डायरेक्टिव प्रिंसिपल ऑफ राइट्स में यह व्यवस्था की गई थी कि 6 वर्ष से 14 वर्ष के बच्चों को निशुल्क एवं मुफ्त शिक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाए किंतु खेद है कि इस बजट में ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। इसलिए मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ।

इसके अतिरिक्त दैनिक उपभोग की वस्तुओं में बेतहाशा वृद्धि हो रही है। सुविधाभोगी एवं विलासिता की वस्तुओं के मूल्य में गिरावट आई है। यह इस बात

का प्रतीक हैं कि यह बजट गरीबों के विरुद्ध हैं और अमीरों के पक्ष में बनाया गया हैं। इसलिए मैं इस बजट का विरोध करते हुए एक शेर कहकर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ :-

“लाखों झोपड़ियां उजड़ती हैं तब जाकर एक  
राजमहल बनात हैं,  
इनके जीते जी फूस के छप्पर नहीं, उनके मरने  
पर ताजमहल बनता हैं।”  
बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Shri S.R. Bommai. Mr. Bommai, I am sure, you will be very brief.

SHRI S.R. BOMMAI (Karnataka): Sir, I will be very brief because the Deputy Leader of my Party has already spoken. Sir, my good friend, the Finance Minister, Shri Yashwant Sinha has the experience of rural India and also has the intellectual knowledge of a fine bureaucrat. When he started his Budget Speech in a very hopeful way, I expected that a new India is rising. I was really thrilled when I heard his Speech. But, at the end of his Speech, I must say it was like reconciling to a soft State. The Finance Minister in his Speech has said, "...state in which the fiscal deficit was allowed to say at 5.6 per cent GDP and revenue deficit at 3 per cent GDP." This is the figure which he is hoping for. But, the fiscal deficit is going to be much more. Sir, on 15th August, 1947 a new India was born. This is the fiftieth year of our Independence. It is unfortunate that still more than 50 per cent of our people are illiterate; more than 30 per cent of our people are below the poverty line and there are more than 10 crore educated unemployed—this is apart from the rural unemployed and underemployed.

It is a continuity. I am not blaming anyone but I blame the planners. Our planning was not proper. From the day of Independence we should have given national priority to agriculture which is a basic industry of this country. More than 75% of the people are employed in agriculture. Therefore, Sir, today we are

suffering. When I went through the Budget Speech, the Finance Minister has referred to agriculture. He has expressed very pious desires and a dream about agriculture. He admits that agriculture is basic to the economy of our country. Sir, mentioning about water-shed management and increasing credit from Rs. 2,500 to Rs. 3,000 crores is a very small matter. I do not think that we are going to help agriculture in any way unless the Government brings out a national agricultural policy, as the Government has promised. We did not finalise it. I hope the national agricultural policy will get priority by this Government. In 18 months we have done the exercise and let that be looked into and if they want to modify, it can be done as early as possible.

The second thing I would like to mention is about education. I am really sorry. The Government is a continuous one. It is not like parties. The United Front Government, when I was in charge of Human Resources Development, I remember, supported it. We passed a Bill here making education a fundamental right. A Standing Committee had recommended it. I had two meetings of Chief Ministers of different parties and I had appointed a committee consisting of representatives of BJP, Congress, Janata Dal, and Communist parties. They have given a report and they suggested that by 2002 we should see that elementary education is compulsorily given to all boys and girls in the age group of 6 to 14. The estimated cost was Rs. 15,000 crores. The Chief Ministers had agreed to levy education cess for five years. Why has it not been considered? Nothing has been said about it. The Supreme Court has already ruled about it and the House has passed a Bill. Something should be done. Unless you educate the country there will be no solution to our problems. Education is the solution for all the problems faced by this country. Sir, I do not want to go into the details because I have no time.

About small scale industries something has been said. Sir, I am sorry to say that

most of our small scale industries which exist now will be closed down because of import duty increase. It will hamper the growth, to be frank. Sir, I must also say that as they have not taken into consideration the effect of sanctions, the social sectors will suffer very much.

I will give only one or two examples. I will not go into the details.

Sir, we are getting nearly Rs. 4,000 crores of aid from Japan, from the World Bank, from Denmark, from Great Britain. All these things would be stopped now. For rail drivers' training, Australia is giving 5.5 million dollars. Regional network — 13.8 million dollars. Hyderabad waste management — 6.8 million dollars. For the Delhi MRTS, Japan is giving 14.7 billion yen. For the Calcutta transport infrastructure, they are giving 10.67 million dollars. For the U.P. rural water supply, the USA is giving 350 million dollars. Similarly, for the DPAP and for a number of other things, foreign aid is coming.

Allright; you have exploded the bomb. Yes; we are proud of our scientists. We have said that. But if they do it, if all the foreign aid is stopped, what is the alternative? You must provide for it. Otherwise, all these social sector programmes would suffer. Nothing has been said in the Budget about the alternative measures. I am sure, Sir, the Finance Minister would have to come with another Budget, a supplementary Budget, within three months. Therefore, I would call this as a 'half-Budget'. It is, in a way, anti-poor, anti-farmer and anti-rural development.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Mr. Bommai, please try to wind up.

SHRI S. R. BOMMAI: As the other Members said, it is inflationary. I would like to emphasise this point. It is inflationary because it is relying on indirect taxes like customs and excise for raising additional revenue. In this connection, I would like to point out that the increase in the price of petrol would have a direct

inflationary effect. The revenue deficit, still remaining at the level of 3 per cent of the GDP, amounts to a little over Rs. 48,000 crores. The fiscal deficit, being as high as 5.6 per cent of the GDP, is over Rs. 91,000 crores. In fact, these things would lead to a very high rate of inflation.

My friend, Mr. George Fernandes, is here, doing his home-work, instead of at home. As there would be a lot of people waiting for him there, coolly, he can work here. His Ministry is thinking of going in for weaponisation programme. If we have to go in for weaponisation programme, we have to invest as much as Rs. 30,000 crores in the next five years.

Then, what about drinking water? What about housing? What about education? What about employment? What about rural development?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Mr. Bommai, please conclude. You have already made your points very effectively.

SHRI S. R. BOMMAI: Therefore, Sir, this is only an interim Budget. It is not the full Budget. The full Budget is yet to come. The country is facing a very serious crisis; economic crisis, political crisis, social crisis. I do agree with the hon. Prime Minister that the country should stand united. But, for that, there has to be a climate. The climate has to be created.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा। आप संक्षेप में बोलें, इतने सहयोग की आपसे आशा है।

**श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :** धन्यवाद सर, लेकिन संक्षेप में शब्द कहकर आपने डरा दिया। वैसे तो मुझे कोई इस पर ज्यादा नहीं बोलना है। इस बजट के बारे में वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि सरल, समाधान और सम्मान का बजट है। सरल है या नहीं, यह तो अर्थ-शास्त्रियों का काम है और वह इसकी विवेचना कर रहे हैं। समाधान निकलेंगे या नहीं, समाधान राष्ट्रीय विकास के लिए, हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को मजबूत करने के लिए, वह समाधान कहां तक आजादी के बाद निकले हैं और अब जो यह कहा कि बजट को एक नयी

दिशा दी गई हैं, उससे कितने निकलेंगे, यह भी अर्थ-शास्त्रियों का विषय है। लेकिन सम्मान की बात है, मैं थोड़ा सा कहना चाहती हूँ। मुझे तो लगता है कि स्वदेशी के नाम पर एक छलाव हम लोगों के सामने प्रस्तुत किया गया है। स्वदेशी कुछ नहीं है। मंहगाई बढ़ेगी, डायरेक्ट टेक्स का बोझ आम आदमी पर पड़ता है। मैं बड़ी बड़ी जी० डी० पी० की बात नहीं करती क्योंकि सम्मान मिलता है साहित्य से, संस्कृति से, हमारी सांस्कृतिक धरोहर से, उसके लिए यह बजट बिलकुल नहीं है। माननीय सदस्य वेंकैया नायडु जी बैठे हुए हैं, वह जब बोल रहे थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि कांग्रेस के बजट, बी० जे० पी० के बजट में कितना फर्क है। उस फर्क को थोड़ा जो मुझे लगता कांग्रेस के बजट जिस तरह से होते थे, मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि कांग्रेस के बजट राष्ट्र को एक दिशा देने के लिए होते थे, विकास के लिए होते थे, अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुदृढ़ करने के लिए होते थे और खास तौर से सम्मान के लिए होते थे, संस्कृति पर भी जोर दिया जाता था। लेकिन बी० जे० पी० के बजट की हम उस तरह से आलोचना नहीं कर रहे हैं, यह नया बजट है, आपने कहा कि नयी दिशा देगा। लगता है कि सम्मान के नाम से क्या हम परमाणु बम के धमाके का सम्मान करें? उसको सोच कर गर्व करें, उस संस्कृति पर गर्व करें, जो बी० जे० पी० सरकार ने दी है। जो हमने टेक्स लगाए हैं, वह लगाए हैं स्वदेशी, स्वरोजगार पर, रोजमर्रा की आम जनता की चीजों पर, चाहे पेट्रोल हो, चाहे चाय हो, चाहे रेल का किराया हो या डिब्बाबंद चाय हो, मसाले हों, ब्रांड नाम से जो चीजें बिकेंगी, जिसमें स्वरोजगार लगा हुआ है। देश की गरीब जनता उसमें सीधे-सीधे लगी हुई है, उसका बजट बनता है घरों का। सरकारों का बजट बनाना संसद् का काम है लेकिन पर का बजट स्वरोजगार से ही बनेगा। हमारे पूर्व वित्त मंत्री आदरणीय मनमोहन सिंह जी बैठे हुए हैं। उनका बजट जब बना था तब उन्होंने स्वरोजगार को उत्पाद शुल्क से मुक्त किया था, टेक्स फ्री किया था। इस बजट में स्वरोजगार के नाम से 8-प्रतिशत टेक्स में बढ़ोत्तरी की गई है। सेलुलर टेलीफोन को कनसेशन मिला है। इस देश में सेलुलर बढ़ेगा, विदेशी कारें बढ़ेगी, टी० वी० संस्कृति बढ़ेगी उससे हमारी अप-संस्कृति जो फैलेगी और हमारी जो पहचान देश की अपनी संस्कृति की है, हमारे यहां जो कल्चरल इनवेज़न हो रहा है, उसकी विन्ता इनको नहीं है। राष्ट्रीय एकता की बात, राष्ट्रीयता की बात, सम्मान की बात होती है, उस पर बजट है ही नहीं। संस्कृति का बजट बिलकुल खत्म हो गया है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि कारों के लिए, उच्च वर्ग के लिए, सेलुलर के लिए, टेलीफोन के लिए कंज्यूमर गुडज़ को बढ़ावा

देने के लिए बजट है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ जो जन-जन गरीब देश की जनता है, उस पर टेक्स लगाया गया है। एक दूसरी संस्कृति, एक वर्ग पैदा होगा जो खुली चाय पीने पर मजबूर होगा, मक्खन के नाम से अगर वह कुछ बनाते हैं या देश की आधी जनसंख्या महिलाएं जो स्वरोजगार में लगी हुई हैं, अगर छोटे छोटे ब्रांड नाम से कुछ चीजें बेचती हैं तो उस पर टेक्स लगेगा। तो मेरी पहली चीज़ है कि सम्मान के लिए, इस देश की पहचान के लिए और गरीब जनता के लिए उस उत्पाद शुल्क को खत्म करें। स्व-रोजगार के उत्पाद शुल्क को खत्म किया जाए और खास तौर से महिला स्व-रोजगार जिसमें देश की हजारों महिलाएं लगी हुई हैं जिन पर कोई लेबर ला लागू नहीं होता तो उनके लिए खास तौर से महिला स्व-रोजगार को उत्पाद शुल्क से मुक्त किया जाए जिससे कि हम थोड़े-से सम्मान की गरीब जनता की बात कर सकें।

मुझे लगता है कि वहां जो कारों में बैठेंगे वे अंग्रेजीदां और उच्च वर्ग के हैं जो थोड़े-से पैसे अफोर्ड कर सकते हैं, सेल्युलर लेकर चल सकते हैं, चार-चार चैनल्स देख सकते हैं और दूसरी तरफ गरीब जनता है जो हिंदी बोलती है, अपनी राष्ट्रीय भाषा बोलती है या क्षेत्रीय भाषा बोलती है, वह सीधे-सीधे इसकी मार पर होगी। इसलिए इसमें दो वर्ग पनपने का मुझे डर लगता है।

आपने कहा कि हमने गांवों की तरफ विकासोन्मुख बजट बनाया है। मैं इसका स्वागत करती हूँ। लेकिन कुछ योजनाएं भी आप प्रस्तुत करते। कुछ नयी योजनाएं जैसे कांग्रेस पार्टी ने चलायी थीं जवाहर रोजगार योजना, महिला समृद्धि योजना। इस तरह की कोई योजना मंत्री जी आप प्रस्तुत करें तो उससे कुछ फायदा होगा।

एक वादा था आपके बी० जे० पी० के मैनीफेस्टों का कि यह सरकार एक साल में एक करोड़ रोजगार के अवसर नेशनल एजेंडा हैं उसमें किया गया है, न बजट में ऐसी कुछ दिशा दी गयी है। बल्कि रोजगार के अवसर कम कर दिए गए हैं 58 वर्ष से 60 उम्र बढ़ाकर ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री एम० वेंकैया नायडू (कर्णाटक) :** आपके मैनीफेस्टों में हैं ? जिक्र कीजिए उसके बारे में ... (व्यवधान)

**श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) :** असी सरकार के बजट पर बात करें। इसलिए रोजगार देने का जो आपका वादा था वह भी खत्म हो गया। जब 50 साल

पहले नेहरू जी ने एक कल्पना की थी कि इस देश में इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर बढ़ाया जाएगा, फैक्ट्रियां लगेंगी, लोगों को रोजगार मिलेगा तो दूसरी तरफ हमारी संस्कृति, जो हमारे देश की पहचान है उसके लिए, संस्कृति के लिए, देश को कुछ इस तरह की पहचान देने के लिए योजनाएं बनी थी और इंदिरा गांधी ने इस देश को चार सांस्कृतिक जोनों में बांटा था और उनके लिए फंड रखा था। मध्य प्रदेश में सिर्फ एक कल्चरल जोन जो कि भारत भवन के नाम से इस्टेब्लिश्ड है वह स्थापित किया गया था और उसके लिए फंड रखा गया था। मैं सरकार से मांग करूंगी कि इस तरह के सांस्कृतिक जोन्स को फिर से इस्टेब्लिश करने के लिए बजट दिया जाए।

महिला शिक्षा के लिए आपने सौ करोड़ रुपए का बजट रखा है। स्वागत योग्य है। लेकिन बहुत—बड़ी संख्या में महिला ड्राप आउट्स हैं। महिलाओं, बच्चियों को पढ़ाया जाए। इस देश में 7 करोड़ अनपढ़ बच्चे हैं। उनके स्कूल जाने की व्यवस्था कराएं। आपने शिक्षा का बजट 50 परसेंट कम कर दिया है। शिक्षा के बजट को बढ़ाइए। जोर इस बात पर होना चाहिए था कि 14 वर्ष तक के बच्चों के लिए कम्पलसरी एजुकेशन दी जाए और उसमें हम बिल पास करते और उसको लागू कर सकें इसके लिए हम बजट देते। लेकिन शिक्षा का बजट 50 प्रतिशत कम कर दिया। तो मैं सीधे-सीधे सरकार से मांग करूंगी कि शिक्षा का बजट बढ़ाया जाए, संस्कृति का बजट बढ़ाया जाए।

आपने राष्ट्रीय खेल कोष बनाया है। 20 करोड़ इसमें दिया है। लेकिन एक संस्कृति का कोष भी बना दीजिए। एक कल्चरल फंड तो है। लेकिन जो फ्रिट मीडिया, लेखक वर्ग, साहित्य है जो हमारे राष्ट्र की धरोहर होती है जिस पर हम गर्व करते हैं तो अपनी कल्चरल हेरीटेज जो समझते हैं, आर्काइव्स उनके रख-रखाव के लिए मैं यहां मांग करूंगी कि उसके लिए एक कल्चरल फंड बनाया जाए, एक साहित्यिक कोष बनाया जाए क्योंकि लेखक, पत्रकार और जो प्रिंट मीडिया है वह खत्म हो रहा है। पुस्तकें छपाने में एक्सप्लायटेशन है। आप समझ सकते हैं कि प्रकाशकों का कितना शोषण है। अब हालत यह है कि साहित्यकारों की कि पैसे देकर किताबें छपवाते हैं। रायल्टी का तो सवाल ही नहीं है। तो उससे कम से कम सीधे-सीधे साहित्यकार उससे फायदा उठा सकें।

हमारा भारतवर्ष सूरदास पर गर्व करते हैं, तुलसीदास के साहित्य पर गर्व करते हैं, मीरा, रहीम, कबीर, निराला, मुक्तिबोध, प्रेमचंद, रवीन्द्रनाथ टैगोर, सुब्रह्मण्यम भारती पर गर्व करते हैं, लेकिन आज उन लेखकों, के लिए क्या

हैं ? कुछ नहीं हैं। वह लेखक गरीबी में पैदा होता है, गरीबी में रहता है और गरीबी में मर जाता है। उसके परिवार के लिए, उसकी पुस्तकों को छपवाने के लिए कोई फंड नहीं है। साहित्य अकादमी को हमने फंड बढ़ाया, स्वागत योग्य है। लेकिन ललित कला अकादमी और संगीत नाटक अकादमी प्रायः मृतप्रायः हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** वीणा जी, आप समाप्त करिए, 12 मिनट आपका समय समाप्त हो गया है।

**श्रीमती वीणा :** खैर, आप जैसा कहेंगे।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** आप अपने मुख्य प्वायंट्स जरूरी कहिए।

**श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा :** मैं सीधे-सीधे सिर्फ कुछ मांग करूंगी। हम देख रहे हैं कि चाइल्ड लेबर एबोलिशन के लिए सब की चिंता है और एक्ट पास करने की भी बात है, लेकिन बच्चों को, जो काम-काजी बच्चे हैं, उनके री-हैबिलिटेशन के लिए कोई फंड अलग से स्थापित किया जाना चाहिए। बच्चों पर इलैक्ट्रॉनिक मीडिया का बहुत बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। उसके लिए मैं एक मांग करूंगी कि सीधे-सीधे हम बच्चों का एक राष्ट्रीय चैनल सैटेलाइट से स्थापित करें या एक राष्ट्रीय चैनल दें। उसके लिए फंड रखा जाना चाहिए। हम एक डिस्कवरी इंडिया चैनल स्थापित कर सकते हैं जिसमें कि हम अपना भारत क्या हैं, विभिन्नता में एकता और एकता में विभिन्नता क्या उसकी सांस्कृतिक विरासत क्या है, उसका विकास क्या है, हमारा इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर क्या है और इसके लिए प्रदर्शित करें, जिस तरह कि एक लोग बाहर का डिस्कवरी चैनल देखते हैं, उसी तरह से डिस्कवरी इंडिया चैनल भी दिया जाना चाहिए। इजारा आंगनवाड़ी कार्यकर्ता ... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** कुछ चीज़ें तो आप उस समय कह सकती हैं जब डिमांड्स आयेंगी।

**श्रीमती वीणा वर्मा :** वह मैं कहूंगी। मैं बिल्कुल शार्ट में अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगी। सिर्फ जो आपने विधवा पेंशन रखी है वह सिर्फ तीन लाख रुपया आपने उसके लिए रखा है। उसको बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। वृंदावन, काशी, मथुरा, हरिद्वार में हजारों-लाखें विधवाएं हैं। तीन लाख से क्या होगा ? यदि आप गिनती करवायें तब पता चलेगा। इसलिए इसको बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए। आपने मुझे जो समय दिया उसके लिए मैं आभारी हूँ।

**श्री राजनाथ सिंह “सूर्य” (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस चर्चा में भाग लेने का अवसर दिया। मेरे पूर्व वक्ता को आपने संक्षेप में बात करने के लिए कहा था, उसका मैं ध्यान रखूंगा।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** वही निवेदन आपसे भी है।

**श्री राजनाथ सिंह “सूर्य” :** मैं इसलिए भी ध्यान रखूंगा कि मैं बोलने का अभ्यास वालों में कम और लिखने वालों में ज्यादा हूँ। बोलने का अभ्यास भी नहीं है। दूसरा, इस सदन के कुछ सदस्य जो बाहर लाबी में बैठे हुए हैं उनका यह सुझाव भी है कि चर्चा जल्दी खत्म कर दी जाए क्योंकि वर्ल्ड फुटबाल टूर्नामेंट होने वाला है। उसका मैच देखने के लिए बहुत से लोग उत्सुक हैं।  
...(व्यवधान)

कुछ बहुत से विषय मेरे न लेने का एक कारण यह भी बनता है कि हमारे कुछ पूर्व वक्ताओं ने जिन विषयों की मैंने तैयारी कर रखी थी उसकी उन्होंने विस्तार से चर्चा कर दी है, वर्णन कर दिया है, इसलिए उसको दोहराने की अब कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसलिए मैं दो-तीन जनरल बातें कह करके अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। श्रीमन् यहां नेता विरोधी दल मान्यवर मनमोहन सिंह जी का भाषण मैंने बड़े गौर से पढ़ा है। उनका भाषण मुझे बहुत अच्छा लगा। उनका भाषण जब मैं पढ़ रहा था तो मुझे उनके संदर्भ की एक घटना याद आ गई। पत्रकारों के लिए बछावत वेन बोर्ड जब बना हुआ था तो उसके एक सदस्य के रूप में जब वह लखनऊ गए थे तो वहां जाकर वह हर समाचार-पत्र में गए और मेरे समाचार-पत्र में भी आए थे, जिक्र मैं संपादक था और विशेष रूप से बछावत जी जो कुछ पूछते थे...। लेकिन मनमोहन सिंह जी एक ही बात पूछते थे कि जो डिस्ट्रिक्ट कारेसपोर्ट्स हैं, पार्ट-टाइम कारेसपोर्ट्स हैं, उन की व्यवस्था आप कैसे करते हैं? हम ने उन्हें किस प्रकार से व्यवस्था होती है इस की जानकारी दी और उन के आने के बाद जो रिपोर्ट आई, उस रिपोर्ट में यह प्रावधान किया गया कि जो फुल-टाइम जर्नलिस्ट्स हैं, उन का वन-थर्ड वेतन के रूप में पार्ट-टाइम कारेसपोर्ट्स होते थे, वह वकील, अध्यापक, व्यापारी होते थे। उन का एक व्यवसाय होता था और साधारणतः इस काम से उन को सहायकता मिलती थी। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस उदाहरण की चर्चा इसलिए कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि कई बार अच्छी नीयत से किए गए कामों का परिणाम भी उल्टा होता है। बछावत

कमीशन की रिपोर्ट लागू होने के बाद से जो पार्ट-टाइम कारेसपोर्ट्स थे, डिस्ट्रिक्ट कारेसपोर्ट्स थे, उन के पद लगभग समाप्त हो गए।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री त्रिलोकी नाथ चतुर्वेदी) :** उस के लिए डा. साहब तो जिम्मेदार नहीं हैं।

**श्री राजनाथ सिंह सूर्य :** मैं नीयत के बारे में नहीं कह रहा हूँ। मैं कह रहा हूँ कि अच्छी नीयत से किए गए कामों के परिणाम भी कभी-कभी उल्टे पड़े जाते हैं।

श्रीमन् डिस्ट्रिक्ट कारेसपोर्ट्स को कंट्रीब्यूटर बना दिया गया और कही कुछ और बना दिया गया। उस के साथ-साथ यह भी हुआ कि बड़े समाचार पत्रों में जो सेवाएं देने की व्यवस्था अपनाई गई, उस में एक नियमित व्यवस्था के बजाय कांट्रैक्ट सिस्टम लागू करना शुरू कर दिया गया। उस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि जो कुछ बड़े पदों पर नियुक्त होने वाले पत्रकार थे, उन को तो लाभ मिल रहा है, बहुत अधिक वेतन मिल रहा है, श्रीमन् मैं जिस पत्र का संपादक था और मुझे 8 हजार वेतन मिलता था मगर मेरे बाद जो संपादक हुए उन को 40 हजार वेतन मिल रहा है, लेकिन नीचे की स्थिति खराब थी। फिर उदारीकरण की जो नीति लागू की गयी, उस नीति का उद्देश्य यह था कि हमारे देश की पूंजी बढ़ेगी, देश की संपत्ति बढ़ेगी, हमारे उद्योग-धंधे पनपेंगे और लोगों को स्वरोजगार मिलेगा, लेकिन अच्छी नीयत से किए गए इस निर्णय का परिणाम भी बछावत कमीशन की रिपोर्ट से अनुरूप ही साबित हुआ और धीरे-धीरे हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति कमजोर होती गयी। इस निरंतर कमजोर हो रही स्थिति को संभालने के जितने भी उपाय किए गए, वे सफल नहीं हो सके। श्रीमन् मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस बीच में कोई प्रगति नहीं हुई है, जैसे आबादी की बढ़ी प्रगति हुई है, लेकिन उस को रोकने के लिए आज तक कोई उपाय नहीं किए गए। मैं नहीं समझता कि इस बजट में भी उस संबंध में विचार किया गया होगा और धीरे-धीरे हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था बिगड़ती गयी और इस अर्थ-व्यवस्था के बिगड़ जाने का एक कारण यह भी रहा है कि हम ने अपनी अर्थ-व्यवस्था की रचना में अपनी प्रकृति और प्रवृत्ति का ध्यान नहीं दिया। जिन बातों के लिए हम आजादी के दौरान चर्चा किया करते थे, आंदोलन किया करते थे, जिन पर बल दिया करते थे, उन को छोड़कर हम ने दूसरों की व्यवस्था की नकल करना शुरू की सीधे-सीधे कहा गये तो गांधी जी की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को



छोड़कर हम ने जो समाजवादी अर्थ-रचना अपनाई, उस से सरकार का एकाधिकार बढ़ता गया और जब सरकार का एकाधिकार बढ़ता गया तो कोटा-परमिट जैसे सिस्टम बढ़ते गए। उस का नतीजा यह हुआ कि धीरे-धीरे एक तो हमारी पूंजी ऐसी जगह जाने लगी जिस का कि रिटर्न नहीं हो रहा था, दूसरे भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ने लगा।

श्रीमन् हमारे देश की आबादी बहुत है और हमारी जरूरत यह है कि व्यक्ति को रोजगार मिलना चाहिए। महोदय, आजादी के पहले हमारे देश में जितने स्व-रोजगारी थे, जिन का स्वयं का व्यवसाय था और अपने आधार पर खड़े होते थे, उन की संख्या धीरे-धीरे कम होती गयी। हमने स्व-रोजगार योजना के बजाय नौकरी की योजना को प्राथमिकता देना शुरू कर दिया और नौकरियों की योजना को प्राथमिकता देना शुरू कर दिया और नौकरियों की संख्या बढ़ने लगी। अब रोजगार का तात्पर्य यह हुआ कि हम ने कितनी नौकरियां दी। फिर हमारे कारीगर सब बेकार हो गए और उस का कारण यह था कि उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में हम को जो एक सीमा-रेखा बनानी थी, उस की तरफ हम ने कभी ध्यान नहीं दिया। आज नमक से लेकर उद्योग खत्म हो गए, लघु-उद्योग खत्म हो गए और आज हमारे लघु-उद्योग की कितनी ही इकाइयां बंद पड़ी हुई हैं, आज जिन की संख्या कोई 60 हजार कहता हैं, ये सारी बंद पड़ी हुई हैं। अब इस समय जो सरकार हैं, इसके पहले भी जो सरकार थी मैं उसकी नीयम पर संदेह नहीं करना चाहता, परन्तु जब तक हमारी आर्थिक संरचना की दिशा रोजगार-परख, रोजगार-परख से मेरा मतलब नौकरी नहीं हैं, रोजगार-परख और कृषि-उन्मुख नहीं होगी तब तक देश को अपने पैरों पर खड़ा करने का एक संकल्प जो सभी देशवासियों का हैं, वह पूरा नहीं हो सकेगा। इसकी दिशा पकड़ने के लिए हमें कुछ अपने अनावश्यक खर्चों में कमी करनी पड़ेगी। इसमें सबसे अधिक खर्चा, जिसे सार्वजनिक खेतर कहा जाता हैं, उसमें पड़ रहा हैं।

श्रीमन्, मैं ज्यादा आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन मैंने अभी, कांग्रेस के एक पदाधिकारी हैं जो बड़े विचारवान व्यक्ति हैं, उनका लेख पढ़ा था। उसमें उन्होंने यह कहा था कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जो धनराशि नियोजित की हैं वह 1,50,000 करोड़ रुपए हैं 237 कंपनियों में, उनका डिविडेंड या दूसरी चीजें जो होती हैं वह कोई 3000 करोड़ रुपए हैं, करीब 40,000 करोड़ रुपए राज्यों में लगा हुआ हैं इन सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में और उसमें करीब 8000 करोड़ रुपये प्रतिवर्ष हानि हो रही हैं। यह जो कुए में रुपए इस प्रकार डालने की जो रीति हैं, इसकी दिशा को आज परिवर्तित करने की

आवश्यकता हैं। सरकार ने यह कहा हैं कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र की जो ऐसी इकाइयां हैं, इस बजट में कहा गया हैं, जिनका उत्पादन में योगदान नहीं हो रहा हैं, जो घाटे पर घाटे दे रही हैं, उनसे वह निजात पाने की कोशिश करेगी। मैं समझता हूं, इस दिशा में गति और तेज करनी चाहिए और हमारा ध्यान अधिक से अधिक इस प्रकार की इकाइयों की ओर जाना चाहिए, जो असेन्सियल हैं उनको छोड़कर बाकी को बंद किया जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, दूसरा मेरा सुझाव यह भी हैं कि अनुत्पादक मदों में जो खर्चें बढ़ते जा रहे हैं, जिसमें विलासिता मद में बहुत खर्च हो रहे हैं, उन पर भी नियंत्रण लगना चाहिए। इस विलासिता मद को चाहे आप प्रशासनिक व्यय कह लीजिए या चाहे कुछ और कह लीजिए, विलासिता के मदों के खर्च को हम करने के लिए कोई भी मानसिकता सरकारें प्रदर्शित नहीं कर पा रही हैं। इस दिशा में कठोर कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता हैं। अभी उस दिन लोकसभा में एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में आया था कि अगर मैं मंत्री हू तो मंत्री के नाते मुझे अपने दायित्व को पूरा करने के लिए जो सुविधाएं प्राप्त होती हैं, उन सुविधाओं को मैं निजी सुविधा मानकर उस पर करोड़ों रुपए खर्च कर डालता हूं। यह एक उदाहरण हैं। इसी प्रकार से चाहे सरकारी सेवा में काम करने वाले लोग हों, चाहे मंत्री पद धारण करने वाले लोग हों, चाहे हम सांसद लोग हों, हमें बड़ें स्वाभाविक ढंग से लगता हैं की जा सुविधाएं हमको अपनेदायित्व के निर्वहन के लिए प्राप्त हुई हैं वह हमारी निजी सुविधाएं हैं और इसको हम जितना चाहे बढ़ाते चले जा सकते हैं। इस पर अंकुश लगाने की बहुत बड़ी आवश्यकता हैं। जब तक यह अंकुश नहीं लगेगा तब तक देशवासियों के मन में भी यह विचार नहीं बनेगा कि जो हमारी एक उपभोक्तावाद की प्रवृत्ति बन गई हैं उसके कारण से हमारे देशकी अर्थव्यवस्था चौपट हो रही हैं। अभी हमारी माननीय बहन इस बात का जिक्र कर रही थी कि इस तरफ हम लोग बड़ी ललचाई दृष्टि से भागते चले जा रहे हैं, दौड़ते चले जा रहे हैं, चाहे वह टेलीविजन के प्रचार के जरिए हो या दूसरी चीजों के कारण हो। यह उसी उपभोक्तावाद की प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ावा देने का परिणाम हैं। श्रीमन् हमारे यहां एक कहावत हैं- ताते पांव पसारिए जाते लंबी सोर, अर्थात् चादर देखकर पांव पसारना चाहिए, लेकिन हमने अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था का स्वरूप यह बना लिया कि पहले पैर फैला कर लेट जाओ और उसके बाद चादर का इंतजाम करो। घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था इसी प्रवृत्ति की देन हैं। अब जो चादर की व्यवस्था करनी हैं, वह चाहे पैबंद लगी चादर मिले, चाहे

उधार वाली चादर मिले, चाहे चोरी करके चादर मिले, जैसे मिले उस चादर से शरीर को ढंका जाए। यह प्रवृत्ति उचित नहीं है होना यह चाहिए कि जितनी हमारे पास चादर हैं उसी में ही अपने शरीर को समेटना होगा, चाहे हाथ को समेटना पड़े या पैर को समेटना पड़े। जब तक इस प्रवृत्ति को बढ़ावा नहीं दिया जाएगा तब तक यह घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था के कारण से उत्पन्न महंगाई हो या दूसरी चीजें हों उनको रोका नहीं जा सकता।

श्रीमन्, मैं अधिक समय न लेना चाहूंगा क्योंकि बहुत सी बातें कहीं जा चुकी हैं। एक बात कहकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा कि लघु उद्योगों को बढ़ावा मिलना चाहिए। इस दृष्टि से जो बजट में प्रावधान किया गया है, उसके बाद में यह शंका सभी तरफ से प्रकट की जा रही है कि उससे उसको बढ़ावा नहीं मिलेगा। एक बात और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं अभी सूची देख रहा था कि किन चीजों पर कर किए गए हैं। श्रीमन् मुझे बहुत कष्ट हुआ यह देखकर कि विदेशों से आयात की जाने वाली व्हिस्की, रम या इस प्रकार की जो आइटम्स हैं, उन पर कर कम किया गया है। यह तो मैं मानता हूँ और थोड़ी बहुत मुझे जानकारी भी है कि जिसको संप्रान्त वर्ग कहा जाता है, वह आजकल देशी चीजों का प्रयोग नहीं करता है और दिल्ली तो उसका केन्द्र है। जहां जाइए विदेशी मदिरा हर किसी के यहां पहुंच रही है। तो अगर उनको ध्यान में रखकर या उनके द्वारा इस प्रकार का प्रावधान कराया गया है तब तो मैं कुछ नहीं कह सकता, लेकिन मेरा मानना है कि इस पर तो हजार प्रतिशत और कर बढ़ा दिया जाना चाहिए। ऐसी वस्तुओं पर कर बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए, बढ़ाए जाने की बजाए उसको कम किया गया है। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से कहूंगा और अपेक्षा करूंगा कि इन चीजों की तरफ वे ध्यान दें क्योंकि जिन चीजों को रोकने के लिए हम प्रतिबद्ध हैं, उनको हम और न बढ़ाएं। महोदय, हमारे दूरदर्शन पर शराब का विज्ञापन नहीं दिखा सकते हैं क्योंकि हमने मद्य-निषेध की नीति अपना रखी है लेकिन जो सारे विदेशी चैनल आ रहे हैं या मल्टी नेशनल्स के चैनल आ रहे हैं, वे इसका धड़ल्ले से खूब प्रचार कर रहे हैं और वे हमारा राजस्व ले जा रहे हैं। अगर शराब के प्रचार को हमारे देश में छूट देनी है तो हमारे अखबारों को भी छूट दी जानी चाहिए ताकि कुछ तो राजस्व उनको मिले, हमारे दूरदर्शन को भी मिले। तो या तो उसे पूरी तरह से बंद करें या फिर हमारे अखबारों और दूरदर्शन को भी उसकी छूट दी जानी चाहिए। इस दिशा में भी सोचने की आवश्यकता है।

एक अंतिम बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह तो नहीं हो सकता कि यह बजट माननीय मनमोहन सिंह जी के या चिदम्बरम जी के बजट से कोई भिन्न बजट है, बहुत अधिक भिन्न हो भी नहीं सकता जो परिस्थितियां हैं उनमें यू-टर्न नहीं हो सकता, लेकिन गाड़ी ने थोड़ा रुख बदला है। कल एक माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे और उन्होंने कहा था कि माननीय मनमोहन सिंह जी के बजट में और इसमें कोई फर्क दिखाई नहीं पड़ता। ऊपर-ऊपर से देखा जाए तो यह बात करीब-करीब ठीक ही मालूम होती है लेकिन जो उसकी दिशा पकड़ी गई है, जैसे ही यह एक लम्बा टर्न लेकर घूम जाएगा तो संभवतः जो अगला बजट आएगा, उसमें वह दिशा बहुत स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ने लगेगी। इस उम्मीद के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH (Gujarat):

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I will concentrate on a few points which I want to make. Some of them have already been referred to. Perhaps, I will elaborate them a little more. In the Economic Survey there are two points which I feel need more emphasis. Therefore, I was getting a little worried before the Budget. One relates to the fact that in the last year there was a clear-cut case of demand deficiency and that led to a low manufacturing growth rate. Economists had been saying this from October onwards. In fact, I had been saying this, though I was part of the Union Council of Ministers. The year ended up with a shortfall of Rs. 10,000 crores in the Central Plan and with a very low manufacturing growth rate. Now the Economic Survey said that it was temporary demand deficiency. They still kept on talking about supply factors. I thought, maybe, this problem will not be addressed. I believe that Budgets, Economic Surveys and Plans are not institutions at which one should look from a narrow political angle. Of course, in the highest sense, politics is important. I must say that I personally agree, as a matter of fact, with the macro strategy of the Budget. It tries to keep a cap on the revenue deficit of the Government. This was 4% in 1993-94, 3.2% in 1994-95 and 2.6% in 1996-97 when the United Front

Government was there. But it was 3.1% in the RE because last year was an election year. Now it has gone down to 3%. I hope the Finance Minister will stick to the promises that he has made to the country. As compared to earlier years, the revenue deficit has been kept under control. But raising the fiscal deficit from 5.2% to 5.6% really means that in a year of demand deficiency the Finance Ministry has decided to borrow. So far as the kind of excess capacity that we have in the system is concerned, as a professional economist, I think, it is a correct strategy and my worries with regard to the Economic Survey became less when I saw the Budget. I will come to this point whether we will be able to keep it down to three per cent, a little later. There are a few other things in the Budget which I also support. First, I would like to make a point which Shri Pranab Mukherjee also made. One should not try to make small political points out of Budgets and Economic Surveys. It is wrong. When the figures are not to your liking, you want to compare the Revised Estimates with the Budget Estimates. So far as the power sector is concerned, I could get after the budget more money from Finance Minister Chidambaram. In the Revised Estimates the budgetary support to the power sector was Rs. 2,841 crores. The present Finance Minister has brought it down to Rs. 2,714 crores. If he wants to compare REs with BEs, then all the time he should compare REs with BEs. What happens is when it is to his liking, he compares the Revised Estimates with the Budget Estimates. But when it is not to his liking, he compares the Budget Estimates with the Budget Estimates. Sir, this kind of playing with the country's finances does not behave well the North Block. We need to have confidence in what they say. That is a very important issue. I don't think that the country is being served well. By trying to package numbers and giving them—I say it with a full sense of responsibility—a false picture is being presented to the people of the country.

There are certain things in the Budget on the agricultural side which I appreciate, even though, I think the expenditure growth numbers given are exaggerated. These are schemes like putting emphasis on watershed development, continuing with the Accelerated Irrigation Benefit Programme, carrying on with the RIDF—I hope it now becomes a Ninth Plan scheme—increasing the share capital of NABARD and a Comprehensive Crop Insurance Scheme. I would like to remind you that everybody has been wanting it, that the Comprehensive Crop Insurance Scheme means that the premium rates would go up. I hope that the insurance restructuring about which the Finance Minister has talked will help in the long run. But in the short run, the Comprehensive Crop Insurance Scheme means much higher premium rates. These calculations have been made. But these are all steps in the right direction because it means marketisation of Indian agriculture. Then comes steps for supporting farmers for their financial investments. We see a kind of crisis that the high marginal investment needs of farmers are not being met by any financial institution. They are therefore committing suicide and so on. I think these schemes are all steps in the right direction, but there is one thing which the Finance Minister has not done, which is very important. The restructuring scheme for Cooperative Credit has been given up. That is a wrong step because Cooperative Credit is doing very badly in India. In 1993-94, the loans that were given to the farming community as a whole were to the tune of Rs. 10,117 crores. In 1994-95, they went down to Rs. 9,406 crores. In 1995-96, the amount was Rs. 10,479 crores. This means that in real terms the level is again lower than what it was in 1993-94. The figures after that are wrong. When I was the Planning Minister, I had explained last year that figures for the last two years were wrong figures. They were only Plan targets. They were not actual credits. Now what the Finance Minister has done is, he has given up the Plan scheme for the Rehabilitation package for

revamping Cooperative Credit. It was started by Dr. Manmohan Singh to take care of the Agricultural Debt Relief Act. In the Plan scheme last year we had provided Rs. 45 crores. He has brought it down to Rs. 50 lakhs. This means that the Plan scheme has been given up. I think revamping of the Regional Rural Banks is a step in the right direction. But to give up the intention of revamping the Cooperative Credit System will not serve India very well. And I hope that the Finance Minister, when he replies tomorrow, will take care of this very important gap. You are saying that balance you raise the Urea price by Re. 1 per kg. for nutrient. This is not a joke. It means that you are taking away about half of the subsidy on urea, or may be one-third of the subsidy on imported urea. Say that you are raising it because you are raising resources. This whole business that you are doing is because you want a nutrient balance and so on is not right. If you wanted a nutrient balance, you could have reduced the price of P&K. No doubt, the country is prepared to make sacrifices. But you must tell us what your intention is. And this whole business of always 'packaging' is something which I don't like. Incidentally, I must congratulate the Finance Minister on one thing. And that is regarding one of my pet projects. Once earlier, while I talked about this project in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, a very senior Member of the treasury bench got angry with me. But one of my pet schemes is, millions of hectares of irrigation can be made possible by shallow tube-wells. Last year, with a lot of difficulties, I could get a National Water Management project included in the Plan. But we could provide Rs. 30 crores only and, in fact, the elections were announced and, therefore, we didn't start this. This year in the Budget there is a provision of Rs. 150 crores for that. I think that it is a very important scheme because in States like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where the co-operative credit system has totally failed, where it becomes very difficult to channel investment loans because of unrecorded

tenancies, you can push in this money. The estimate for this scheme is around Rs. 450 crores. So, I hope that the Government will carry it on for the next two or three years.

Sir, again because of packaging, what we are not told is the basic minimum services programme of this country for which all the Chief Ministers—Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, they cut across party lines and the treasury bench should please realise this—held a Conference on this. I think that somebody was saying that Governments should work on continuing basis. We did make a commitment that we would increase the outlay on DMS by 15 per cent every year. Now this year from Budget to Budget, it is only an increase of 13 per cent and, again, we are given these gimmicks of REs with BEs rather than comparing like with like. This is very wrong because it is a commitment which comes out of the Chief Ministers' Conference which went on for two days. Many of the Chief Ministers of the ruling party, including Shri Bhairon Singh Ji Shekhawat and the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, cutting across party lines, were the biggest supporters of this. But to reduce these outlays all of a sudden is very wrong. My Science and Technology programmes have been cut down. It is not fair. You talked about the bombs with great pride. I said in the discussion on nuclear tests that we should also be proud of the fact that our scientists had produced a fast-breeder reactor which was, in fact, technologically a much greater achievement. Now, the outlay of the Department of Science and Technology has been cut down from Rs. 314 crores to Rs. 305 crores. The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research is getting the same money, the Department of Bio-technology is getting the same money, as that of the last year. I ask you: Why is, this happening? We need some explanation, for year after year we were giving support to science. Last year I got a 30 per cent increase. I think that was a step in the right

direction. What is the Government's thinking on the question of science and technology?

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this whole business of outstanding dues from the State Electricity Boards being converted to Government securities, I regret to say, is a complete gimmick. It is very important that the power utilities whether the NTPC or the Power Grid, are made very strong financially. They can borrow money. Now, for reasons which I don't understand, for two or three years, they were not being allowed to invest. As Power Minister, one of the first thing I did was that I allowed Simhadri and the Faridabad Power Grid to go ahead, invest and borrow. And they can get money. When I was the Minister, by rotation every three months, I used to meet Chief Ministers of all the States. I am sure that my successor also would do it. Now what you are saying is that you will securitise their bad debts. It is a step entirely in the wrong direction. Similarly, what has happened in the Electricity Regulatory Bill? I presented the Bill in the Lok Sabha on the 14th of August. I was allowed to present it, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, because the United Front Government was listening to the views of other Chief Ministers, of the other parties in both the Houses. It is the hon. Shri Jagmohan who was presiding when that Bill was taken up. You are making every exaggerated statements and now what you have done is that you have given up the teeth of the Bill. A commission without teeth is, in fact, worse than a Government department, and let me be clear about that. Sir, you are a very distinguished expert on administration. I don't think that it needs much of thinking that if you don't have rule-based system for a price controlled industry and you set up a Commission and create more autonomy, you are, in fact, creating more problems than we have right now. I am sure that on the question of securitisation business and other things, the Finance Minister will give some further thought

because otherwise it will really make things worse.

Now some people don't like to be called 'socialist'. But I am a socialist and I must make my point. I hope that the treasury benches don't get angry because sometimes they say that we should either be normal or secular. They might say that We should either be normal or socialist. Well, if that is the definition of being normal, I would rather be a socialist rather than be normal. But the point is this. While talking about a Government which is borrowing the way this Government is I must congratulate the Finance Minister for saying that he would borrow but he would invest the money in infrastructure— if you are going to borrow at the rate of 19 to 20 per cent, then why are you going around selling away the President's silver? I don't understand this. Why should you bring down to 25 per cent of the value the President's best companies. These companies which help Indian agriculture, the great co-operative companies, why must they be privatised? I don't understand it. I can understand the some companies have to be privatised as part of the restructuring of the economy. But bringing down the value of the best companies as well by 25 per cent is ideological mindlessness.

Now, regarding sanctions, I am afraid that India is not being given the facts on sanctions and we are being told, सब हो जाएगा the NRIs would give us the money. I like the Prime Minister when he says that there will be need to make sacrifices. In the debate on nuclear tests, I said, "Yes, this country can make sacrifices, but you tell us what we have to do." This country can solve any problem. The Economic Survey says two sentences on sanction. But at least it talks some sense. But after that we have not been given any indication whatsoever and Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the evidence is in. We know what happens to project after project. You reform process is to take an old State-owned company and make it either into a joint venture or into a private company. And all such things

normally go to a bank, an Indian Bank as a foreign bank. Bank or a and in many cases they go to either Japanese banks or American banks. Now, as a professional economist, I can design alternative ways of doing things, but they involve sacrifice. Please don't tell us that there is no problem. Today in my home State, I find project after project being delayed, like the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation's bond which amounts to Rs. 400 crores. But the U.S. bank guarantee is not there. The Sumitomo loan for the Sardar Sarovar Hydel Turbines of my State, to which Mr. Chidambaram had agreed, has now been indefinitely postponed. For the CEPA project, we are putting 4,000 MW based on Indian coal but the World Bank has gone back on the transmission lines delaying it by a year. As Planning Minister, I knew all these things like the palm of my hand. I can talk about it up till 10 o' clock. We need to be told .....(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): But we have to accommodate others as well.

SHRI YOGINDER K. ALAGH: I know, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am going to finish. I know that you don't let me speak. This is my friendship with you. Sir, the only point that I am making is, for God's sake, the Finance Minister has to tell the country: "These are the implications and you have to sacrifice." Then, tell us what are the ways out. If you don't tell us, we will decide.

Finally, Sir, this is very important to me. I come from a State which has very diversified agriculture. In Gujarat, the area under grains is now less than 50 per cent. The first thing that you do is, three years from now you have already said you are going to import everything that we produce. Dairy products, fruit juices, all the world's multi-nationals will be selling in India. Of course, you will have tariffs. What do tariffs mean? The European Commission, you know, gives 80 per cent subsidy on eggs and it gives

virtually the whole of cheese free. So tariffs do not mean a thing. Now on top of it you tax us—the domestic industry. I do not understand who is doing this. It is mindlessness. It is complete mindlessness. It just does not show any knowledge of economics at all. You raise taxes on agro-based commodities for a rural Budget and you are asking your industry to face global competition in three years. For God's sake read the text-book on economics. Finally, Sir, eight per cent duty—I must have the Chair's attention — this eight per cent duty, the countervailing duty does not take into account the kind of changes that have taken place in East Asia. Incidentally, I wish the Economic Survey had discussed East Asia on page 90 and not on page 91.

But the kind of exchange rate devaluation that is taking place in those countries, I think this kind of countervailing duty was all right. But, on the other hand, you are not giving export set offs. I do not understand this logic. How can you hurt your own exports by not giving export set-offs? "I thought the approach would be a strategic approach which is what is required at this stage. Secondly, Sir, even capital goods will be taxed. Now, there are so many calculations, they were there when you were the CAG. We proved that taxes on those commodities which were price controlled would not help. You set up an Electricity Regulatory Commission and you tax imported equipment so that the distortion will carry on for 30 years or till the life time of the project. This just does not make sense. I hope the Finance Ministry will give export set-offs and listen to the poor power Ministry chaps, when they say please don't do this. Already, the sector has enough distortions. Now you are telling the State Electricity Boards not to pay back their money because you will securitise their debts. On top of it you do this. Sir, these are the few points which had not been made in the debate. I could give a much longer speech. But I do not think I will go on taking

advantage of your friendship. Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI TRILOKI NATH CHATURVEDI): Shri A.: Vijaya Raghavan. There is message from the Lok Sabha.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

- (I) The Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions (Amendment) Bill, 1998.
- (II) The Payment of Gratuity (Amendment) Bill, 1998.

SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have to report to the House the following messages received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary-General of the Lok Sabha:—

(I)

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to inform you that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 10th June, 1998, agreed without any amendment to the Employees' Provident Funds and Miscellaneous Provisions (Amendment) Bill, 1998, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 1st June, 1998."

(II) "In accordance with the provisions of rule 120 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to inform you that Lok Sabha, at its sitting held on the 10th June, 1998, agreed without any amendment to the Payment of Gratuity (Amendment) Bill, 1998, which was passed by Rajya Sabha at its sitting held on the 2nd June, 1998."

#### THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1998-99 (CONTD).

SHRI A. VIJAYA RAGHAVAN (Kerala): Thank you, Sir, for giving me this opportunity to speak. This is my maiden speech in this august House. But, unfortunately, I am not in a position to congratulate the Finance Minister, I am from Kerala. On a Kerala angle I could not support this Budget. I am working among the agricultural workers and on the angle of the class to which I belong I could not support this Budget. Sir, in Kerala, we have a great tradition of changing cultivation from food crops to cash crops. Already, my colleagues from Kerala who participated in this discussion spoke about the tragic fate of the cash crop farmers in our State. You see, rightly or wrongly, Kerala has the biggest rubber cultivation in the country.

This itself became a matter of agony for the State. The price of natural rubber has plunged down from Rs. 75 to Rs. 25. The rubber farmers are expecting some assistance from the Finance Minister. But there is nothing in the Budget speech of the Finance Minister to assist the rubber farmers of our State.

My second point is about coconut. The name my State, Kerala, is derived from *a*, coconut. And you see the sad plight of coconut farmers! The Price is going down year after year. There has been a request for support price. As far as my information goes, there was committee to look into support price for coconut. The committee has given its report for a minimum support price for coconut. The report was given in 1997 itself. But even after seven months the Government has not found it prudent to announce the support price of coconut. That is not here in this Budget.

Then the farmers of Kerala are mainly using urea. You have increased its price by fifty paise. There was a talk about Nellore and Palghat which are the main centres of paddy production in South India. Now, there was a bonus announced for farmers of wheat. A bonus