

श्री राम नरेश यादव: यह उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को भी जिम्मेदार है, सूखे पर किस तरह से रहत पहुँच वह प्रदेश सरकार को भी जिम्मेदार है।

श्री अश्विना कुमार: यहाँ हमने फटिल इतर पर सस्ते दे दो हे, जो आपने उट लो है, आपको पता नहीं है।

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Madam, we have to discuss drought problem whenever it occurs. Even if it occurs in the future, we are entitled to discuss it.

श्री प्रमोद महाजन (महाराष्ट्र): अभी-अभी जो हारकर आये हैं उनकी बात को इतना सीरियसली नहीं लेना चाहिये।

उपसभापति: जो सूखे की बात है वह तो सीरियस लेना चाहिये।

श्री प्रमोद महाजन: उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार के बारे में जो कह रहे हैं, उसके बारे में ... (व्यवधान),

उपसभापति: प्लीज, आर्डर। उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को सीरियसली लें या न लें जो सुखा पड़ा है देश में चहे उत्तर प्रदेश में हो, चहे राजस्थान में हो, चहे गुजरात में हो, चहे कहीं भी हो वह बहुत गंभीर मामला है और सरकार को उसके बारे में कुछ न कुछ ध्यान देना चाहिये, चहे वह राज्य सरकार हो, चहे सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट हो। बोलिये विव्वजित जी।

डा. अब्दुल अहमद (राजस्थान): धन्यवाद मैडम, आपने राजस्थान सरकार का नाम लिया।

THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1991-92' — Contd.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy-Chairman, I rise to support this Budget but my support is tempered with certain reservations. I know that this Budget document is actually a result of an earlier document which was circulated to the Members. I have expressed my apprehensions at that juncture when I said that the circulation of this document is actually a circulation of the entire

economic policy of the Government of India. That joint policy statement actually carried within it details of the entire economic package as desired by the Government, including the budget, the industrial policy, the trade policy and what I would refer to as the exist policy also. All of it is there in that document. There is not one part of it referring to the budget which has been contravened and set in front of us. So our apprehensions were quite clear that that, in fact, was the document on which everything was based. One problem I find is that though this strategy has been spelt out as to what we are going to do—devaluation, seeking of IMF loan, disinvestment in the public sector—there is no clear thinking about what we want to achieve, what the results are that we want to achieve at the end of the term. We are making such systemic changes. What is going to happen at the end of the road? Merely talking in platitudes is not going to suffice. Merely saying that India has a glorious future, that we are going to take up a place in the world—all very well. How are you going to take a place in the world? Today our share of international trade has diminished to a miniscule percentage. What percentage of world trade do you eventually want to have for India at the end of your Plan? What are you planning? What is your time-bound programme for the public sector? How much percentage of the public sector shareholding are you going to finally disinvest? I know you said 20 percent in certain areas and then you talked about sick areas of the public

sector which would go in for BIFR reconstruction. In other words you know that you are going to close down. So disinvestment is becoming a very large percentage. I would like to know what the quantum is of the value involved. Then you talk about sectoral adjustment, that certain areas will now be handed over to foreign investment, that certain areas will be handed over to the private sector. I want to know what the overall question going to be. At the end of the term how much percentage do you envisage remaining in the public sector, how much percentage do you envisage remaining in the private sector, how much percentage do you envisage remaining in the foreign sector? I would like to know the details of it. You have not fixed targets for investment. What is going to be your future investment? What is your target at the end of the term for your investment in the private sector? What is your target at the end of the term for investment by foreign companies? Your Budget document talks of growth of export. I would like to know what target you have fixed for growth of export. What is the figure? What is the volume you wish to reach? You talk of the crisis of balance of payments. I want to know: When will this balance of payments crisis come under control? When will we get on top of this problem? What is the resource curb which you envisage for attainment of foreign exchange resources? By when will we become self-sufficient? When will we start making profits? By when will the balance of payments be in favour of India? Have you formulated any scheme for that? Whenever any systemic changes are made, there are certain historical models which are seen, there are certain roles which are envisaged. I would like to know from the honourable Finance Minister which model role he has adopted for us. I agree, his simple answer would be that we are a unique country and that our problems are unique and therefore, we will have to evolve our own model. I would like to know... (*Inter-*

*ruptions*) ... I would like to know if this is the answer you are going to give. I anticipate it... (*Interruptions*) ...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan) :  
It is the Brazilian model ... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: No, Mr. Morarka. They have not said so. So please, let us be fair to them.

So, I would like to know what the model is that you have envisaged. I would like to know it because we must take into consideration the historical precedent. Is it the precedent of the US model which was totally monopolistic? It created vast monopolies with the patronage of the State and thus achieved very high growth which stabilised industries. It is only later that competition came in. Whether you look at the steel industry or the railway or the automobile industry or any other sector, you will find they were all under a monopolistic situation. In fact many of the areas have still remained in the monopolistic situation. Again, take the example of Japan. In Japan for that matter it was a complete monopolistic situation where particular business houses were given licences and allowed to operate and expand. Even today, the Ministry of Trade and Industry, in Japan actually controls what is happening with a very heavy hand. In fact, this is the main area of conflict between the US and Japan. If you are talking of the Japanese model, it is a controlled model. If you talk of Korea, it is again totally controlled with only the economy of scale being the main consideration at the back of the Government's mind. I would like to know from you what kind of model is that you have evolved. Closer home is China, where the model evolved was of a geographical nature. A particular geographical area was taken and was freed of controls. Only the coastal belts and certain industrialised States in the coastal belts were freed of controls and not the whole country. What is the kind of model that you have

(Shri Vishvajit P. Singh)

adopted for yourself? Why I would like to know this is because it is important if you consider the amount which is required by India today. On a minimum basis, the amount required is very minor if taken in international terms. For such a minor amount we are making such vast systemic changes which I think, is not justified. I still implore you that any one sectoral area could have been taken, any one geographical area could have been taken and they could have been freed of controls and we would find the results of the experiment. But we have chosen not to do that and we have chosen to change the entire system. I would like to point out to the hon. Minister through you, Madam, that we are heading towards another very grave danger. We have already undergone a major devaluation of our currency. Now the trade policy envisages the creation of Exim Scrip which could be freely traded at a dollar value and this would help in limiting the quantum of import. There is a grave danger here too, because the need for import will be higher than the quantity of Exim Scrip available. Though the Exim Scrip is not yet in the market, it is already being traded in future at a premium of 33 1/2 per cent. The market forces will force the Exim Scrips up to a level of at least Rs. 50/- per dollar. Once the Exim Scrip starts being traded at Rs. 50/- per dollar, the black market or the unofficial rate for the dollar will also correspondingly rise. And, when that rises, a large number of the South American countries or the third-world countries, which have taken large IMF packages coupled with structural adjustments in the past, we will find ourselves under pressure from the IMF for further devaluation which will, in its own time, cause the same problem once again creating a spiral. I know that the honourable Finance Minister will say that the IMF loans have been taken by India, in the past also. I agree. But, in the past, when

the IMF loans were taken, such major systemic and structural adjustments had not been made. This is the first time we are making those structural adjustments, those systemic changes. Therefore, I warn the honourable Finance Minister to be careful about this. It is not that it is inevitable and it is not that this will happen. If you use abundant caution, if you are careful, and if you make sure that enough Exim Scrips are available, then this will not happen.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is twenty minutes and now you can speak up to 12.58.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: My party has asked me to take lesser time. I will finish soon after making one or two major points.

I refer to para 12 of Part A of the Budget Speech of the honourable Finance Minister wherein he talks of direct foreign investment in specified high-priority industries with foreign equity at 51 per cent. Then, talking about the steps to be taken, he goes on to say that a higher equity would be allowed.

Madam, in the past, when we passed the FER Act, the whole idea was that the MNCs would be controlled. We wanted them to hand over control to the Indian companies. Unfortunately, it has not happened. In this connection, Madam, I want to quote from my own speech in this House on 28-4-86 and I crave your indulgence. I am quoting:

"When a 'foreign company had to cut down its shareholding to 40 per cent, there has to be disinvestment which has to take place. For example, if there are 400 shares, 40 per cent of 400 shares, that is, 160 shares are to be kept and the balance 240 shares have to be sold in the Indian market with only 160 shares remaining in the hands of the foreign companies. Instead of that, they have been allowed to float 600 shares, to mop up capital

from the Indian market which amounts to dilution and not disinvestment."

This is what has been happening in the past. We must learn from our errors of the past. The FER Act has been misused by the MNCs in their favour. They have dispersed their holdings amongst small Indian shareholders. So, the control has remained in the hands of the foreign companies only. They have not even amended their articles of association to allow the Indians to take over even that 16 per cent shareholding which would still be controlled by the private companies. I have raised this issue in the past also.

Madam, we are one of the few countries in the world with such vast foreign investment. We classify those companies as Indian companies. Once they come down to 40 per cent, they are classified as Indian companies under the FER Act. My point is that even with this 51 per cent you are going to class them as Indian companies and that is my fear and that is my major fear. I am saying this because, once they are classified as Indian companies, they are then entitled to all the benefits which the Indian companies are entitled to under the taxation laws, under the various subsidy schemes, under the sales tax and various other schemes. I say to you that let these companies operate with a higher percentage. I have no objection. But make sure that there is a special law for it. Make sure that there are special controls for them. Make sure that the areas are identified. And they do not take advantage of those concessions which are available to Indian companies. No country in the world allows this. In France, with only 20 per cent shareholding a company is classified as a foreign company, in Australia with 15 per cent, in Japan with only 10 per cent, and even in the USA a company with a substantial foreign holding is not allowed to take advantage of those concessions which are available to

American companies. I implore the hon. Finance Minister to make sure that while we welcome their investment here we welcome their entry into this market. Let me tell you, Madam Deputy Chairman, that this market is a huge market. They want to enter this market because this market has 140 million strong middle class. They want to come here. So let us be clear that while we want to bring them here we must control them.

I would like to point out one more thing, one more danger. And this is from the Bhopal gas tragedy I would like to point out. I am quoting from the BUSINESS INDIA, March 10—23, 1986:

"Ever since the Bhopal gas leak disaster of December, 1984, Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) has sought to distance itself from its Indian subsidiary Union Carbide India Ltd. (UCIL). Despite its majority shareholding in UCIL, UCC has disclaimed all responsibility for the technical as well as business decisions that culminated in the disaster. Officials of the parent company have consistently maintained that the UCIL is an Indian company managed by Indians, over which UCC exercises little control; and UCIL officials have implicitly endorsed this view."

And the Government could only prove this difference by quoting the provisions of the FERA and by showing that the actual shareholding of UCIL is 50.9 per cent in foreign hands. If you allow these companies as Indian companies, this further danger is going to come that they will not have any international liability. (*Time bell rings*).

I come to my last point, Madam.

My last point deals with para 56. I have heard a lot of rumblings in this House and in the other House regarding the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Unfortunately, the hon. Finance Minister's choice of words in

[Shri Vishvjit P. Singh]

para 56 has not been quite appropriate. Let me set the record straight. The fact is that the quantum of allocation for the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation is not Rs. 100 crores; it is only Rs. 20 crores. Let us be quite clear. The balance of money is what the Finance Minister hopes to give in future years. But the allocation is only Rs. 20 crores. This House at the moment is concerned only about Rs. 20 crores which have been allocated to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. I wish to set the record straight about this, Madam.

With these words Madam, I once again say that with these reservations I support the Budget.

Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Sivaji. Your party has 32 minutes, and there are two speakers. Kindly abide by the time you want to give to the second speaker.

1.00 P.M.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh); Madam, we expected much from the economic wisdom of the Finance Minister. But ultimately it appears to be that his economic wisdom has been compromised with the political expediency of the Treasury Benches. And instead of acquiring the virtues of both, the economic wisdom of the Finance Minister as well as the political expediency of the ruling party, the Budget exhibited the evils of both, and ultimately the Budget turned out to be a damp squib and a whimper.

Madam, the Finance Minister in the course of his observations on the proposals, mentioned that there is additional taxation to the tune of Rs. 2,617 crores. But, in fact, when we calculate in terms of the additional imposition of burden on the nation, it will turn out to be about Rs. 3200 crores per annum since these proposals are valid only for the coming seven to eight months. And the Railways imposed a taxation of Rs. 580 crores, which per year amounts to Rs. 700

crores. Petroleum price hike is 20 per cent. It amounts to Rs. 1500 crores per annum. All these figures put together constitute about Rs. 5600 crores. Madam, you are aware that last October, there was a surcharge of 25 per cent due to the Gulf crisis on petroleum products which costed about Rs. 2300 crores. And on the 15th of last December there was an additional excise and customs duty to the tune of Rs. 1340 crores. There was an additional depreciation allowance of Rs. 750 crores. And the surcharge on the income-tax was raised from 8 to 12 per cent. All these figures put together constitute about Rs. 10,050 crores.

Madam, the hon. Finance Minister in his proposals mentioned that the rise in the fertilizer prices is to the tune of 40 per cent. But, yet, there is an anomaly in his speech. The hon. Minister mentioned that it costs only about Rs. 400 crores. But the figures vary. As per the computation of the figures, 40 per cent hike in the fertilizer prices amounts to Rs. 2600 crores. It is a heavy amount as far as the farming community is concerned. Nowhere else and never in the history of independent India since 1947 such a heavy dose of burden was imposed on the farming community. Madam, let the Ministry or the Government deny the fact that the additional burden is not more than Rs. 2600 crores on fertilizers. Madam, we are aware that the existing subsidy on the fertilizer is to the tune of Rs. 4400 crores. And all this huge amount of Rs. 4400 crores is intended for maintaining the inefficiency of the fertilizer industry in this country as well as to fill the coffers of the Government. Madam, some time back, I came across in a glossy advertisement in all the newspapers that the subsidy intended on fertilizers is rolled back to the coffers of the Government in the form of high taxation on naphtha, high railway freight rate and high cost of power supplied to the fertilizer industry and all other things. Madam, in spite of the tall talk of the Government from the house-tops stating that the fertilizer subsidy is there to safeguard the interests of the farming community, when we go into the figures, we find that our farmer is paying five

times more than his counterpart in Japan to get the same quantity of fertilizer. Not only in Japan, in the neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, the farmer is paying three times less than the price which our farmer is paying to get the same quantity of fertilizer. Madam, in my district of Guntur, the fertilizer allotment is 2 lakh metric tonnes per annum. Two lakh tonnes of fertilizers are available with the dealers. But unfortunately, the entire quantity went into hoarding and it is blackmarketed and the Government is silent on these things. Madam, the Government claims that the hike in the fertilizer price is being neutralised by the hike in the minimum support price. But it does not stand to scrutiny because we know vagaries of nature are there and the farmer is not confident or the Government is not confident to see that the farmer gets yield. There is no comprehensive crop insurance scheme in this country. Therefore, in spite of using fertilizers and other things, if there is a Government dictum, the farmer gets a minimum support price only if he is able to produce. If nature fails, it is not possible for the Government or anybody else to compensate for the hike in fertilizer price. Second point I would like to mention about the fertilizer hike is that I am very much afraid that the agricultural production in this country may go down with the hike in the fertilizer price. Madam, the cost of production will go up. If a farmer uses 10 bags of fertilizer per acre, with the hike in the fertilizer price the farmer will have to spend Rs. 500 more per acre. For want of money, the farmer may not be in a position to see that sufficient nutrients are used in the farm and thereby the cost of production goes up and the output also may come down.

Madam, there are several anomalies in the Budget proposals of Dr. Manmohan Singh. In the 'Budget At a Glance' the hon. Finance Minister has stated that the corporation tax has been hiked from Rs. 6350 to Rs. 6744. But on the same page it is mentioned that the hike or net addition to the Central Government is Rs. 1304 crores. I don't know how the

anomalies took place at the beginning. They stated that the hike is round about Rs. 250 crores. At the bottom of the page it is mentioned that the Central Government share is something like Rs. 1304 crores. Like that several anomalies have taken place.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen Saikia) in the Chair].

Sir, Dr. Manmohan Singh has mentioned umpteen number of times that we should try to tighten our belt. But at the same time the non-plan expenditure of the Government increased to the tune of Rs. 80000 crores. It means the Government is capable of spending about Rs. 400 crore on every working day and the Government is capable of spending more than Rs. 1 crore every minute.

Sir, if we go back to 1947, when late Shri Shanmugham Chettiar introduced his Budget in that budget the total expenditure of the Government at the time was about Rs. 104 crores. Among those Rs. 104 crores Rs. 42 crores were spent on refugees and only Rs. 18.5 crores were spent on establishment. But we have travelled a long way from Rs. 18.5 crores to Rs. 18000 crores to be spent, on non-plan expenditure. To meet the expenditure, the Government resorted to several methods like imposing heavy taxation, borrowing, both internal and external, and not satisfied with that, they resorted even to bring in fake currency notes in the Government printing press. The Minister replied this morning to question that the value of the rupee today compared to that in 1947 is only 7 paise. Even a beggar does not accept one rupee. Government borrowings both external and internal are in very huge amounts. It is high time that we use article 292 of the Constitution of India which imposes certain restrictions on the Government borrowings. It says: "The executive power of the Union extends to borrowing upon the security of the Consolidated Fund of India within such limits, if any, as may from time to time be fixed by Parliament by law and to the giving of guarantees within such

[Dr. Yellamanchil Sivaji] limits, if any, as may be so fixed." So, utilising this provision, the Parliament should take this opportunity to pass a Resolution fixing a ceiling on the borrowing power of the Union Government. It was suggested by the C'nakravary Committee which was appointed to review the working of the monetary system. It was also recommended in several reports of the Public Accounts Committees, in their 9th Report, in their 36th Report, in their 52nd Report, in their 64th Report and even Comptroller and Auditor General during 1988 recommended in his report that such a law should be passed by the Government. So, I would suggest that a Resolution may be passed by Parliament so that people get an opportunity to observe and understand the financial position of the Government. Such laws exist in countries like the U.K. and in other parts of the world.

About fiscal deficit, I would say that it is to the tune of Rs. 40,000 crores. It is a counterfeit affairs. During the entire first Plan, the deficit was to the tune of only Rs. 333 crores; in the second Plan it was Rs. 948 crores; in the third Plan, it was Rs. 1150 crores, and in the present Budget, the fiscal deficit is about Rs. 40,000 crores. If somebody resorts to printing fake notes, he is likely to be prosecuted and according to law, his place is prison. Similarly, if the Government, whether it is of Dr. Manmohan Singh or Mr. Yashwant Sinha or anybody else, resorts to deficit financing and consequently printing of notes much more than allowed to, and contrary to normal fiscal norms, to the tune of Rs. 40,000 crores or Rs. 50,000 crores per annum, the right place for that Minister is also the jail, whether it is Tihar jail or Rajamundry jail or Ballary jail in Karnataka. So I would advise the Government not to be tempted to print more and more notes.

Then the Government resorted to selling gold. In spite of what the Finance Minister asserted that we can get back this gold from the Bank of England, I am reminded of a proverb in Sanskrit which says:

‘काना कनकं दत्तं पूरुतं परहस्तं गतं गतं’ :

It means that once gold is transferred to somebody else, it is not possible to get it back.

The balance of payment position has\* been very critical since 1985-86. The negative balance of payments is to the tune of 50,000 crores of rupees since then. So, we resorted to commercial borrowings. Since 1985-86, the commercial borrowings went up from Rs. 8000 crores to Rs. 30,000 crores. It was during Shri Rajiv Gandhi's period. The commercial borrowings involved more rates of interest than the loans from the IMF and the World Bank. Therefore, the Government went in for the sale of gold and the devaluation of the rupee and the Government was confident that by devaluing the rupee, the exports could be augmented. But the figures available speak to the contrary. During 1980-85, the value of the rupee went down by one-third but the exports went up by only 9 per cent. But, in 1987, the value of the rupee went down by 1.3 per cent, but the exports went up by 28.3 per cent. These figures show that there is no relation between the value of the rupee, revaluation or devaluation, and the exports. We are spending about Rs. 42,000 crores on imports every year. Half of it is accounted for by petroleum, vegetable oils, fertilisers, iron and steel and cement. It is not possible to reduce these imports. Rs. 4000 crores is being spent to import diamonds, gems etc., which are to be processed and exported as jewellery. It is not possible to cut down these imports too. Ultimately, we are left with the import of capital goods. During Shri Rajiv Gandhi's period they allowed the import of capital goods stating that this would augment the exports, but it did not happen. In the trade policy also, they mentioned that the CCS is being replaced by 30 per cent REP. So, if 30 per cent REP is given in place of CCS, who will be benefited? The

Government wants to transfer the burden from them, thus, allowing the exporters to resort to black-marketing, to encourage black money and smuggling in this country. The Government is not capable of monitoring where the dollar goes and how it travels in the country. We are coming across such cases in several areas everyday, day in and day out. The second aspect which I would like to mention is about the augmenting of exports and giving of reliefs. If the industrial goods or manufactured goods are exported then there will be value addition, and we can encourage those exporters. But when the agricultural goods like raw tobacco, raw cotton, raw jute or cardamom, spices, chillies etc. are exported, I don't see any reason why relief is given only to the exporters and not to the farmers. The credit should go to the farming community. What the hell the exporter does? He just buys them and he resorts to all sorts of mal-practices and there is no quality control, thereby, in the United States—we came across in THE HINDU—all our agricultural goods were impounded in the ports. Most of our commodities have been adulterated and mixed with foreign materials. As a result, our exports went down in the international market. I feel that the exporters are not serious and with all intentions, they spoil our market in the international arena. Even though they are not capable of exploiting or creating new markets, they are spoiling our traditional markets. I, therefore, suggest that any relief,—where it is 30 per cent REP or CCS, whatever it is, —which is given, should be...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): It is not relief.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM (Andhra Pradesh): They have taken it away.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: I suggest that whatever relief is given should be given to the farmer. For example, every year, Rs. 200 crores

worth of tobacco is exported from this country. The farmer is not capable of importing things like fertiliser, pesticides, etc. But there are commodity boards in the country. We have the Tobacco Board, the Spices Board, the Tea Board, the Coffee Board, etc. All these Boards can coordinate and see that the producer who exports these things gets the benefit. If Rs. 200 crores worth of tobacco is exported, the farmer should be able to get about Rs. 60 crores worth of fertiliser, pesticides or some other agricultural input. This can be distributed to the growers on pro rata basis, depending on their contribution at the auction platform.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: A good suggestion has come.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: The Minister is not serious about my suggestion.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: The Minister is not serious about the problems of agriculturists.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Dr. Ratnakar Pandey and others say that this is the last Budget of this Government.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): The Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, has his own prescription. He will not consider the prescriptions of other doctors.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Then, Sir, the Government is in need of money. They are in need of gold. Gold is not available. Why don't they think of issuing gold bonds? Gold can be deposited with the banks and it can be returned, say, after ten or fifteen years. This will attract gold deposits because of the interest component. You can, in turn, jolly well deposit this gold with the Bank of England or some other bank to get more loans. You can resort to this method.



[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji]

In regard to unearthing of black money, the Government has announced two schemes. I do not think you will get anything from this. You are not capable of unearthing black money. You are not capable of collecting, you are not capable of recovering, the income-tax and excise duty arrears. In this connection, I would like to suggest that whoever goes in for construction of a house of less than one thousand square feet, he need not be asked to explain the source. You can announce like that. As you know, housing is an industry which has a lot of employment potential like in the areas of brick-making, rock-breaking and other things. Not only that. The Government will also get a lot of revenue in the form of excise duty on steel and cement. After acquiring house, the saving psychology among the people will also go up. Then, they go for things like fridge in the houses, the Government gets much more money. Therefore, you can announce that one need not explain the source when one goes in for construction of a house of less than one thousand square feet.

Sir, I have just one or two things more to say. I will take less than two minutes. I wonder at the wisdom of the North Block people. I do not think they are wise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Dr. Sivaji, you have already taken twenty-four minutes.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: I do not think they are wise. For example, there is an item in the Finance Bill which says: 'Donkey' stallions imported for the purpose of breeding mules will have reduced tax from 105 per cent to 40 per cent ad valorem. I wonder at the wisdom of the North Block people. I do not know what I prompted them to say that import duty on donkeys is being reduced.

How many donkeys are imported into the country every year which warranted the Finance Minister to reduce the duty on donkeys imported for breeding purposes?

Then, there is the expenditure tax. Here, the Finance Minister says that if among four—telephone, deep freeze, a cloak room and an A. C.—two are there, it will attract 20 per cent expenditure tax. Therefore, if I enter a hotel and there is one wash-basin and a telephone in that hotel, I have to shell out sixty paise extra to get a plate of idli. On this account the Government proposes to collect Rs. 165 crores and it is not desirable. Sir, there are many other points for me to make. I may get a chance to make those points during the Finance Bill.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, during my younger days when I was in college, I happened to read a book written by Arthur Koestler. The name of the book was, 'The God that failed. It was 30 years ago and that book was about communism in USSR. That book created a lot of controversy. Subsequently, he happened to be the Vice-President of Yugoslavia. He wrote many books on communism which the hon. Finance Minister may know. In that book he has said that communism cannot survive. It is doomed to failure because it is against private initiative, because it is a human tendency to earn, save and create a wealth and capital. But what has happened in this country? After we have modelled our planning and our approach to the model of planning of the USSR, we thought that creation of wealth itself is a wrong thing. We have been advocating that nobody should create a wealth. Anybody who created capital, that man was called a 'capitalist'. There has been a difference between, capital and capitalist

and then he was doomed to be condemned not only by the community, by the Government but by everybody else. Ultimately, what was happened? During the last many decades we have been thinking of distribution of poverty and not creation of wealth.

I am very happy to find in this budget, that there has been a new direction given to the budget, wherein the Finance Minister is bold enough to recite two things. One is, creation of wealth and the other is capital. He has given a new thrust and a new direction to the Indian economy after all these years. But my only feeling is that he is very fearful, he is not bold enough to announce his policies surely so that the path we can undertake should be very fast. Even in USSR you might have noted that between Gorbachev and Yeltsin there is an argument going on as to how fast they have to go to the consumer market, to the market economy. Yeltsin wants the Government to go very fast because he wants the changes to be brought about very quickly. Otherwise, what will happen in this process of change between the existing method of planning or socialism or communism, whatever you may call it, and market economy is, there will be a gap and India may find itself in a serious-, situation. Every country which has undergone a change is faced with serious consequences of unemployment and so many other problems. Even USSR is under the grip of a change. Restructure, they call it. Therefore, I would recommend to the Government—if at all it is taking a step—to take the step 'surely' and take a 'fast' step so that the interim period will be slower so that the agony that the people may experience may also become shorter.

I would only recommend this. The Central planning has been disbanded in USSR. Recently, the plenum has also said that the planning has failed in the USSR. After disbanding the Central planning they have given all the powers to the regional planning.

Central planning mechanism is only a coordinating agency or it is only an indicative of the kind of planning method that they are going to follow in USSR. Ultimately, while we model our planning process under the scheme of USSR, under the Gosplan, I want to impress on the Finance Minister that the planning process will take us nowhere, because it has taken no country anywhere. Not only the USSR but also the East European countries, all the communist countries which have been formulating their plans on the model of USSR have ultimately failed and they have given away this planning task. So, the question is whether the planning process may go, whether there has to be some coordination. There are different kinds of planning processes. There is a centralised planning, there is an indicative kind of planning, and there are many plans which the honourable Finance Minister may be knowing. I would very strongly recommend that the Government of India should think very seriously about Central planning and, also, the plan process should start from the State onwards. The Centre should fund the States and the State should have its own schemes. The schemes should not be thrust from the Centre. Now, ultimately what happens is there are so many Central schemes which are not conducive to the States. But whether the States want it or not, unless they adapt those schemes, which they think are not necessary for them, they don't get money. So, ultimately-, for getting money they are reluctantly adopting the Central schemes to the States which have been a failure in many States. So I would advocate that every State should have its own planning mechanism and every State should be allowed to compete with the other States as has happened in Europe. There, every country has its own mechanism of competition. So there should be competition between the States. Otherwise the States will be going on asking for Plan funds and non-Plan funds, there will be fights why only

[Shri G. Swaminathan] so much is being given to our States and why so much is given to the other States and, ultimately, the Centre will always be in trouble. So, ultimately, whatever you want to give, you give that amount to the States and let the States decide on their own planning. Let the States have their own competition amongst themselves. If the States come up in their own way and if one does better than the other, then the efficiency of the State will be counted.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Is there no State planning in Tamil Nadu?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: In Tamil Nadu State planning is there but, ultimately State planning is only an appendage of the Central planning.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The projects come from the State Governments.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Projects come from the State Governments but allocation and everything comes from the Central Planning Board. Yojana Bhavan is the ultimate controller of the whole thing. Our Chief Minister had to come and convince the Yojana Bhavan. She came and met the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission. She had to convince him, this is the money we want and this is according to your finances; Tamil Nadu is getting only five per cent while the other States are getting 11 per cent, and the formula that you are adopting is not proper. These are all the kind of arguments. Endlessly these arguments are going on and we are not able to solve the problem. So, this is what I want to tell you.

Another matter I want to tell you is about the public sector. Regarding the public sector, in the East European countries and even in China— for want of time I am not quoting the rjrps-ruttinfjs: I have got the rjress-cuttings—sick public sector industries have been close down. Ultimately what is happening is that either the

workers do not work well and they want more money or the management is not earning for the public sector. I am a Member of the Committee on Papers Laid on the Table of Rajya Sabha. The other day this Committee met and we called some Chairman and Managing Director and those people came from the Tea Board or some industry. It was found that this particular industry has lost twice the amount of its capital within a period of 10 to 12 years. The lady who came last time said, "Sir, I am here only for six months and so I do not know the history of this industry" Subsequently when we met again, a gentleman came and said, "I have taken over only now. Even about the last six months I do not know." Ultimately we found that there is so much of rotation of the Chairman, Managing Director, etc., that nobody is willing to take the onus of the loss. They say, "We are trying to do something better next time." And next time that gentleman will not be there! It seems to be careless and the Members were so aghast that the public sector industries are run in this way. Our own Chairman, Mr. Reddy was there. They said they wanted to close down one coffee shop which was in Australia. He said that when he went to Australia he found that the coffee shop was very profitable and why they were closing it down. The gentleman who came said, "Sir, I don't know how profitable it was because I have had no occasion to see it. I will very shortly go to Australia and find it out." He wanted to go to Australia at the expense of that sick industry!

Sir, once a sick industry is to be closed down then every worker is agitated. He will say, "What will happen to me?" Then the management people, those who are in the offices, they go soot-free, become Secretaries or Managing Directors and no responsibility can be fixed on anybody. Ultimately there may be a Secretary who may be here, and he may also get transferred and he may not

also, be there. Ultimately the Minister who is controlling may not also be there. Ultimately the Members who may be talking may not also be there. But the responsibility is from bottom to top, and no body is willing to take "any responsibility. They would say, whether the industry is sick or not, I am not interested; somehow or other you provide employment for me; I want my salary. This is the condition. So, if you are hard on this matter and say that sick industries will be closed down as it is being done in USSR, then everybody will get sense. Suppose the company will become sick. Then, ultimately I will lose my job. Then you have a man for life-time. I would say that as proprietor you have ten years. You have at least five years, ten years for Managing Director and Chairman. You should be responsible for results. In the private industry we say, "You put one man. You don't interfere with him. But he is responsible to somebody to produce results." Here no results are produced, and he continues having the same perks, same enjoyment and everything else. This has to be shunned.

Then, I would also recommend very strongly privatisation of all the private sector industries because ultimately what is happening in many of the countries is this. We want money. A lot of money, money in crores of rupees has accumulated in all the public sector industries. These industries, will slowly become inefficient. They will also close down one day. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Three private companies closed in the last six months, and 60,000 persons have been rendered jobless.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I do not know. Even in the USSR Mr. Gorbachev says, "I am closing them down." This is Gorbachev formula. I want to read one extract because I know friends like him will ask me, (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Gorbachev went to the G-7. He wanted loan, he wanted money, as we are asking for money from the IMF. The Soviet Union is also trying to become a member of the IMF. Ultimately he gate crashed into the G-7, the group of all the industrialised countries. He asked for money. He said, "My country is in a very poor state of affairs." I want to read this portion:

"The Soviets promised large scale privatisation. Mr. Gorbachev was prepared to offer a new blueprint with more radical ideas. The West was not insistent on time or commitment on the privatisation but on more firmer commitment."

What the G-7 wanted from Mr. Gorbachev was a firmer commitment on privatisation, scaling down of the defence spending. They put all these conditions. With all these conditions he wanted to accept it.

Now, he wants to go to the IMF. This has appeared in "THE HINDU" of 27-7-1991. An official of the IMF has said:

"I cannot figure out what the Soviets are doing. They do not have a reform programme in place, and they cannot have. They cannot muster with the IMF."

These conditionalities are put. Whether it is India or the USSR or any other country... (Time bell rings)

Only five minutes, Sir. I have not yet come to the points. Excuse me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): It will be difficult to allow you to take five more minutes. You conclude in a minute.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: I will conclude in two minutes.

Because there is no time, I will make only the points.

Sir, I find that a lot of concessions have been given. Two concessions

[Shri G. Swaminathan] have been given to black-money holders. To black-money holders they say "last chance" every time. Every black-money holder knows now that he can accumulate black money. The funniest part of it is that you can give black money for housing, and you are charged only 40 per cent. A regular income-tax payer whose income is over Rs. 1 lakh now has to pay 50 per cent income-tax and also 8 per cent surcharge. But a man who has accumulated black money can go scot free by giving 40 per cent. I strongly object to this.

Another thing is regarding remittances from abroad. Again I find that remittances from abroad are going to be allowed. Then they can be given by gift. All the black money from abroad will come. That is the intention of the Government.

Ultimately, about the bonds, Sir, I will say only one word. You say that they can remit through bonds. There is no gift tax. There is no income-tax. They can have interest and all that. I was talking with a NRI in America, who has got a lot of money. He said, "I am not interested to invest because the dollar value is going up. Suppose I give money today at the dollar value of Rs. 20 or whatever it is, tomorrow after five years when the dollar value goes up to Rs. 25, who will pay me that much money?"

I find the phrase "exchange-rate protection." If by "exchange-rate protection" what you mean is protection of its value in dollars according to the exchange value after five years, then, most probably they will be interested. Otherwise, they may not be interested in it.

There is no concession to the middle class in IT. The same Rs. 22,000 is there. The hon. Finance Minister has said that income tax will be nil on Rs. 22,000 and that it will be 30 per cent for income exceeding Rs. 22,000 up to Rs. 80,000. Even at the rate of 12 per cent inflation, they should extend it to Rs-**25,000.**

There is this injustice to the middle class. The employees have been asking for raising this limit to Rs. 50,000. Sir, I want the Government to give this concession to them.

About the tourism industry, they have already said spoken about the concession given to the tourism industry. I want 80(I)' should be given not only to the tourism industry but also to small-scale industries.

The excise duty on the LPG you have increase. You have increased it on various other things including the colour TV sets. The black and white TV has already become obsolete. I do not know. Everybody is now going in for small colour TV sets. Why are you objecting to their purchasing to the colour TV sets? I do not know this,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

G. SWAMINATHAN: Tamil Nadu has requested on three items and I would like to remind the hon. Minister about that. **One** is that we want Kanyakumari to be made a free port. Hong Kong is to be closed in 1997. You may allow a free port for Kanyakumari.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Pondicherry also.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: Yes, Pondicherry also, but Pondicherry and Kanyakumari should not clash.

For the mass transport system phase-I, we want some more money. You are giving only Rs. 12.5 lakhs and it has to be completed very shortly.

Regarding the Telugu-Ganga project we wanted Rs. 3000 crores. Because Krishna water is also going to come to Madras, then it will be Rs. 1333 crores. For preservation, distribution and disinfection of water we have applied for a loan from the World Bank. We request the Government of India to immediately take up the matter, because Madras is suffering. You know the Cauvery

water dispute is very serious. We want to take up the case with the World Bank and see that we get money as early as possible.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: One thing I would like to say in the interest of the nation. Mr. Swaminathan has said regarding the bonds in dollars: The value of the dollar will go up and on maturity it should be repaid in dollar. Otherwise the people will not be interested to invest in that and we will not get the foreign exchange. If it is in dollars and when it matures, you give in dollars so that they don't have to lose anything.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): It is his calculation and his opinion. Others have nothing to do with that. Shri Pra-gada Kotaiah. (*Interruptions*) I have already called the next speaker to make his speech.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, it has been the accepted policy of the Government of India to protect the handloom industry against the competition of the mechanised sectors of the textile industry. I have very carefully read the Address of the President given to the joint session of Parliament. I have also carefully read the Budget speech and the Budget proposals of our hon. Minister of Finance. I have also read the Industrial Policy. It is very unfortunate that no mention has been made in all the three documents about the proposals to protect the handloom industry. What are the problems of the handloom industry? The handloom industry is not a tiny industry. It is not a small-scale industry, which was started with just Rs. 75 lakhs and was getting all sorts of facilities from the Government. The handloom industry is the king of the cottage industries. Even today it is providing employment to more than 20 million people, both directly and indirectly, but no serious attempt has been made to help it. In what manner is the Government going to protect it? The basic problems of the

handloom industry are three. One is that the supply of raw material at reasonable and stable prices. To that end the Government has done nothing. The Government in the Textile policy have stated. "Special efforts would be made to ensure adequate availability of yarn and other raw materials at reasonable rates of handlooms." During the last four years the prices of cotton yarn have gone up 100 per cent. For instance, 405 count of yarn of 10 bundles lbs. was being sold at Rs. 125 four years back. Now its price is Rs. 275. What is it that the Government of India have done? Normally the handloom weavers pay 30 per cent over and above the cost price of the yarn in the form of reeling, bundling, bailing, transport, freight, taxes, profits of mills and middlemen etc. The composite mills use the yarn spun in the spinning section for conversion of cloth. This difference is 30 per cent. This has been established by several committees—not non-official committees—appointed by the Government themselves. What has been done to remove the disparity in the price of yarn used by the handloom weavers and the composite mills? Sir, we have been asking that at least the hank yarn produced in the mills be procured at a reasonable and stable price and arranged for its distribution to the handloom weavers. All the while they have been subsidising all other things except the raw material of handloom weavers. Government are giving paper at the subsidised price to the consumers. Government are giving sugar at subsidised price to certain consumers. Government are giving rice at subsidised price to certain consumers. This industry is a family-based industry. This industry is a labour-intensive industry. The handloom weaver does not want thousands of crores of rupees or hundreds of crores of rupees for modernisation of his industry. He does not require any soft term loan. He does not require any infrastructural facilities. His own cottage is the factory. His own implements are used for training. His cottage if the

[Shri Fragada Kotaiah] training institute. They do not want any training from the Government. But they are acquiring the skills from generation to generation producing the cloth and not only required by this country but for exporting also. Even today the handloom industry is producing more than one-fourth of the cloth required by the country for internal consumption and also for export purposes. Through exports, we are earning more than Rs. 350 crores. We are only producers of the handloom products. We are paying tax on yarn. We are paying tax on dyes and chemicals. We are producing artistic products for export purposes but incentives are being given only to the exporters. But the producer is getting nothing in this country.

With regard to excise duties, the Minister was telling yesterday that the proposals involved a revenue loss of about Rs. 250 crores in a full year. I was laughing at it. He said that he expected that the benefit would be passed on to the consumer in the form of reduced prices. Sir, in 1986, the then Textile Minister announced in the Parliament that he would give concessions on textiles in the form of reduction of excise duty. Ultimately Rs. 141 crores of excise duty concession was given. In 1987 there was a further reduction of excise duty of Rs. 300 crores. At that time, the Minister told the Parliament that all these concessions would percolate down to the consumers in the form of reduced prices. But the hopes of the Government were belied. But still the same argument is being advanced by our hon. Finance Minister. Government are allowing reduction in customs duty for some people. But how many of them are getting this concession? The common man is not getting this excise duty benefit or customs duty benefit. In 1957, the Central Government was able to convince the State Governments to replace sales tax by additional excise duty. According to the agreement additional excise duties are to be !

levied on cloth produced by mills and also powerlooms. But are you levying additional excise duties? Sir, let the Finance Minister or the Commerce Minister or the Textiles Minister come with me. We will go to the bazar. I will show two-thirds of the mill cloth being sold in the form of cut-pieces, in the form of pant-bits, in the form of seconds, all suitable for wearing. They are cut according to size. Shirt-pieces, pant-pieces **and** other cut-pieces will be according to size. Sari will be only of two pieces. They are being sold free of excise duties. Similar is the case with powerloom cloth. I sent a representation to the Government. I sent a representation to the present hon. Finance Minister also requesting him to consider levying additional excise duties and normal excise duties on mill cloth and powerloom cloth which have not been subjected to the levy of normal and additional excise duties. But I got a reply signed by the Minister himself that the Government was considering imposing excise duties on handloom cloth. That shows that the Minister could not find time to look into the mail going even from Members of Parliament. Some P.A. or clerk writes a letter and places it before the Minister and the Minister blindly signs it. He has not looked into the representation sent by me. What did I represent? I represented that the mill cloth in the form of cut-pieces and the powerloom cloth coming direct from the looms should be subjected to imposition of normal and additional excise duties. But the reply I have received from the Minister is that the Government would examine the question of imposing excise duty on handlooms. Sir, this is the way in which our ministries are functioning.

Some people may say, some economists may say, that the handloom industry will die and there is no need to help the handloom industry. But it is not a fact. A fact-finding committee, in the year 1941, went into the question of handlooms and **mills**. What did it say? The Committee

headed by Prof. P. J. Thomas, referring to the competition from the powerloom sector—there were only 15,000 powerlooms in the whole of the country at that time—said that if a mill did not make profit, it would automatically close down, but a handloom would go on working helplessly—because the person concerned had no alternative to earn his livelihood. Sir, the handloom industry has been struggling hard for survival. It has survived during the last 100 years and it will survive as long as our womenfolk stick to their traditional habit of wearing the sari, thanks to Indian women for keeping up their modesty by sticking to the wearing of the sari, a traditional habit. Therefore, the handloom industry does not die. It will survive. Do you want the 20 millions of handloom weavers to have a very low standard of living? If a worker is unemployed, the labour department will run; the ministry concerned will run; the factories inspector will run; labour and industrial courts will be there. But, in Andhra Pradesh, more than 60 handloom weavers died out of starvation or by suicide because of their continued unemployment and prolonged hunger. Was there any movement in the Government? No, the Government did not move because they are in the rural areas. Nobody is worried about them because the handloom weavers have no union to shout slogans and make noise. The Government will come forward to help those who are capable of organising themselves, who are capable of shouting slogans and making noise or those who are having a powerful lobby in Parliament. All those things are lacking for handloom weavers.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please be brief because there are 13 speakers from your party.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: Sir, give me five minutes and I would be able to complete my speech. Although this is a very big industry yet it has

been ignored and it has suffered a lot. 20 million people all over the country are suffering.

*(Time bell rings)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You please conclude within three minutes.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: Sir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the year 1950, accepted the principle of reserving certain items of cloth for the handloom industry. Not now, but it was in the year 1950. The first notification was issued on 15th April 1950. But unfortunately that notification was struck down by the court. During the last forty years, notifications were being issued but the mill and the powerloom financiers went to the courts for obtaining stays. Ultimately, we could not get any benefit. I am also a handloom weaver coming from a traditional handloom weaver family. We could not get the benefit of reservation. Ultimately, a law was enacted in the year 1985. The Government of India appointed a study group on our representations. They went into the whole question and said, we shall have an independent legislation and all the reservations to be made to the handloom sector, shall be included in the Act itself. And that Act should be included in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution to avoid litigation. But that has not been done. An Act was passed, a separate notification was issued but that was stayed by the Supreme Court in 1986 and till now, they could not do anything. What I am requesting the Government is, the Act should be amended to include the items of cloth reserved for handlooms to ensure provision of continuous employment to handloom weavers and that the amended Act should be included in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Kotaiah, please conclude because there are 13 speakers from your party.

SHRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH: I will just conclude. Now I am referring



[Shri Pragada Kotaiah] to the figures of the Budget proposals. They have provided Rs. 257 crores for the handloom industry out of which Rs. 136 crores are intended for subsidy on 'Janata Cloth'. It is a consumer-oriented scheme. The entire subsidy which is being given on Janata cloth, goes to the consumers but unfortunately they show Rs. 136 crores in the handloom weavers budget. After deducting that, what is the amount actually intended for the benefit of the handloom industry in the form of plans, schemes etc.? It is only Rs. 85 crores. If it is divided among the families of poor people, it will be Rs. 171 per family. The amount earmarked for the handloom industry is Rs. 257 crores out of which Rs. 136 crores are intended for subsidy on Janata cloth and the remaining amount is only Rs. 85 crores that is intended for the benefit of 20 million people. If we divide that, it comes to Rs. 170 per family. But, Sir, the

2.00 P.M.

Government are running the National Textile Corporation with 124 mills, out of which 105 mills are nationalised and 9 mills are managed by the Corporation and for which they are spending Rs. 424.11 crores. Can you imagine...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

SHRI PRAGADA KGTAIAH: Kindly give me one minute and I will conclude. See, for an industry providing employment to 20 millions of people the Government have provided Rs. 85 crores, but for an industry taken over by the Government having 124 mills with a work-force of 1.5 lakhs they are spending Rs. 424.11 crores. For each family it comes to one lakh, thirty thousand and one hundred rupees. That is how the Government is protecting the cottage industries. The workers of the cottage industries are suffering very much. Something has to be done for their welfare. Our Prime Minister is a scholar, a knowledgeable statesman and a friend of the poor. The

Government have to consider all these things and give protection to the workers of the handloom industry, who are actually suffering in this country. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri Hiphei. I think the Members from the Congress Party will have to be very careful of their time because there are 13 speakers and the time left out of the allotted time is not more than two hours.

SHRI HIPHEI (Mizoram): Sir, thank you very much for calling me to speak. I also thank you because it gives me a chance when the House is thinly populated and I also thank you for pronouncing my name very correctly "Hiphei". Sometimes my name has been wrongly pronounced particularly by those people who are working with All India Radio and Doordarshan. They used to pronounce "Hiphe". Henceforth, it may kindly be pronounced correctly.

Sir, before I come to the point regarding the Budget, I would like to support the hon. Finance Minister because he has rightly dedicated the Budget to the inspiring memory of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Sir, this is for the first time I speak after the brutal assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. So, I would like to speak on this. The brutal assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi shocked every individual of India, it shocked the whole nation, it also shocked the whole world. Sir, he died at a time when we needed him most. India was respected and esteemed by the world under his dynamic leadership. To me he was one of the brightest stars in the world's political horizon of these times. He was not only a great leader, but also a great friend of the down-trodden and the tribal people of India. Sir, particularly we, the tribals in the north-eastern India, loved him very much, respected him very much for he loved us first, he cared for us first, he attended to our needs

first. We loved him very much. He came to Mizoram many times. He used to stay in a very remote area. He spent a whole night in an interior village with us. We gave him the best protection that we could give. Every garland and every thing that was handed over to him was properly "checked by the security personnel. Had the same method been applied on that fateful night, his life would have been saved. But it was not done. Many of us, I think, Sir, are ready to die on his behalf. But none of us could represent. He could only represent us. He died for the nation; he died for democracy; he died for secularism. So, those assassins, those conspirators behind the assassination are the enemies of the nation, are the enemies of democracy and are the enemies of mankind, I condemn them. Now, today his handsome face, his smiling face and his well-built body—physical body—is no more with us. Sir, his ideologies, his policies for a united India, for the welfare of the downtrodden people and for the welfare of the tribal people are going to be pursued. My sorrow, my lamentation and my sympathy are with the bereaved family. The only thing that I can do is to pray to Almighty God for their comfort.

Sir, coming to the Budget, being a layman I do not have any statistical figures, but I would like to point out a few points in a broad way. India is a very old nation but a young country. It is only 44 years old. But it has been a respected country; it has been a fast developing country. Our economic position has never been so bad as it is today. We have been following the policies adopted by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The policy of socialistic pattern of democracy makes India very great, very honourable. We had the confidence of the world in our economy for the last many years, 42 years, but today that has been lost. We have lost completely the confidence of the world in our economy. There is something wrong

and that we have to set right. I am not going to give the details of those defects. Our hon'ble Finance Minister, who is a doctor in economics, has given some reasons that led to the downfall of our economy. I am confident that under the leadership of our learned Prime Minister and our Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, our sick economy will be redeemed; the lost image will be regained. Today India has become a sick country in economy. It is to be healed. In order to restore our lost image we have to adopt, as has been rightly said by the President when he addressed both Houses of Parliament and as has been rightly said by the Finance Minister a very hard and unpleasant decision.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bhaskar Anna ji Masodkar) in the Chair]

In order to rebuild our economy we

have to swallow even bitter pills. If required, we may have to undergo a minor operation so that the Indian economy is rebuilt. It is wisely said: "We have an hour to

suffer a life time to live". So, we have to adopt unpleasant and hard measures so that we are able to rebuild our economy within two or three years.

A very important point that has been left out by the Finance Minister, very important in bringing down the image of our economy, is the law and order problem. When you say law and order problem, it becomes a political problem. Today we call it a law and order problem. Tomorrow it becomes an insurgency, and then a secessionist movement. Unless this law and order problem, unless this political problem, is nipped in the bud, tomorrow it will become a major hurdle in the nation's progress and that will cost us huge amounts of money. Today how much money has gone into the hands of the underground people? How many brinks have been looted and how many shops have been looted?

[Shri Hiphei] How much amount has been forcibly colected? Those elements, antisocial elements, are collecting huge amounts of money which are not accounted for in our Reserve Bank. So we have to solve this law and order problem. I would like to give you one example. Some years back the Darjeeling Gorkhaland movement was there. That could have been solved immediately if District Councils were given in time by the Government. Tea gardens were badly affected. The national economy was badly affected. Only after considerable damage took place did they solve the problem. Solving a problem after we spend huge amounts of money is of no use. We have to solve the problem in time. I would give you one more example. In Mizoram trouble started in 1960. There was a teaching that Mizos were not Indians and Mizoram was not part of India. It was a secessionist movement. The movement declared independence in Mizoram. That should have been solved in time. But timely action was not taken. We brought peace to Mizoram only after twenty long years. For that our Chief Minister Shri Lalthanhawia had to sacrifice his chief ministership. I had to sacrifice my ministership in order to give room to the rebel leaders. We had done it. I ask: How many national leaders have sacrificed their ministership, their chief-ministership, for national integration? This is not only for Mizoram, but it is also for the entire nation. Now peace has been brought to Mizoram. Mizoram has become one of the most peaceful States in India.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Hiphei, you have to conclude now.

SHRI HIPHEI: Yes, Sir, I have just got a few more points. But was that appreciated? It was not appreciated, Sir. I would like to bring to your notice a particular thing. On the night of 29th and 30th April a cyclonic storm hit Bangladesh. This storm affected Mizoram too. But the then

Prime Minister visited Bangladesh and did not visit Mizoram. No leader from the Centre visited Mizoram. Mizoram is in India and yet nobody visited it. Seven persons were killed and more than 5,000 houses, both private and public were damaged. Over 50 ft buildings of the Public Works Department, 400 kms of road, 104 kms of transmission lines were damaged. We approached the Central Government for assistance. But we were given no assistance. The estimated cost of damage was Rs. 36.16 crores. But, so far, from the Centre we have been able to get only Rs. 10 lakhs at the first instance and later Rs. 27.50 lakhs. The total comes to Rs. 37.00 lakhs whereas our demand was for Rs. 36.16 crores. Sir, I am constrained to mention in this connection that the tribal people of Mizoram feel neglected by the Centre at this hour of trial and tribulation. I would like to appeal to the Central Government, I would like to request the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister, to extend their helping hands to the State of Mizoram urgently. I fully appreciate the constraints of funds at the national level. But the suffering and pain of the Mizoram people will, I am sure, justify further scaling down of expenditure in some non-essential sectors and providing that fund to the poor and needy State of Mizoram.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please conclude.

SHRI HIPHEI: Sir, the Budget has been praised and criticised. We are sitting here together to either praise or oppose the Budget. But I would like to take the opinion of the neutral people. I would like to quote some of the comments made by the neutral people. I will just read out the headlines, Sir. "Industry welcomes" Budget proposals. Positive response from the trade bodies. The other is, "Tax expert lauds the Budget." These are the comments made by various people. This shows that our Budget proposals are not bad.

and that they are acceptable. Sir, let me quote.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): You need not quote them. You may show them to the Finance Minister if you want.

SHRI HIPHEI: It is not my opinion. It is the opinion of neutral people, and it is their comment. I can say that our Budget, though not satisfactory, is acceptable in order to rebuild the national economy.

Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Shrimati Chakravarty. Please conclude in five minutes.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Thank you, Sir.

Sir, the Budget reminds me of the story of a poor Brahmin and two thugs' and a goat. The story is well known. I will not narrate it. Here the two thugs' very skillfully deceived the poor Brahmin by convincing him that he is carrying a donkey. I want to say that I must commend our Finance Minister for his seemingly pragmatic approach to the Budget. But all his fine arguments simply bear testimony to the inherent weakness of fiscal policy of the Government as presented by the way of Budget. All these fail to convince the people. Of course, we cannot expect a balanced Budget at this time. But even though we might expect something better, yet I fail to understand why the Finance Minister has dedicated his Budget to a departed leader. It is his personal view. I have nothing to say in this matter. I do not think this dedication will ease the terrible situation created by acute price rise for the consumers. This sentimental approach cannot mislead poor consumers. The bending backs of the lower middle classes and the poor people cannot be straightened by an emotional approach.

The Budget represents the fiscal policy of the Government. Now we are a nation universally accepted as a pauper. We have informed the world by selling our reserve gold to show to what extent, to what low, we can climb down. All this has happened because of pursuance of wrong economic policies. Even by selling gold what the Government will achieve? This is not a permanent solution. It is only a stopgap measure. In July we have drawn another amount of Rs. 220 crores from I.M.F. It is not without conditions. Conditional Loans have always a humiliating effect on our national prestige.

I want to put a question to the hon. Minister: If these loans can produce an operative economy? All these years the Government did not encourage entrepreneurs across the sea. How can you expect that foreign investment will lift us from the morass of the economic disorder that we are facing today? Even if it happens, at what cost? Will there be a flow of money from across the seas for all the time for all the purpose?

The aim of the Budget is to have a provision for the eradication of poverty. But what have we seen with this fiscal policy? With this fiscal policy can we achieve the desired goal, that is to say, the eradication of poverty? I don't think we can achieve it. Instead of driving out poverty, probably the Minister is going to throw out the poor from the country.

The major problem that is facing the country is one of the price-rise. According to the index shown by the Minister, it is 13.40 per cent. But from current data I got that it is 14 per cent. I am subject to correction. The price of every item is sky high. Just before the introduction of the Budget the price of every essential commodity went up and certain goods were in short supply too. After the Budget, there is a "further rise in pri-

(Shrimati Bijoya Chakaravarty) ces. So this is an inflationary Budget. We have seen that the prices of railway transport, fertilizers, power, fuel and other items have been increased. The enhancement of prices of these items has given rise to (rise in prices of other articles. This is what has happened today. Everyday we are seeing a new price rise. I think there is a competition amongst the businessmen, industrialists and retailers to raise the prices of their items. I would like to ask the Finance Minister, what has this fiscal policy given to the buyers? The position of buyers is the same as before. How does the Finance Minister hope to bridge the gap between the buyer's capacity to pay and the inflationary pressures that are there in the country? I do not know how far you will be successful. What have we seen all these years? There is nothing but a glaring regional imbalance, and it is more so in the north-eastern region, including Assam already transport is a major criterion for an all-round economic development. But it is very much lacking in that part of the country. So I would like to urge upon the Government to allot a major amount for an all-round development of transport in the north-eastern region, including Assam. We have raised this issue many times in the House.

Members from the north-eastern region have asked for a BG line up to Tinsukhia. This has not been done even after 40 years of independence.

There are other proposals which have been approved by the National Front Government. One is the fourth refinery, controlling of Brahmaputra by constructing the Sibenseri dam, gas cracker project and Central University, I hope that all these will be included in the Eighth Plan. There is abnormal rise of unemployment problem in Assam. Not to speak of general graduates thousands of Engineering graduates, Doctors are unemployed in Assam. There are more than 20 lakhs unemployed youth in

Assam. If one region is not properly developed, it will tend to cripple the whole nation. If the Finance Minister thinks that India consists of only of some parts, then I have nothing to say.

I would like to remind the Finance Minister to keep sufficient funds aside for the purposes of women. You know that women working in the unorganised sector, in Handloom in fields, etc. are the worst exploited people in the country. Government should pay attention to the problems of women.

With these words, I conclude.

SHRI ANANTRAY DEVSHANKER DAVE (Gujarat): You have not said anything about Rs. 100 crores for the Rajiv Trust.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: If it is used for the purpose of a private person, I object. **But if** it is used for the development of the country, I have no objection.

SERI SANTOSH BAGRODIA (Rajasthan): I support the hon. Finance Minister for his reasonably satisfactory Budget under the circumstances given in the country. But I do differ on some points.

There is no doubt that never has India's prestige been so much brought down as during the last 17 months with two irresponsible Governments at the Centre. We ourselves announced that we have been insolvent, while we were not. The country has not mentioned 18 billion dollars of gold in the country. We have not mentioned 12 billion dollars of silver. It is difficult to estimate the foreign exchange in the private sector of the country. But even this figure could easily be 30 million dollars, making 112 billion dollars. Our total foreign debt has not been more than 80 billion dollars. The only difference is that this was not in the State coffers, But that does not make the country insolvent.

Sir, while discussing the Budget, the most Important problem of the

country is population. Unfortunately, the Finance Minister has not thought of any policy of population control like some kind of incentive or some kind of disadvantage to a couple with two or three children or one or two children, because no kind of compulsion has worked in the past and is not going to work in the future. So if we can have some kind of economic policy on population control even at this stage, I am sure the Budget will become more purposeful in the present circumstances.

Another point on which I strongly differ with the hon. Finance Minister is that there is no scheme for employment increase. On the one hand, population is increasing, on the other there is no scheme for employment increase. When we think of new, modern technology, I can say from experience that industrialists are thinking of areas where no labour is required. We spend Rs. 20 crores for a particular project. The finances are given at a lower rate of interest. Investment (allowance or depreciation and all benefits under the taxation system are allowed. But the total employment is only 2000 or 2500. Where is the policy in this Budget which gives benefit to anybody who puts up an agro-based industry like tea or coffee or jute or many other agro-based industries where employment opportunities are immense and industries which are essential for the country also? There is no benefit for such industry. This must be considered so that at least the income-tax is reduced for such industries. Maybe some other benefits can be given whereby the rate of interest is much lower than the other industries where finances are required at a much higher level. We can also decide when we discuss about this that if somebody is investing in an industry with employment at the level of Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 30,000 per employee, his taxation should be at a lower level. And if the employment is at the level of Rs. 1 lakh or more, then the taxation has to be different. Some kind of a scheme for employment-oriented

industries must be introduced. And when I talk of this kind of taxation for employment-oriented industries, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to a particular dilemma faced by some industries at the moment. The DGS&D has introduced a system by which only those who export will be given the DGS&D orders. On principle, it may be right. But, Sir, some industries have been put up in backward areas for regional development. These industries do not need any foreign exchange. These industries use only the local raw material. Here I want to be specific about the jute industry. There are a number of jute mills which are up-country mills which make only sacking goods and which have been established only for local development and which have been established for producing things which are used by the local market. And if they are forced to export, and if they do not export they are asked to close down, then, I think, we will be disturbing the entire concept of regional development and self-sufficiency in the country. This matter should be taken up seriously before it affects the up-country jute mills in the country.

Sir, a small remark has been made, a hue and cry has been made even by our Leader of the Opposition, and the hon. Member who spoke just before me also mentioned about the donation or subscription of Rs. 100 crores under the Central Budget for the Rajiv Gandhi Trust. In fact, yesterday one of the Members compared it with some other Trust created in Maharashtra. It only shows, in my opinion, that there is a lack of broad-mindedness. There is little comparison between the Trust floated in Maharashtra and this one because this particular Trust has been created because of tremendous public demand, and for an individual for whom Rs. 20 crores or Rs. 100 crores of donation by the country is just a small bit. We have also to see what is the purpose of that Trust. This is a universal practice that whenever a Trust is

[S'nri Santosh Bagrodia]

created, the name of some big leader, very popular leader is given. And the State Government or the Central Government can always help this kind of a Trust for further development of the society. What is wrong in this? In fact, I would like to appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that an amount of Rs. 200 crores is insignificant in today's context and that this entire Rs. 100 crores should be given in the first year itself.

Our Finance Minister... (Interruption)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): He is not yielding. Please take your seat.

श्री अनन्तराय देवशंकर दवे : मैं बता रहा हूँ कि मैं कोई विरोध नहीं कर रहा हूँ। आप सी करोड़ दीजिए या दो सी करोड़ दीजिए, हमारा कोई विरोध नहीं है। मैं तो कह रहा था कि आर्थिक स्थिति ऐसी है।

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Can I have your protection, Sir? I am not yielding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): You please go ahead.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: Sir, I am now coming to another point. On the question of borrowing, there was a hue and cry that we are taking money from the IMF. There is nothing wrong in borrowing money. As a hard-headed businessman, I explain this in a simply way without the technical jargon of an economist that borrowing in principle is all right if you can repay not only the interest and the principal but also create a reserve out of su-plus. This is how growth is done in all countries. When you borrow in rupees we should be able to earn rupees. Similarly, when you borrow in foreign currency you should be able to earn foreign currencies. When I talk of earning of foreign currencies the deposits from NRIs are not earnings.

Whatever I am able to export is my earnings. This is here that I have my dis-

agreement with The hon. Finance Minister. The hon. Finance Minister has very rightly said that the country has never faced a crisis of this type. The Finance Minister has rightly said that he will have to go to a period of three years of austerity and living within our means. He has also assured to put the economy on rails if we can follow this policy consistently for three years. But he has not mentioned how is he going to earn the foreign currency which will be needed to repay the additional loans which he is taking from the IMF. He has already drawn a very grim picture of the heavy external debts on this country. I would have been satisfied if there would have been a difference in approach.

The right approach would have been, in my opinion, if the Finance Minister would have given this august House as to his projection of the world exports after the end of austerity period of three years. Let me tell this august House that India had 2 per cent share of the total world exports about 30 years ago. It has been going down steadily. It has gone down to half per cent. The Finance Minister has nowhere mentioned as to what efforts he is going to make to regain this share. He has not committed and not even given his projections as to whether we will regain the entire share in the next three years or we will regain at least a part of it.

Let us see at our neighbours. China is of a large size than us and have a different type of political structure. There have been other smaller countries like Formosa, Korea, Indonesia and now even a small country like Thailand who are taking a large slice of the world exports. Why are we failing. The total exports of India are still at 17 billion dollars. China's exports are 54 billion dollars. How are we going to bridge this gap? At least we have to change our total perception. We will have to talk in terms of our share of the world exports. Comparing the exports in rupees vis-a-vis last year does not help because our base itself is so low. The world is running very fast. Unless we increase our pace, we will be left behind in this race and become irrelevant. Export is not an easy job.

Let us examine exports now at micro level of textiles. This represents about 29 per cent of our exports. Now let us see the scenario of the world exports of textiles. Our share about 30 years back was 14 per cent of the world exports of textiles. It has come down to 2 per cent. Now let us see what our neighbouring countries have done. China has increased its share from 1 per cent to 8 per cent. South Korea, Formosa etc. they all have increased their shares to around 6-7 per cent. Japan deliberately brought down its share from 15 per cent to 7 per cent because they started applying their minds to more profitable areas. Even a small country like Thailand has now 1.75 per cent of the world exports.

Our whole approach has to be change-ed. Why are we failing in textiles? It is because we are not able to compete on the quality front. Price is not our major problem. Our problem is quality. I can tell you from hard ground realities that other countries are much more hard-headed than we are. Textile is a generic word. Textile has to be broken up into at least 50 areas like cotton yarn, cotton fabrics, cotton processed fabrics, polyester viscose yarn, polyester viscose fabrics, viscose yarn, viscose fabrics, cotton garments, polyester garments. Now, even rich countries of Europe for whom textiles have no meaning, maintain the production data of important countries, their consumption, their share of world export. None of these data are available in this country. We have a huge Planning Commission, a 'huge Textile Ministry, but if I ask them, "please give me the production of polyester viscose yarn of France, Germany, Italy or America." they have no data. If I ask them, what is share of the polyester viscose yarn of this country in the world production, they have no data. Now, unless we have these data we will miss the opportunity. National data is not enough if we want to become a global player.

When you see the ground realities in textiles you find that the garments of China are much higher than Indonesia. Garments of Indonesia sell even higher than India. We are practically at the lowest level in garments. When one goes into the details as to why this is so it is

because while we have invested lot of money in the top managers, we have trained them in MIT and Harvard, there is not a single workers' training institute for textiles in this country. This poor worker does not have a vision of the total textile industry. Most of India's problems in exports are that a worker mixes one count with the other count, because 'he does not have any concept. In France and Germany I have seen that students who are not found fit for higher studies after higher secondary at the age of 19, 18 or 17, are sent to the textile training schools. For two years they are given classroom training and after that those who are found to be very intelligent are given another two years training. When such workers run French, German and Italian textile mills and we have to rub our shoulders with those units, it is impossible to do so unless we change our whole attitude. I know that lots of talks are being done for workers training, for workers uplift but actual bold decisions are not being taken. We have still great strengths. Our worker still gets not more than 8 per cent or 9 per cent of the wages an European worker gets. Our engineers get much less than what an European engineer gets, still we are not able to export.

While I am taking today in this Parliament, the European Economic Commission at Brussels is delivering a judgement against anti-dumping enquiries for synthetic spun yarns. What has the Government done? Is there a separate cell for fighting these anti-dumping enquiries? There is none. I can tell you from my first hand experience that we have made a mess of anti-dumping case's. These cases are fought in legal courts and they cost crores and crores of rupees. Our Export Promotion Councils are just not organised to be global. They will have to be made global. Obviously, I cannot go into much greater details but there is lot to be done if this country has to avoid another calamity after two years when the time comes for repayment of these loans. ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR):  
Your time is up already. How much more time will you take?



SHR SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I was told that I can take 20 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR) You have taken 14 minutes already. Actually in the allocation of time, 13 minutes have been allotted for each Member of your party.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I will try to be concise.

When we became independent, the country had no infrastructure. It was necessary to protect India's industry from ruthless competition of huge giants of the world. But once we had grown adult, this protection should have gone. The country unfortunately started with a very right concept but while implementing these concepts we have miserably failed and in that process ail of us, the industry, bureaucracy, the political structure, have made this country a very soft State. We will have to become a hard State in order to rub our shoulders in fierce competition of the ruthless markets of the world.

I am in agreement with the Finance Minister that the State should not take the responsibility of areas like steel-making, areas like drilling; all such areas which can be entrusted to the private sector should be passed on to them. It is definitely more involved than the public sector but they are nowhere near International efficiency.

There was nothing wrong with the principle of a socialistic State. The disparities in this country had to go down and wherever you make experiments the implementation is as important as the concept. In the process of implementation, we have founded an economy based on very high income taxes. I need not say that Governments after Governments have formed committees to find a panacea for curbing this heavy evasion of income tax. The whole industrial and commercial economy of this country is based on this black money. This money is not so black as it is made before the layman. And when we talk of unearthing black money, our Finance Minister has not been able to give us any definite programme for unearthing black money, other than

threatening that unless this is done by these moneyed people, there will be more punitive action. Even there was a question on the 16th by Shri Pramod Mahajan and myself on this matter as to how are you going to unearth black money, and the Minister only gave an account of the system of survey operations, searches and seizures in depth valuations. But this way we are not going to bring out the black money. The reality is that very hard decisions are required to be taken. There are Schemes of disclosures but in my opinion these are not going to help in unearthing black money. We have

failed to implement, in principle, our decisions to unearth black money in the country. Never had any Government

Imposed such indirect taxes like the one in this Budget. This dependence on indirect taxes, which we have failed to implement in principle is a wrong decision.

Can you build a fund international competitive economy where an industry is compelled to spend a substantial portion of their time in creating black money, then keeping accounts for it and then ploughing it back or spending it lavishly? A structural change in our approach on direct taxation—a departure from the taxation from the earning point to the spending point, not by excise and sales tax, but by expenditure tax—is needed. There was austerity in this country's culture. We have changed this austerity to lavishness. It would not be very difficult to bring an atmosphere of austerity provided we, at the top, set the example. Unless the Ministers and the MPS set an example, I don't think austerity would come to the country.

Imposing expenditure tax on the air-conditioned restaurants is just a cosmetic. We will have to be ruthless with ourselves. Never was there this opportunity to create an atmosphere of austerity. The people of this country have always responded in times of emergency. This is an economic emergency. If the people at the top give the right call, the public will respond.

When we talk of devaluation, the post-operative care is as important as the devaluation itself. I do not know whether the Minister is taking enough steps in regard to post-operative thing? here. There

is a strong rumour in this country that a third devaluation is likely to come. If the Government can give an assurance that there will not be further devaluation for another one or two years the orders for exports will start coming in. Otherwise, the buyers all over the world feel that they could wait for some more time to see if there will be any further devaluation. Hawala rates will go high. Probably it would be better if we make it a free currency. The real value of the rupee will be introduced in the world market. This point may be considered because the purpose of the devaluation is not fully achieved as it is supposed to have been.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Please conclude. You had already taken 20 minutes. You are taking your own party's time.

SHRI SANTOSH BAGRODIA: I will take only one or two minutes more... I compliment the Finance Minister for reducing the expenditure in these hard days. I also wish the Finance Minister is really tough with the Ministeries. Otherwise, this will not be a good Budget but, finally, it will land into 20,000 crores of deficit. The Finance Minister has said on 29th July, "I think, you have to give us a period of time. If you think that the inflation could be brought under control immediately, this is not correct". I fully agree with him. But I would like to know what he said that period of time. He had also mentioned that he would make the tax system simple credible and rational which makes us think that honesty is the best policy. I would like to know whether the Finance Minister has got any scheme. The present tax structure is so complicated. When I write to the PRO of the Income Tax or the Customs or the Excise to seek clarifications regarding the tax to be paid and the time within which it has to be paid, there is no reply. Then, we have to follow the advice of some consultants who make their own advice and, in the process, something goes wrong and they try to evade it. Then, corruption develops. I request the Finance Minister to introduce a new system where the PRO is bound to reply within a specified time. With these few words, I conclude. Thank you, Sir, for giving me the opportunity to speak.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, most of the points in regard to the Budget have been covered by opposition as well as ruling party Members, either in favour or against. Therefore, my attempt would be not to repeat them, but to concentrate on one or two points and, relevant to them, there may be some supplementary points.

The Government and ruling party Members have said inside and outside the House that they are for a consensus approach. I welcome this attitude because there is need for consensus in the country, at least, on vital economic matters. The crisis is there. Nobody is disputing it. But we cannot discuss these things in detail in this House or in the other House. The Budget reflects our philosophy political and ideological, add concretises, in economic terms, our approach.

I was happy when the Finance Minister said in the morning that the Budget would not be inflationary, but it would be disinflationary. Well, very good. If it happens, it will be a good news for our country. But can you bring down prices? And how? We can discuss it in the House in a very general way, in a manner of dialogue. I will bring out one figure. You will bring out another figure. There will be different strategies. It may not be fruitful.

Now, the important question is, how to increase exports? Some say that exports won't increase. Some others say that exports would increase. Which are the areas where exports would increase and which are the areas where they would not increase? Some Members have criticised the Budget saying that it would not accelerate and push up the growth rate. How to do it? This is a very vital job, I may give some views and the Finance Minister, if he gets time, may reply in a general way. But would it be fruitful? How can we reduce the external debt? It is now around Rs. 2 lakh crores. The internal debt is also considerable. One-third of our Budget goes for paying interest. Can we reduce

[Shri Chimanbhai Mehta]

the debt? In what way? Here, I would suggest that the Finance Minister should constitute a standing Committee of Members of Parliament to monitor our economy regularly. We can exchange our views and also suggest corrective steps. These are very important questions. I hope, the Finance Minister, while replying to the debate, would clarify these things. If he does so, this Budget discussion would have been really fruitful. Otherwise, we will be merely making speeches and they will be appearing in the newspapers. When we talk of a countries approach, we have to work out the modalities.

We have not yet discussed the new industrial policy and the trade policy. But there is a reflection; Both these documents require a thorough discussion. Largely the controversial point is 51 per cent foreign participation. Although the industrial policy document has taken some care of this aspect there are some conditionalities. It is not that they just come in. How much they are going to earn in foreign exchange and bring here, that is also one of the major component of 51 per cent foreign participation, but whether it will be honoured, how it has to be done what are series of industries that are likely to come in—of course, you have given details in annexure II—all these questions require a thorough discussion. About the trade policy also, whether this 30 per cent REP benefit will boost up export or not, whether it will create another avenue for black money, all these issues are there to be discussed.

Having made this observation I want to come to one vital point. We are going to have a budget of around rupees one lakh thousand crores. Rs. 70,000 crores on revenue expenditure, I am not going in its detail, but the subsidies being withdrawn from some of the items is having its effect on prices going up. Although he has taxed only to the tune of Rs. 2600 crores, the total net taxation by the last Government and this government comes to around Rs. 9000 crores. In one single year here is such a huge taxation in the country. This is

bound to push up the prices. The overage price rise in 1950s was only 2 per cent in 60s it was 6 per cent. in 70s it was 8 per cent and in 80s it was 9 per cent. Today it has come to 13 per cent.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: Why don't you touch the year 1989 when it was 21 per cent?

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: I am taking decades, entire average. I am not taking a particular year because I am not allowed that much time. I am taking the figure of 50s onward. That is why I say that this taxation is likely to push up the prices. I want to ask whether you can reduce taxes drastically. (Interruptions), If you can do it, it will be a major achievement. Your deficit is around Rs. 40000 crores—fiscal deficit and budgetary deficit. Why do these deficits occur? Over the years these deficits are occurring and are going up and up. What are the reasons for this increase in deficits? The one reason that you may give is that you are using that money for the Plan. But the Plan is not giving commensurate result. If I go on investing money by borrowing, without raising my own capital from that investment and if that investment does not bring even the interest part, I think I will have to look into the whole thing and review it properly.

3.00 P.M. Now I am coming to this question whether you can drastically reduce the taxes. You may not do everything at one go, but here the excise duties and customs are going to add up to Rs. 42,000 crores. In 1948 it was just Rs. 300 crores only. Ultimately the burden falls on the people and the general economy.

The Finance Minister has rightly pointed out that there is large scale tax evasion. Recently an industrialist of India, Mr. Ramakrishna Bajaj, came out with a document that there is an evasion or black money generation to the tune of Rs. 80,000 crores. per year. Some institutions put it at Rs. 50,000 crores. Naturally, tax evasion is the major source

from where they do it. Then why do you have such a taxation system? Where the man is interested more in evading than giving you, is it not time for us to think about it and come out with some bold initiatives? Once the Congress Government, when Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister, reduced certain taxes and got more revenue. There is nothing wrong in it and you might get more revenue sometimes by reducing these taxes so that the Government may not suffer. But you have to plan it out well in advance, much before you come to the date of submission of the budget to see whether it is possible or not. Otherwise this scheme of bringing out black money by paying 40 per cent levy will be repeated and they will be at it for laundering this money into white. FERA, violations also occur. Swiss banks are laving our money in pinions and this is happening largely because of our wrong taxation system. As we have referred to in the past, it is a high-cost economy and a high-cost economy is not able to compete externally also—and this is one of the fundamental diseases of the Indian taxation system and Indian economy. Therefore, kindly consider it. (I think, Dr. Manmohan Singh might consider a new approach. Otherwise you will go on borrowing, you will have greater deficit financing and there would be a question of further devaluation and what not—if it is for you to decide. Therefore, all these issues have come up before us.

It is a fact that a new stage of development has come about. Our public sector has done well—I will not condemn it. Yesterday Mr. Jagesh Desai gave the figure of 12 per cent of gross profit. Okay, I say they have contributed Rs. 18,000 crores to the Government exchequer through excise, customs and other taxes, but then the private sector is also doing that. Having an investment of Rs. 1,03,000 crores if the net return is not commensurate with what is expected, then there has to be a second look, particularly at those which are in the sick sector. For me whether it is private sector or public sector is not

the question. I say, it is a very artificial controversy you are raising. Efficient sector is my sector—neither public sector nor private sector. Now I go for the efficiency sector and, therefore, we have been inviting foreign capital so that our efficiency should increase; But if the private sector is inefficient, then take action against them. If the public sector is inefficient, take action against them. And how to do it, how you can approach all these issues, all these have to be worked out. Now, some suggestions I would give.

You can stop evasion of taxes atleast in certain fields. How many items you have with you on which you are levying excise? Hundreds of items. Three years back an economist said that they were 1,605 items. You cannot levy so much. You cannot impose excise on such a vast number of items. There are raw materials, semi-finished items, finished items. Decide it at one stage. I know it because I work among textile workers also. On ready fabrics, finished goods generally they avoid tax. But if you have a tax at the yarn stage, which is the demand, then, you will be able to collect almost all the money because yarn is not being produced by thousands or lakhs of units while fabrics are produced by lakhs of units. Therefore, you cannot go there. It breeds corruption. There is avoidance of tax. This is what is happening.

Now, I think, the State has to enter into one particular field. Wherever employment orientation is required, because unemployment is a very very major issue, in that particular sector, either the State should mobilise the private sector or individuals or the State may themselves come in at least to mitigate the problem of unemployment.

Then you have given incentives for export, 30 per cent REP. Then, why don't you give incentives to those industries which are growing very well because they are also helping

(Shri Chimanbhai Mehta) our nation? Therefore, work out some scheme. Those who grow excellently must be rewarded with tax incentive also.

Then, of course, it is a question of Finance and also particularly the Health Ministry also. Small family incentive has to be given. Recently you have seen in Kerala they had the highest literacy in India. Therefore, the population growth is 1.5 per cent, while the general growth in India is more than 2.4 per cent. Therefore, literacy is a very important subject. Literacy may help tremendously in family planning. Both are correlated. But in the Budget for education you have provided just a paltry amount of Rs. 900 crores. You sit with me. I will provide Rs. 4,000 crores from the same Budget by analysing where to cut and where not to cut. This is most crucial because in backward districts education at the primary level and vocational education have to be given. We have to work out these two most important ingradfients.

Then, about the petroleum prices, you have increased them by 20 per cent. I think it is too high. I agree with Mr. Desai's suggestion to run on alternate day the vehicles of odd number or even number, whatever it is. You can work it out.

There is flaring of gas. According to my flaring of gas. According to my estimate, Rs. 2500 crores are lost due the flaring. But our Ministry goes on giving different figures on different dates. Why don't you stop the flaring of gas?

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Rs. 1800 crores are lost due to flaring in Bombay-High.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: We also respect Rajiv Gandhi much more. Our relations, my personal relations were always good with him. I would say Rs. 100 crores should be given outright. But let it be a Government trust. What is wrong in that? You accept this proposal that **the Government** must set up the

Trust or the Government should take over the Trust just now.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY (Uttar Pradesh): The Trust is working already.

श्री चिमनभाई मेहता : यह ठीक है, फिर भी कमी कमी ट्रस्ट को लिया भी जाता है। उसमें थोड़ा...

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : सौ करोड़ आपने दिया है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : नहीं, 20 करोड़।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : 20 करोड़ दिया है। आपके नेता जो हैं रेड्डी शाहब, अभी मैं उनको पढ़ रहा था। चहते क्या हैं आप लोग? राजीव गांधी को श्रद्धांजलि देने के लिये और सामाजिक कार्यों के उत्थान के लिये सौ करोड़ का प्रावधान अगर गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने किया है तो यह कोई गुनाह नहीं किया है, पांच साल के लिये। इतना तो मैं चंदा मांगकर दे सकता हूँ। मैं इस सदन में कह रहा हूँ कि आप अपोजीशन के लोग राजीव गांधी के मरने के बाद भी इतने नीचापूर्ण व्यवहार दे रहे हैं, यह अक्षम्य है। इतको यह सदन बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा। ... (व्यवधान) ... 20 करोड़ रुपया चंदा मांग लूँ? जितने भी मेबर हम यहां बैठे हैं उनसे हम मांगकर दे देंगे। आपकी सरकार ने 20 करोड़ रुपया... (व्यवधान)...

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: These are irrelevant things. (Interruptions). What I am saying is that the Government should set it up and use the Government money in that. (Interruptions).

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, मेरा इनसे प्रश्न है कि राम जानकी ट्रस्ट या दाहिया ट्रस्ट, क्या इनको ये सरकारी ट्रस्ट में ट्रांसफर करेंगे जो आपके नेता बिश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह के हैं।

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: They want to say so much. (Interruptions) Chairman Shankar Dayal Sharma is the Member, that is why he should be the Chairman of the Trust. It does not seem good that he is a member and someone else is the Chairman. Generally when the Vice-President is a Member of any Committee or when Rashtrapati is a Member of any Committee, ipso facto they become the president of the organisation. I do not want to go beyond that. I know it is an emotional issue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Mehta, you should not bring in Chairman and his propriety. It is not the proper forum.

SHRI CHIMANBHAI MEHTA: All right. Then I come to another point. When Mr. Madhu Dandavate was the Finance Minister he had raised an issue about fixing of a ceiling on borrowing—both internal and external—by the Government so that the Government will always understand how much it should spend and how much it should collect.

Now I come to my State. I would say we are building a very big project on the Narmada. It is a question of life and death for us and it is not a luxury. NRIs should be permitted to invest their money on the Narmada project. There is also a proposal for the issuance of debentures, which is pending with Central Government. It should be favourably considered and we should be allowed to issue debentures.

Now, I would like to make a point about corruption. That is a major problem the country is facing. Our economy is suffering terribly because of corruption at all levels. To an extent reforms in the official policy are helping us to curb it. If licensing system to a certain level in certain industries is not required, one can easily stop corruption there. So far

so good. In the same way some trade policies are being reformed. Let us see they will bring about good results, because 30 per cent incentive on **REP** is very attractive, but how much would be exported and from which sector is also a thing to be considered. I am not going in detail on that.

You should not feel that I am criticising you alone. I want to criticise myself also because I believe in conscientious approach. When we say prices are rising—that is a fact—it is the duty of everyone here including the Opposition to bring down the prices. Let us discuss it. Therefore, I suggest for creation of a standing committee to go into the reasons for price rise and steps to check it. If we say nothing should be cut in the Plan, if there are certain items where you cannot touch, then, borrowing becomes almost compulsory, deficit financing becomes compulsory. We were also in power and we know what kind of difficulties we faced at that time. It is our habit in India, once you are in the ruling party, you answer in a particular way, you approach the problem in a particular way. If you go to the Opposition side, you have a different approach to the problem. Therefore, we should sit together and solve these problems. We should have a consensus on these things. When I say we should have a standing committee, it does not mean That it should be a statutory body. But it should meet frequently where our representatives can take part in the discussions and discuss about the price rise, etc. Therefore, it is in your own interest that you should adopt this new approach. We are talking of consensus. Some people are talking of coalition Government, whether it comes through or not, I do not know. But consensus approach has to be worked for complex problems in this period of great crisis which the country is passing through. We should put all our shoulders together to work out solutions for these problems. But, at the same time, don't take the Opposition for granted. We are prepared to lend

[Shri Chimanbhai Mehta] our cooperation but how much cooperation you are prepared to take remains to be seen. We are also saying that we will agitate to bring down the prices. If you don't take our suggestions seriously, it means you don't want to understand "shouldering the responsibility". I will not go into the story of minority Government or majority Government. That is not a part of the budget. You are in power, you have secured a "vote of confidence". You are ruling at the Centre. Nobody is interested in elections at the moment. But solve the problems in a very sincere manner, sober manner and try to take everyone into confidence. Thank you very much.

HIE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): Mr. Kalita, not present. Mr. Salaria. Please be brief.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA (Jammu and Kashmir): I thank you, Sir, for having afforded me this opportunity, I shall be as brief as possible.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR): You have to be very brief.

SHRI SHABBIR AHMAD SALARIA: As promised. The present state of economy in our country is really disturbing and it has led to the present vagary in which certain measures have been taken to give a new thrust to the economy to revive it from its present position. The present state in which the Indian economy is, is not the creation of something which took place overnight. But it is the result of our planning in the preceding decades in which we were very much enamoured by the philosophy of State control which has ultimately led to so many enterprises which were losing concerns and it did not add to the national wealth. But simply for the sake of the theory and the proposition that there should be social control, that there should be Government control we continued

with that policy and called it mixed economy. But the stage in which we have been landed is now clear to everybody. The question that arises, therefore, is how to resurrect the economy from the present stage and how to save the nation. In this regard, the first thing that is revolutionary in the present Budget is that privatisation has been allowed and it is now the endeavour of the Government to see that privatisation is given a good chance. Now, there is no denying the fact that privatisation is now a necessary thing because the State control has not yielded the results we wanted from the same. It has not led to the betterment of the lot of the general public and the poorer sections of the society. Privatisation has one defect in it that it is likely to become monopolistic and it may exploit the labour. If safeguards are taken by the Government that these ill-effects of privatisation do not take place, which were there when the Industrial Revolution took place in England and which ultimately led to the communist theory, I think that would be better for our country. If that care is taken and privatisation is resorted to, we will have a chance to revive our economy. In the case of State control, there was no owner of the property and nobody was at stake because nobody's personal property was involved and that led to the situation in which we are at present. But, apart from that, it cannot be denied that the present Budget is going to have inflationary effects.

However much may be said from the other side, from the Government side, the fact remains that since we are going to increase and we have increased the prices of petroleum and petroleum products. The result would be that freight charges will go up; hire charges for passengers will go up and these will be added to the prices of commodities. The Railway Budget has already increased the freight charges on sugarcane. It is not exempt. Although gur and sugar have been exempt, sugar-

cane is not exempt. This is bound to increase the price of sugar and there-fore, all products in which sugar is used.

The second question which arises for consideration is with regard to the efforts of the Government to lessen the effect of the present measures which have been taken in the Budget to net more of income and to change the structure of the economy. For that purpose, the steps which have been taken in the form of certain conveniences meant for the general public are not going to have the effect of saving them from the rigour of the rise in prices. The subsidy on agriculture, particularly on manures, has been taken away. The result would obviously be a rise in the prices of agricultural products. Therefore, that would also have an inflationary effect. The Government should think of diminishing the effect thereof on the general public and on the consumers by doing something about the subsidies which have been available to the agriculture sector up-till now.

So far as the question of our defence expenditure, which takes the major chunk of our income, is concerned, what is needed is that we should have, on our external affairs side and on our defence side, relations with countries which are nearer us, which are our neighbours of such a nature that all the countries which are included in the SAARC and those which are not included in the SAARC but are our neighbours, sit together and find ways and means to diminish the possibilities of war and fear of war amongst the various smaller nations which are living here and thereby the defence expenditure can be diminished, as has been done by European countries, and as has been done by America and by other countries. If we succeed in that, it is hoped that the expenditure will come down considerably and the position of our economy will improve a lot.

With regard to the question of expenditure by the Government, the Government is the biggest incurrer of expenditure and the expenditure which is incurred by the Government on vehicles and on so many other things which are there is so much that it is not possible to resurrect the economy unless that is diminished. It is quite all right that we tell our people that they should tighten their belt but the Government should also tighten its belt. The Budget does not show any serious effort on the part of the Government taking into consideration the seriousness of the situation with which we are confronted with, which should have been taken to save the expenditure by the Government agencies, by the Government offices and for that purpose, what I submit is that the Government should think of lessening the number of vehicles which are made available to the high bureaucrats, to the Ministers and to others and in that way, we can save money. The expenditure which we incur on furniture is very high. In our homes, once we purchase furniture, for six or seven years, it remains all right. But with the Government departments, this has to be incurred every year and that is a loss. Similarly, in the case of stationery, there is the income-tax department which publishes forms every year and spends lakhs of rupees. It changes the form after one year—return form—with the result that lakhs of rupees are wasted. When the new forms come in you have to fill in the new form. Similarly, such things are taking place in other departments of the Government and an effort should be made to lessen that expenditure.

In Persian they say, and in English the translation is, "Set a thief to catch a thief". Let the bureaucrats themselves think, sit together and form a committee and find ways and means from their own experience from which items the expenditure can be lessened. They are best suited to find out these things because they have the experience as they have

worked for long in the Government



[Shri Stabbir Ahmed Salaria]

and they know it. If they are called upon to do it, I hope, our bureaucrats will rise to the occasion and out of their national spirit, will definitely be able to give us a formula of lessening the expenditure. So far as I am concerned, I know some points which I can place before them and they can also consider them. But their experience is vast, their knowledge is vast. They have worked in the Government administrative departments and they can definitely tell the Government ways and means to lessen the expenditure by the Government department and the Government agencies.

So far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, the impact of the Budget is going to be far more because the freight there is more and we have to carry things to long distances up to Ladakh which is situated at hundreds of miles from here and which is the highest city in the world. Therefore, so far as Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, we are going to face much more difficult days than the rest of fellow citizens and I would request the Government to consider that aspect of the matter and relieve the people of the State in view of the fact that they are living far away from the Centre and in view of the fact that the freight charges are going to be higher there. In view of the fact that the freight charges are going to be higher and in view of the fact that that part of the community is very much backward, is very much poor and deserves certain special consideration in this regard.

I thank you very much for having afforded me an opportunity to put down my submissions.

SHRI PRAKASH . ' . YASHWANT AMBEDKAR (Nominated): Hon. Vice-Chairman, I propose to examine this Budget not to its fullest extent, but only the social implications and the social aspects of it. No doubt the Budget also means balancing the revenue and the expenditure sides which I will not

deal with at the moment. Alongwith the Budget I find that there is a different section of the society which is left out. Whether they are reaching them, whether we have understood them and whether their demands are going to be reflected in our Budget is what we have to examine. For the same reason I have divided the society into four classes. One is the industrial class. The second is the urban class which is again divided into the middle class and the slum-dwellers. The third is the rural class which is again divided into land owners and landless people. And then we have the fourth class which consists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As far as the Plan outlay goes, 72 percent of the Budget is spent on common items. The common items that I refer to are energy, •transport, communication and social services. Leaving this apart, when we speak of the middle class, as I have said, this is a class which has a fixed, limited income. It is a class where two factors are more important. One is the housing factor and the other is the time and preserving factor. As far as the housing factor—both for the slum-dwellers and the middle class, is concerned, only 4 per cent of the Plan outlay is kept for the Housing Department. If we have seen the replies that have been given in this House, for a number of cities and specially for the Union Territory of Delhi, where the demand for houses is more, we have not been able to provide adequate funds for housing. From what we have offered to this middle class and to the slum dwellers in this Budget, I don't think they will get any solace. I don't think this salaried class or this middle class or these slum dwellers will have a respite as far as housing is concerned. We have left them at the sweet will of the contractors and the builders, and if I may say, in fact, by not providing adequate facilities or by not constructing houses or by not taking construction of buildings as an industry, I don't think there will be any substantial change in the Government's policy.

The second factor to which I am coming over here is preserving of time. We are again under a wrong notion as

far as the items which have been taxed as luxury items are concerned. Do they really form luxury items as far as the middle class is concerned? I know that in the name of poverty we have been treating these items as luxury items. But let me inform the hon'ble Minister that those who are living in poverty do not have the resources to buy items which you classify as luxury items. Today you have taxed these luxury items. The previous Budget had also taxed these luxury items. What are we doing with the tax system? We are vertically raising the tax system thereby squeezing the population which is in a position to buy these things. I would request the hon'ble Minister to think and appreciate as to whether he can think of taxing the whole system horizontally instead of taxing vertically. If you do that it may be that 2000 people would be buying these items instead of 200 people buying them today. I would like to know whether the revenue raised by excise duties will be more if these items are 'bought by 200 people or by 2000 people at a lower tax. Here the first thing that the hon'ble Minister should see is that the excise duty collection is small. I think that the Minister will ponder over it. The second class I refer to is the agriculturist class. It is again, as I have said, the land-owners and the landless. As far as the landless are concerned, we find in the Budget that Rs. 2,100 crores are going to be spent under the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana. The hon'ble Prime Minister and the hon'ble Finance Minister were candid enough in informing the nation that they will have to face the bare facts of life. May I ask the hon'ble Minister whether through this scheme something like 890 million mandays are going to be generated? The first priority people who are going to be benefited are those who live below the poverty line. And what is the population of those people who live below the poverty line? The population is something like 35 per cent. If you consider this 35 per cent, it comes to nearly 430 or 450 million population.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. Nagen-Safkis) in the Chair]

How many days of manpower are you going to provide? Is it not a waste of resources? Is it not a populist slogan? Is it not a populist thing wasting national resources? I come from a State where this scheme is in existence for the last 20 years. I know what the fate of the scheme is. If I may say so, between the workers and those persons who are responsible for its implementation, it is *adha tumhara adha hamara*. I have no doubt that even this scheme is going to have the same fate, *adha tumhara adha hamara*. The workers are going to say, "let us have half" and those persons who are responsible are going to say, "let us have half. In this way the scheme is going to be distorted. May I ask the honourable Minister, instead of wasting this money in providing manpower, if we cannot think of treating those people who live below the poverty line and their families as economic units and make them economically viable so that once and for all we develop their economic units in such a way that they do not require any more help from the Government? What kind of tendency are we creating through this kind of schemes? Instead of making them stand on their own legs, we are making them crawl, we are making them crippled, we are making them slaves. So I appeal to the honourable Minister to think of such a scheme.

Next I come to the population of (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Many things have been said in this House into which I don't want to go now. We have spent crores and crores of rupees for their development. But we do not find any development in them. We do not find any development in them because whatever money we have spent on them, if it is divided per individual, per family, it is just Rs. 240 per year. With this meagre amount of Rs. 240 per individual per year can you raise anybody's economic standard? I don't think so. Instead of trying to reach the whole of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe population, can we not go in a phased manner picking up some families from each district, from each State, and

[Shri Prakash Yashwant Ambedkar]

developing them economically, giving them something every year, giving them subsidies, so that over a few years they develop fully and they in turn can help their brethren? I know today an atmosphere is developing, a question is being asked as to how long we are to support this class. We are sending a wrong message in this manner. I think this has to be corrected.

The last point I come to and which has been agitated in this House is this. And I don't think many of us have noticed it. This is a Money Bill which is covered by Article 110. What can cover under Article 110 are given from (a) to (g). more particularly, (a) to (f). The Government through this Budget is proposing to give to a private trust a sum of Rs. 20 crores every year...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR): I would like to tell my friend that it is, not a private trust. It is a public charitable trust. It is not a private trust at all.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR: As far as this House is concerned, it is a private trust, whatever it may be as far as the public is concerned...

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: No, this is absolutely wrong. The legal status cannot change. It is not a matter of your private opinion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Minister, it is his own opinion. Let him have his say.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: He cannot say "as far as this House is concerned". He can give his own opinion.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR: I am talking of the entire House..

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दिनों जो अम्बेडकर जी की सौवीं जयन्ती मनाई गई, उस पर भारत सरकार का कितना रुपा खर्च हुआ ?.... (अवधान)...

श्री प्रकाश यशवंत अम्बेडकर : पाण्डेय जी, मेरी बात सुनिए, उसके बाद कुछ कहिए ।... (अवधान)...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Dr. Pandey, don't enter into arguments. There is no occasion for you to interrupt. Please sit down.

Mr. Minister, he is making his own point. You can reply afterwards. It is his personal opinion he is giving. Let him have his say.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: It may be his personal opinion 'all right, but the legal status cannot be changed in this House. It is a wrong statement. That is what I was trying to correct,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): You can do it when you get your opportunity to reply.

श्री सुयनेश चतुर्वेदी (राजस्थान) : सवाल तो ठीक किया है पांडे जी ने ।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कितना रुपा आपने दिया वह तो आपको बताना पड़ेगा ।

श्री रमेश्वर ठाकुर : माननीय सदस्य महोदय को अभी डिटेल् तो मैं नहीं दे सकता हूँ लेकिन यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सदन की यह मर्यादा रही है कि हमारे देश के जो वरिष्ठ और दूसरे गणमान्य नेता रहे हैं उनके नाम पर देश के विभिन्न भागों में संस्थान बनाए गए हैं । उनकी यादगार में सरकार से और गैर सरकारी स्त्रोतों से रुपा खर्च किए जाते हैं अष्टे कामों के लिए । यह पहले भी किए जाते थे, आगे भी किए जाएंगे और हम समझते हैं कि इस पर किसी को व्यक्तिगत रूप में या दलगत नीति नहीं अपनानी चाहिए । इसमें मर्यादा और संयम रखना चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे माननीय सदस्य इस मर्यादा को पार करके अपनी राय को व्यक्त कर रहे हैं ।

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR: I have very frankly informed the hon. Minister that Monty

Bills are defined by Article 110. Article 110 (a) to (f), lays down as to what is covered in the Money Bill. I am just pointing it out to you. Under the circumstances that we are faced with today, we might pass the Bills. We might pass this Budget. But, in my opinion, the part that you are referring to, allocating Rs. 100 crores to a public trust, is not covered by this Money Bill. I have already said that this needs to be examined and has to be placed in this House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR: The Opposition in this House has been requested to support the Budget. But we should have some conscience. We do believe in conscience. We do believe that in the name of Shri Rajiv Gandhi we should have some schemes. I do not oppose these schemes. But I am opposed to the nature in which the fund is being diverted. There is an alternative and. I can suggest the alternative course that could be taken. That part of the money, which is also a part of the Budget, cannot be parted away. I appeal to the hon. Minister to think over it and, instead of placing it under a separate head, he could place it under the head of Social Welfare Department and from this department it can flow through the Trust which the Government intends. I do hope the Congress party will take note of (his). The party wants us to support the move and I am afraid we will have to distance ourselves from it which would lead to a lot of distortion in the coming days. We hope the hon. Minister will reply and come out with a definite answer in this regard.

SHRI RAMESHWAR THAKUR: I would like to assure the hon. Member that he will get a reply. Meanwhile, I would like to mention that the Government of India during the last 40 years has been giving grants to hundreds of public charitable institutions and foundations in the country, whether they are named after political figures or otherwise. Therefore, we should not make such distinctions. We should not make

political statements. You may have your personal view. That is a different matter. ... (Interruptions') ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Minister, this is not the time for you to intervene. He is expressing his view and you should not be worried about it.

SHRI PRAKASH YASHWANT AMBEDKAR: He has not answered my point. Anyhow, with these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Now, Dr. Ratnakar Pandey. I would once again request the Members to abide by their time. Now, the Congress (I) Members have got thirteen minutes each. Yes, Dr. Pandey.

**डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय :** माननीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपका कृतज्ञ हूँ कि आपने मुझे वर्ष 1991-92 का जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है या किया गया है, उस पर अपने स्पष्ट विचार प्रकट करने के लिये मुझे आपने मौका दिया है।

जब यह बजट हम प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं तो हमें यह नहीं भूलना है कि जैसे 1977 से 1980 तक मोरारजी देसाई और चौधरी चरण सिंह की सरकार रही और इन लोगों ने देश को दरिद्र, कंगाल, व्यवस्था-विहीन, आर्थिक स्थिति में दिवालिया, सोने का मूल्य आसमान को छूने वाला बना करके हमको टूटीफूटी अर्थ-व्यवस्था और शासन व्यवस्था लौटायी थी। उसमें भी बदतर स्थिति में माननीय विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी और चन्द्रशेखर जी की सरकार ने इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को छिन्न-भिन्न और तहस-नहस जो सुपर पावर्स हैं उन पर आधारित और लब्धित बनाकर के देश के गरीबों का नुकसान करके वीण गौपलैरेटी हासिल करने के लिये एसे-एसे दावद करके कि हम किसानों के कर्ज माफ़ी करेंगे, किया कुछ नहीं। इलेक्शन मैनिफ़ेस्टो अपना लाकर के इस देश की करोड़ों जनता को बेवकूफ तो बनाया ही साथ ही जो बैंकिंग सिस्टम था, जो हमारी एक मात्र थी अर्थव्यवस्था

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

की, जो भारत आर्थिक दृष्टि से दुनिया की छठवीं महत्वपूर्ण शक्तियों में हो गया था राजीव गांधी जी के समय में, उसे आज 27वें स्थान पर लाकर के खड़ा कर दिया इन लोगों ने। 15 महीने में छठ से 27वें स्थान पर हम आ गए हैं।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने जब बजट प्रस्तुत किया है, उसमें पहले तक नये-नये राज-नीति में आने के कारण, सरकार में आने के कारण वे समझ ही नहीं रहे थे—क्या दायित्व है, इलैक्शन मैनिफेस्टो पढ़ा नहीं था। जो कुछ कहा था उसका सरकारी बेंच से भी और सारे देश की जनता की ओर से भी और विरोधियों की ओर से भी विरोध हुआ। जनता के बीच में जो इलैक्शन मैनिफेस्टो लेकर के हम आये हैं, कांग्रेस जो घोषणा-पत्र में जनता से वायदा करके आयी है अर्थ-व्यवस्था की उसमें चाहे मनमोहन सिंह जी वित्त मंत्री हों, चाहे ठाकुर जी वित्त मंत्री हों, चाहे दलबीर सिंह जी वित्त मंत्री हों या ए टु जेड कोई वित्त मंत्री हो राजीव गांधी ने इस देश की जनता से मत प्राप्त करने के लिये जो कमिट-मेंट किया था आर्थिक आधार पर और आर्थिक स्तर पर उसने एक कदम भी पीछे हटने का कोई प्रश्न वर्तमान सरकार के सामने और जो हमारा बजट प्रस्तुत हुआ है उसमें कहीं नहीं है, कोई सिद्ध नहीं कर सकता कि हमारा जो कमिट-मेंट है पब्लिक से उसमें हम पीछे हटे हैं। अपने बजट में जिन लोगों के पास साधन हैं... (व्यवधान)

श्री रामेश्वर ठाकुर : हमारे माननीय सदस्य पाण्डेय जी, बड़े विद्वान हैं। मैं जनता से कहना चाहूंगा कि बाद में हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी उत्तर देंगे एक-एक क्लाज का जो मैनिफेस्टो का है, उसके मुताबिक क्या-क्या विवरण है हम प्रस्तुत करेंगे। लेकिन संप्रति मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हम उस घोषणा-पत्र से प्रभावित हैं और उस घोषणा-पत्र का हर तरह से पालन करने का कर्तव्य और दायित्व हमारी सरकार का है और उसको हम पूरा करेंगे और उस दिशा में हमारा पूरा प्रयास है।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं खुद जब तारफ़ कर रहा हूँ तो मंत्री जी को... (व्यवधान)

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मंत्री जी के स्पष्टीकरण के बाद आपको कुछ नहीं कहना चाहिये।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : नहीं हम तो तारफ़ कर रहे हैं कि उससे पीछे बैक नहीं करेंगे चाहे कुछ हो जाये चाहे, कोई मिनिस्टर हो। कोई मिनिस्टर हो जाए इससे कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता है। जो कमिटमेंट हमारा जनता से है, हम उसे पूरा करेंगे। हमारी पार्टी उसे पूरा करेगी। वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बजट में अपने साधनों का जिक्र किया है और जिन लोगों के पास साधन नहीं हैं उनकी तरफ़ विशेष कमिटमेंट को पूरा करना चाहती है। वे अर्थव्यवस्था के क्षेत्र में भी एक क्रांति लाना चाहते थे ध्यान देने की कोशिश की है। उन्होंने इस बात की कोशिश की है जो लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं उन पर कम बोझ पड़े और जो गरीबी की रेखा के ऊपर रहने वाले धनी लोग हैं उन पर अधिक बोझ डाला जाए, इसके लिए वे बघाई के पाल हैं। कुकिंग गैस, पेट्रोल, फ़िज, एयरकंडीशनर, रेगीन टी.वी., बी.सी.आर. आदि के दाम बढ़े हैं लेकिन ब्लैक एंड व्हाइट टी.वी. का दाम घटा है। मैं चाहूंगा कि जो लोग ब्लैक एंड व्हाइट टेलीविजन लेने के इच्छुक हों उनको सरकार अपनी तरफ़ से मुहैया कराए क्योंकि बाजार में जो बिजनेसमैन हैं वे अपनी तरफ़ से उनकी दुगुनी-त्रिगुनी किस्त वसूल कर लेते हैं। अगर आप गरीबी को सचमुच माइने टैक्नोलॉजी देना चाहते हैं, जो श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी और राजीव गांधी का एक सपना था, तो सरकार अपनी तरफ़ से कम कीमत पर गरीबों को वह ब्लैक एंड व्हाइट टेलीविजन उपलब्ध कराए।

जहाँ तक मिटटी के तेल, खाद्य तेल कीटनाशक, बिजली के द्रव्य आदि का सवाल है, जिनका प्रयोग आम जनता करती है, उनके दाम आपने घटाए हैं, इसके लिए आप बघाई के पाल हैं।

महोदय, इस बार 16,350 करोड़ रुपए आपने डिफेंस के लिए रखे हैं। साथ ही आपने काला धन बाहर निकालने की भी बात की है। यह काला धन बाहर कैसे निकलेगा? क्या इस बारे में आपके पास कोई कंक्रिट प्रपोजल है? उस दिन लोकसभा दीर्घा में बैठे हुए हम आपके वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण सुन रहे थे। उन्होंने कहा कि लोग अपना काला धन उद्योग में लगा सकते हैं या शर खरीद सकते हैं बैंक में डिपॉजिट कर सकते हैं। तो क्या आपको विश्वास है कि इस काम में आपको सफलता मिलेगी?

महोदय, मैं स्पष्ट रूप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत में जनतंत्र आया और जिनको करना था वे करके चले गए। हजारों-हजार एकड़, दो-दो सौ एकड़ जमीन लोगों के पास थी लेकिन एक झटके में जमींदारी जन्मूलन एक्ट आया और उस एक्ट के तहत यह कानून बना दिया गया कि 18 एकड़ से अधिक जमीन कोई नहीं रख सकता। राजीव जी गरीबी को मिटाना चाहते थे। आज भले ही उनका नेतृत्व हमें प्राप्त नहीं है लेकिन आपका सरकार उनके इस कमिटमेंट को पूरा करना चाहती है। वे अर्थव्यवस्था के क्षेत्र में भी एक क्रांति लाना चाहते थे। महोदय, जो बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति हैं, जो दो नंबर का धंधा करने वाले सफेदपोश लोग हैं, जिनकी ब्लैक मनी की परलल इकोनॉमी चल रही है, जो सोने की तस्करी कर रहे हैं, राष्ट्रीयता को चला कर रहे हैं, गांजा, भांग और नशीले पदार्थों का व्यवसाय करते हैं और तस्करी के प्रतिनिधि बनकर विधानसभाओं और संसद में बैठे हुए हैं, ऐसे लोगों की पहचानने की डिटेरमिनेशन आपकी सरकार में है क्या आपकी सरकार में यह दृढ़ इच्छा प्रकट है कि जिस तरह से जमीन के मामले में 18 एकड़ का सीलिंग की गई थी वैसे ही यह तय कर दिया जाए कि एक सीमा से अधिक धन किसी के पास न हो। क्या कोई सीलिंग आप बैंक पर लगाने जा रहे हैं जब तक आप बैंक पर सीलिंग नहीं लगाएंगे तब तक आप

4.00 P.M.

अमीरी और गरीबी के भेद को नहीं मिटा सकेंगे। पूंजीपति बढ़ते जाएंगे। आपने एन. आर. आई. को 51 परसेंट से 100 परसेंट पंजी लगाने की छूट दे दी है। वही एन. आर. आई. जैसे बड़े कंपिटलिटों के घराने जो 10-12 इस देश में हैं व सरकार को डिबट करते हैं, चाहे सरकार किसी की हो उसकी नीतियों बनाते हैं। इसी तरह से एन. आर. आई. को आपने अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था सुधारने के लिए छूट दी है, विदेशी धनी मानी मेटों की बुलाने का आमंत्रण दिया है और इस प्रकार आप धनिक घरानों का सृजन कर रहे हैं। एक और आप काला धन को बाहर निकालाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जब तक कैबिनेट में बैठे हुए चाहे प्रदर्शों के हों चाहे देश में हों, सब लोग अपनी संपत्ति की घोषणा नहीं करे कि हमारी संपत्ति क्या है, तब तक काला धन बाहर नहीं निकल सकता। ये लोग जो सरकार के मंत्री रहे हैं वह घोषणा कर कि हमारी संपत्ति क्या है। पिछली सरकार के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ, पिछले 4 महानों की जो सरकार रही है मेरे पास जानकारी है और माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी में जल्दत पड़ने पर सदन में वह जनकारी रखूंगा कि उन्होंने फर्जी टस्ट बनाकर देश के अनेक भागों में हजारों एकड़ जमीन ट्रस्टों के माध्यम से अर्थव्यवस्था संपत्ति बनाई है। आपकी सरकार ने इस पर कोई कार्यवाही की है। चाहे देखभाली हों, चाहे हरियाणा हो, चाहे मध्य प्रदेश हो, चाहे कर्नाटक हो, चाहे महाराष्ट्र हो, हर जगह जमीन ट्रस्टों के नाम करके उस पर कब्जा किया गया है। आदर्श की बात वह लोग करते हैं। जिस समय खाड़ी युद्ध हुआ उस समय इस देश में रिफ्यूजिलिज जहाँजों में की गई और अपनी अर्थव्यवस्था को गिरवी रख दिया गया। विदेशों के लोग डिबट करने लगें थे कि हमको युद्ध के जहाँजों में तेल नहीं भरने दीजें तब हम उनकी खाने के बिना मार देंगे।

इसलिए सबसे बड़ी चीज जो हमारी सरकार ने बचत रखा है उसमें जो मह

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

ताकते हैं, जो दुनिया की बड़ी बड़ी ताकतें हैं उनके दबाव में हमने यह बजट पेश नहीं किया है बल्कि इस देश की 85 करोड़ जनता के आँख के आँसु पोंछने के लिए यह बजट रखा है। जो 1380 करोड़ रुपया आपने डिफेंस के लिए रखा है उसमें जो डिफेंस की योजनाएँ हैं उनको तेजी से कार्यान्वित करना चाहिए। हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर कहते हैं कि कहीं दंगा होता है, कहीं अनरेस्ट होता है, लां पंड ग्राइंडर की स्थिति होती है तो आप सेना पर निर्भर करते हैं। क्या इस तरह की बात डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को करने का अधिकार है? डिफेंस देश का है, चाहे आर्थिक परेशानी हो या बाहरी, सब में डिफेंस का हस्त प्रयोग करेगा।

आपने उद्योग को लाइसेंस मुक्त किया है। आपने एकाधिकार के अंतर्गत आने वाली कंपनियों को नए उद्योग लगाने और उत्पादन क्षमता बढ़ाने की व्यापक छूट दी है। विदेशी पूँजी निवेश को बढ़ाकर 51 से 100 प्रतिशत कर दिया है इससे विदेशी कंपनियों को अधिक पूँजी लगाने के अवसर मिलेंगे और निर्यात संतुलन को ठीक करने में उनसे सहायता मिलेगी। प्रवासी भारतीयों को भारत में ज्यादा पूँजी लगाने का आपने अवसर प्रदान किया है। मैं पूरे सदन की आवाज में आपको बता रहा हूँ कि जैसे कुछ मुट्ठी भर घराने हैं वह सरकार की नीतियों को डिस्टर्ब करते हैं कि इस तरह की नीति बनाइए, उसी तरह से कहीं बाहर से आए हुए पूँजीपति भी इस देश में अपनी पूँजी लगाकर शासन पर हावी न होने पावे, इसके लिए आपको सरकार क्या करेगी?

महोदय, मध्यम वर्ग को इस बजट से दुख है। रसोई गैस की कीमत आपने बढ़ा दी है। उसको आप ठाकुर साहब एक झटके में ठीक कीजिए। उससे आपकी विश्वसनीयता खत्म हो रही है। आयकर की सीमा में छूट दीजिए ताकि जो मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं.....

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Are you supporting the Budget or not?

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Let me complete first. Then I will tell you whether I support it or oppose it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No interruptions. Please conclude.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Sir, give me some time. We are democrats. We are behind our party.

श्री ईश बसु यादव : आप सरकार का समर्थन कर रहे हैं या विरोध कर रहे हैं?

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जमकर समर्थन कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन सरकार पर अंकुश लगाकर समर्थन कर रहा हूँ। अपने दल के अंदर पूर्ण स्वतंत्रता है बाणी की आप लोगों की तरह गुलाम बनकर रहने वाले नहीं हैं। हमारे यहाँ डिस्टर्ब करने वाले नेता नहीं हैं। हम लोग किसी के गुलाम नहीं हैं।

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Dr. Pandey you have said that this is the last budget of this Government.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Only Congress can give a strong Government. You have given two Governments of 11 and 4 months each and you are talking about stability of our Government. Our Government will continue for five years.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No Interruptions. Please let him complete. Democracy is not the subject now.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आज रुपये का मूल्य तेजी से घट रहा है। अभी तक कोई ऐसा बजट नहीं आया जिससे मुद्रास्फीति और महंगाई न बढ़े हों। जो दुर्गति हमारी अर्थव्यवस्था की आप लोगों ने कर दी थी उसको देखते हुए मुद्रास्फीति और महंगाई को कम करने वाला यह बजट है। महंगाई को बढ़ाना हमारा काम नहीं है। मुद्रास्फीति को बढ़ाने वाला बजट कहकर आपने इसकी आलोचना की है लेकिन यह ठीक नहीं है।

पेट्रोल के दाम बढ़ गये। पहले 125 रुपये में दस लीटर पेट्रोल लेते थे और अब 155 या 165 रुपये में दस लीटर लेते हैं। सारा झगड़ा पेट्रोल-डालरों को लेकर है। जो सो-काल्ड सुपरपावर्स हैं उनमें आप किस रूप में अपनी क्रेडिबिलिटी बनाये रखेंगे? खाड़ी युद्ध के समय राजीव गांधी रुक गये थे और अगव भी गये थे। वहां पर लोगों ने उनका बड़ा सम्मान दिया था जबकि वह केवल सांसद थे। उनकी स्मृति में कम से कम पेट्रोल के दाम करने की कोशिश करें तभी यह सरकार सार्थक कहलायेगी। जो वायदा आपने किया है उसको पूरा करिये इससे जनता की निगाह में आपकी अच्छाई झलकेगी। गृहिणी बुरी तरह से परेशान है। सारा घर उनको ही देखना पड़ता है। बीड़ी, सिगरेट, पान-मसाला सब के दाम आपने बढ़ा दिये। (व्यवधान)

**माननीय सदस्य :** गृहिणी बीड़ी सिगरेट नहीं पीती... (व्यवधान)

**डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय :** मेरा कहना यह है कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने अच्छा किया जो बीड़ी सिगरेट आदि पर दाम बढ़ा दिये। जो स्मॉकिंग करता है, मादक पदार्थ लेता है उनकी आदत इनके दाम बढ़ने से छूटेगी। सरकार यह अच्छा काम कर रही है। मैं कहता हूं कि सरकार को इस पर और भी टेक्स बढ़ाना चाहिए ताकि प्रदूषण न हो। वातावरण स्वस्थ हो सके। मैं तो कहता हूं इसमें जितना आप बढ़ा सकते हैं बढ़ायें। लेकिन हमारी सरकार करती क्या है? एक तरफ नशाबंदी के बड़े-बड़े विज्ञापन देती है समाज कल्याण विभाग की ओर से और दूसरी ओर शराब के ठेकों की नीलामी करती है क्योंकि उससे एक्साइज मिलता है, उससे पैसा मिलता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि दोहरी नीति हमारी नहीं होनी चाहिए, चाहे हमारी सरकार हो या कोई और सरकार हो।

मार्केट में सभी चीजों की कीमतें बढ़ जाती हैं जबकि बजट में नहीं बढ़ती। सरकार की कामयाबी तभी मानी जायेगी

जब बजट में सरकार जितनी कीमत किसी चीज की बढ़ाये उतनी ही कीमत बाजार में बढ़े। आज होता क्या है कि कहा जाता है कि बाजार में खुली चीनी दस रुपये किलो है लेकिन बाजार में 15 रुपये किलो विकती है। जो ब्लैक मार्केटिंग होती है उसको आपको देखना होगा और उसमें लोगों को संरक्षण करना होगा तभी आपका बजट लाने का कोई माने होगा।

आपने इस बजट में पांच नई योजनाओं की घोषणा की है। आपने कहा है कि पिछड़ों के लिए आप निगम बनाने जा रहे हैं, यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है। लेकिन यह निगम खाली कागजों पर होकर न रह जाये। इसका कोई रिजल्ट निकलना चाहिए। कुछ लोग इस निगम के सदस्य बनकर अपनी उदरपत्ति करते हैं और गरीबों के लिए, पिछड़ों के लिए वह कुछ नहीं कर पाते। आपके कुछ मंत्रों मंडल-मंडल बद की तरह से रटते रहते हैं। आप पिछड़ों के लिए, पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए और जो गरीबी रेखा से नीचे जिन्दा रहने वाले हैं उनके लिए कुछ करिये। वह मंडल जितनी खद की 10 हजार, 6 हजार एकड़ जमीन हो, आप बिहार के रहने वाले हैं, इसको जानते हैं वह गरीबों और पिछड़े वर्गों की सुधार की बात नहीं कर सकता है। इसलिए उसका नाम आपकी सरकार के किसी मंत्री की जवान पर नहीं आना चाहिए, इसका आप ध्यान रखें। अन्यथा उनका परिणाम उस मंत्री को भुगतना पड़ेगा। आप पिछड़े वर्गों को ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं तो उनके लिए काम कोजिए, लेकिन वह मंडल का नाम न लेकर किया जाना चाहिए। आप पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए एक योजना निगम बना रहे हैं। आप इसको पिछड़ा वर्ग राजीव गांधी निगम नाम दीजिये।

कर्मचारियों की सुरक्षा के लिए आपने विशेष फण्ड बनाने की घोषणा की है। इसी प्रकार से साम्प्रदायिक दंगों से प्रभावित बच्चों की देखभाल के लिए आपने



[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

कड़े कदम उठाने की बात कही है। राजीव जी ने इन्वैक्शन मैनेफेस्टो में जो वायदे किये थे उनकी आपने पूरा किया है। राष्ट्रीय एकता के तहत युवकों के लिए देश के अन्य भागों में जाने को प्रोत्साहन देने और सुविधायें देने का काम आपने किया है। भारत और एशिया उपमहाद्वीप के अन्य देशों से सम्पर्क बढ़ाने के लिए रिथायतें देकर आपने इन्वैक्शन मैनेफेस्टो में जो कहा गया था उसकी पूर्ति की है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो असंतुलन बढ़ रहा है उसको सुधारने के लिए आपकी सरकार के पास क्या उपाय हैं? मैं कुछ डाटा देना चाहता हूँ। 1990-91 के संशोधित बजट अनुमानों की तुलना में राजस्व 17585 करोड़ रुपये से घटकर 13854 करोड़ हो गया है और बजट घाटा 10.772 करोड़ से घटकर 7719 करोड़ हो गया है और राजकोषीय घाटा 4331 करोड़ से घटकर 37727 करोड़ तक आ गया है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जितना भी घाटा है यह सब आप न करें। कोई और योजना बनायें। आपकी सरकार पांच साल तक चलने वाली है। आपकी सरकार के पीछे राजीव गांधी का बलिदान छिपा है, जनता का समर्थन छिपा है। आप पांच वर्षों की योजना बनायें। यह जो असंतुलन है, जितना घाटा है उसको आप पूरा करें और एक टाइम बॉन्ड फ्रेम तैयार करें। खाद, अनाज और चीनी पर जो टैक्स लगाया गया है उसको फिर से रिमू करें और जहरत पड़े तो इसी सदन में जल्दी से जल्दी आपने जो टैक्स बढ़ाया है उसको दूसरे मर्शों में खर्च करने के लिए योजना बनायें। ये सब चीजें किसानों की आवश्यकताएँ हैं, देश की जनता की आवश्यकताएँ हैं। इनके लिए आप अप्रतिष्ठा प्राप्त न करें। उर्वरकों पर 40 परसेंट की वृद्धि की गई है। यह अच्छा नहीं है। 1726 करोड़ की वचत इससे होगी। उर्वरक किसानों की आवश्यकता है। इसको आप बंद करिये। इस कटीती के फल-स्वरूप केन्द्र की प्रतिवर्ष 744.2 करोड़ की अति होगी। इसके लिए आपने कर-वान किया है। मैं इस सारे डाटा में न

जाकर कुछ मजेशन्स देना चाहूंगा। आपने राजीव गांधी सामाजिक ट्रस्ट के लिए 20 करोड़ रुपये दिये हैं। राजीव गांधी की रुझि गरीबी दूर करने में, अस्पृश्यता निवारण में, वातावरण, मुधार में, सफाई में, शिक्षा में, कला और संस्कृति में थी। इसके लिए अगर पैस की कमी हो तो जैसा हमने पहले कहा था, आप इसको रोज करने की बात करें तो हम लोग पैसा जुटा देंगे। इसके लिए काम में कम एक हजार करोड़ रुपये होने चाहिए और यह सरकार को जुटाने चाहिए। अगर बी.जे.पी. के लिए ओवरसीज बी० जे० पी० बना करके छ. सौ करोड़ रुपये आ सकते हैं तो स्वर्गीय राजीव गांधी के नाम पर हम एक हजार करोड़ रुपये ला सकते हैं, यह मैं आपको विश्वास दिखाना चाहता हूँ। राजीव गांधी की स्मृति के लिए 20, 5 या 4 करोड़ रुपये कोई मायने नहीं रखते हैं। क्या यह पैसा आपके घर से जा रहा है? और सबसे बड़ी चीज जो है.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude and take your seat.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: उत्तर प्रदेश, जहाँ का मैं रहने वाला हूँ, वहाँ भ्रष्टाचार सूखा पड़ा हुआ है। जनता बाहि बाहि कर रही है। भुखमरी फैल चुकी है। पशु चारे के अभाव में, पानी के अभाव में मीत के घाट उतर रहे हैं। वहाँ के लोग नौकरियों की खोज में दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, कानपुर, तबई भाग रहे हैं और एक-एक दाने के लिये मोहताज हो रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में मैं चाहूंगा कि इस बजट के माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी तमाम उत्तर प्रदेश और विशेषतः पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और पश्चिमी बिहार, जहाँ भुखमरी फैली हुई है, जहाँ खेतों में घास तक नहीं दिखाई दे रही है, वहाँ की ओर विशेष ध्यान दें। इसी तरह अन्य राज्यों जैसे कि राजस्थान में, मध्य प्रदेश में जहाँ ऐसी स्थिति है सरकार को तुरन्त इस भुखमरी को रोकने के लिये प्लान बनाना चाहिये। वहाँ पर सांसदों की टीम जाय, आपकी सरकारी टीम जाय और आपके कृषि मंत्रालय की ओर से टीम जाय, राहत कार्य पहुँचाने वाली टीम

जाय और वह वहाँ पर रोजगार देने की योजनाओं को तुरंत कार्यान्वित कराये। अखबारों में रोज छपे कि दस आदमी भूख से मर गये, सो आदमी बिना खाना मिल मर गये, उसके पहले आपकी सरकार को प्रीकाशन लेना होगा। अंत में....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The excess time that you had taken will be deducted from your party.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कर्नाटक और तमिलनाडु की पानी की समस्या आज मुझे बाये खड़ी है। कावेरी जल विवाद को लेकर जिस तरह की आणका और अविश्वास और बदले की भावना चीफ पापुलरिटी के लिये लोग कर रहे हैं, उस पर अंकुश लगाने की आवश्यकता है। क्योंकि यह मामला हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था में जुड़ा हुआ है। मैं इस सदन के माध्यम से मांग करूँगा और कहूँगा कि राजीव जी जब प्रधानमंत्री नहीं थे तो उस वक़्त कर्नाटक के श्रीगुपटनम में दंगे हुए और उनके लिये उन्होंने मुख्य मंत्री को दोषी पाया और उन्होंने बीरेन्द्र पाटिल को निकाल बाहर किया। मैं इन सरकार से मांग करूँगा कि....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please don't refer to the incidents that had taken place in the past.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : .... मैं सरकार से मांग करूँगा कि पार्टी स्तर पर भी मुख्य मंत्री से बात करें और अपने मरदाइवल के लिये चाहे वह किसी भी दल का मुख्य मंत्री हो, चाहे कांग्रेस का हो मुख्य मंत्री क्यों न हो, संविधान में नशीबन करके जो ट्राइब्यूनल बना था...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I shall call the next speaker if you don't stop now.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इसके लिये जिम्मेदार चाहे एस० वंगरप्पा क्यों न हों उन पर सरकार को कड़ी कार्यवाही करनी चाहिये और अगर उनकी सस्पेंड करना हो तो उनको सस्पेंड भी किया जाय।.... (व्यवधान)

श्री हेच० हनुमन्तप्पा (कर्नाटक) : यह क्या बोल रहे हैं आप ?.... (व्यवधान)....

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : .... और तमिलनाडु और कर्नाटक की आपस की लड़ाई को केन्द्र सरकार मूक देखती रह जाय, इस तरह की चीज नहीं होनी चाहिये।.... (व्यवधान)....

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Are you supported this Budget or not?

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: I have you supported this Budget whole-heartedly.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: You said that this would be the last budget.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: No, we will be giving four more budgets.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Sir, I want you to check up the records, especially what he had spoken at the end.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I shall look into the records. If there is any objectionable thing, it will be removed. .. (Interruptions)

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Mr. Hanumanthappa, you are a nationalist.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am a nationalist. But you should not have said these things. This is not the forum.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: You are a nationalist and you are not a provincial man... (Interruptions).

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: \*

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: \*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): These arguments will not go on record. You are killing the time of the House ... (Interruptions) Nothing is going on record.

\* Not recorded

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I was just wondering whether I will be able to get an opportunity to speak, looking at the cross-talk between my friends, Dr. Ratnakar Pandey and Mr. Hanumanthappa, and their conflicting viewpoints.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR NAGEN SAIKIA): And you have to start at 4.20.

SHRI ASHIS SEN: I am coming to the Budget. This is an indication. The way Dr. Ratnakar Pandey has been speaking, exceeding his time, is an indication of the situation where nothing better can be expected from the Congress Government than what we are witnessing today on the ruling side.

Dr. Manmohan Singh—as I had the occasion to know him to be—is an economic technician. Had the matter been left to him, perhaps, the Budget would have been different. But now that he has to acclimatise himself—as a political animal—I will correct myself—as a political being, the Budget presented is not one which he would have presented, if it had been left to him, but it is one which is based on the views of the rulers of the country and, perhaps, the views of those who pull the strings from that distance place called the IMF.

Now, the deficit is there. It has to be made up. But how does deficit come? I am not going into the question whether Rs. 100 crores should have been earmarked for setting up foundation in the name of a particular person and whether that money could have been utilised for setting up small-scale industries and for rehabilitating hundreds of workers. I am not going into that question at all.

What I would say is, if there had been better revenue collection, if we had been able to get whatever we estimated, this gap between revenue and expenditure could have been minimised. But this is not being done. We have been seeing that successive Governments have been going in for more and more tax proposals, but they never look back to see whether there has been proper collection, proper recovery, in respect of the tax

proposals made in the earlier Budgets. They never look back. They just come and say that so much is the deficit and, therefore, we have to levy these taxes. But what do we see on the other side? We read in the newspapers that so many crores of rupees are lying outstanding from the big industrialists in the corporate sector. They go to the court. Enough of it. Then, for another five-ten years, this money, Rs. 100 crores or Rs. 1,000 crores, will be utilised by these industrialists, the concerned taxpayers, and the Government will not be able to get that money from them. This will go on. To set it right, another Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 2,000 crores of tax will be levied. This is the way things have been going on in this country. It is but natural and it is inherent in the economic system we have where the interests of only a selected few is taken care of and the interests of the general masses are neglected. • We claim to be a socialistic country, but gradually, we are giving up the socialistic objective.

We see that the corporate sector has not been taxed much.' Perhaps, under pressure, the Finance Minister has increased the corporate tax by 5 per cent. Is it sufficient compared to the huge amounts they are collecting from their operations? Should they not have been taxed more instead of increasing the indirect taxes and throwing additional burden on the common people? By this, the consumers are hit. The administered prices are going up. Subsidy is withdrawn. For example, in the case of sugar. The Finance Minister speaks eloquently about his party and his Party's election manifesto. says that within 100 days the prices are to be brought down to a particular level which was operating last year but even before the budget was presented or soon after the budget, what have we been experiencing? In the budget proposals there has been increase in the administrative prices. At the same time, we are finding reaction in the market where the price of every consumable item a common man's interest is going up

Today's paper has said that as compared to 15th July, the wholesale price index has gone up by certain per cent. You can very well imagine what impact it will have on retail prices. And this price rise we are not seeing in this country for the first time, it has been going on for years.

Coming to the open door policy, the Finance Minister has proposed that our country's doors should be made still more wide open to the multinational corporations and for foreign capital. This is going on since 1984. Somebody was the Prime Minister at that time. Somebody was the Finance Minister at that time. The proposal made at that time was open door policy' and the door was quite open since then. As a result, we found that more and more multinationals entered into this country. The development of our industrial base remained stagnant or went backwards. That is an important point to be taken care of.

Now coming to 51 per cent equity, it is said that 51 per cent equity will be given to a foreign investor. Where is the national or Indian control on those institutions? The Finance Minister has even said that if those foreign industries are export-oriented, they can be given 100 per cent equity participation. I do not know how you are going to maintain your economic independence, and consequently our political independence. In this manner, we are allowing foreign capital to have a grip and control over our economic life. How long will you be able to maintain your economic freedom, political freedom, thinking freedom? The minds of our policy makers are being gradually and systematically conditioned by certain conditionalities of the international monetary funds. Not directly, they are polluting or brain-washing the minds of many of our intellectuals, including certain economists, through their agencies. They have been developing an idea as if borrowings from IMF and World Bank are an inevitability

for the purpose of resurgence of our economy. Totally we disagree with that. It cannot happen to be so. That is why we feel that there are some people in our administrative system who have got close links and ties with the people who are formulating and preparing for budget sitting at a distance, in Washington or New York. There must be some link between them which has got to be unearthed. I said the same thing the other day also. Otherwise, a country that wants its own prestige, independence and economic liberty, would never have gone down the dictates of the foreign loan givers in this manner. However much you say, "No, no, we are not bowing to the dictates of IMF," the fact is that every item that was prescribed by IMF, step by step, gradually you are yielding to that. No doubt we are doing certain things independently, maybe, they coincide with the prescription of the IMF. We are independently, gradually helping ourselves to lose our independence. That is the independence that has been indicated in this budget as far as our economic life is concerned.

Whatever restrictions were under MRTP or FERA, they have all been given a go by. This means total *laissez-faire*. What else is there for us to have control over our economy vis-à-vis foreign investors? Clearly we do not want to have anything of that type. And this is the budget presented by the new Government.

What is the effect of this multinational open door policy? Our national industries, our indigenous industries, are systematically getting adversely affected. Even the spokesmen of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry, industrialists here in this House also, have said that this policy is going to affect very seriously the growth and development of our indigenous industries. Whether it is a fact or not has got to be stated clearly. If it is really so, then the prices are rising. Wholesale prices are rising. That 100-day question is

[Shri Asish Sen]

gone. Every year there are administered prices and even this year it has been done.

It is in the interest of the common man, in the interest of the poorer sections of the people—that is what the Finance Minister told us the other day while presenting the budget. Devaluation has come. Devaluation for what? I am not in a position to share the optimism which was displayed by the Finance Minister and some of the spokesmen on behalf of the Finance Minister that devaluation was a must and a necessity. Whether it is in the interest of the foreign investors to reap higher profits from the vast market that India has got, whether as a result of that we should bow down to the question of devaluation or not, there is scope and opportunity to have a look-back at the subject. I feel that there is something behind it. Otherwise, how could it be done? India has got a vast market. We are talking about exports. Our industries have to be export-oriented and we have to compete in the international market. If India, with the type of economy which we have got today, has to compete with Japan, France, the United States and Great Britain, even a child in the primary school of economics will be able to say that some statement like this that with our state of development we will be able to compete with these industrially advanced countries, that it will appear to the people to be a joke. In that case what he says is, why not? We have 80 to 85 crores of people in this country, many people are going without clothes, people cannot meet their elementary requirements—day-to-day requirements. Our industries are there—small, medium and even larger industries—which have got such a big market, the market which is being looked at with an eagle's eye by the foreign investors. In our own country our industries cannot fully exploit this market and make goods available to our common people. It can be done

provided they have an alternate outlook, an alternate thinking, an alternate approach towards the revival of the economy which, in the wake of the independence of our country, we would like to have. That is the point that has got to be borne in mind.

In whose interest has the devaluation been done? Has there been any improvement as a result of that during this period, has there been any improvement in our exports as compared to our imports? Rather the picture is completely different. We are having more imports and the balance of payments position is not getting tilted in our favour but otherwise.

I

Take oil production. It is stated that because of the Gulf crisis it became necessary for us to go in for a foreign loan to bridge the gap. Now is it not a fact that the production capacity of our country, so far as the oil industry is concerned, has not gone up to the plant load factor, 100 per cent utilization or even 60 per cent utilization of the capacity we have got in our oil industry? That has not been done. Why? If we had paid attention to the improvement of our oil industry, the need for import of crude oil from the Gulf region or any region for which Rs. 8,000 crores to Rs. 10,000 crores had to be paid, with the balance of payments position becoming weaker, would not have arisen. It would not have been necessary if we had paid proper attention for the proper exploitation of the oil establishments that we have got in our country. Why not invest money for the development and further expansion of our domestic oil industry instead of borrowing<sup>1</sup> money to pay the exporters of crude oil to our country? Could we not do that?

Excuse me, I have to repeat it again, the entire formulation of our budget is nothing but a systematically planned thing as dictated, perhaps, by the team which has come to New Delhi or the team which started doing it from there itself and has come now,

and following it these things have been done. I have an information—I do not know how far I am correct—subject to correction, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that about four, five years back, maybe in 1986 or 1987 or 1985 we had a surplus foreign-exchange balance, we had a surplus, several thousand crores we had surplus. But at that point of time the ONGC, - through the State Bank of India, was called upon to borrow several thousand or several hundred crores from foreign market to make an exhibition to the world, to our countrymen that the foreign-exchange position was not so good. Though we had a sufficient foreign-exchange balance at that time, it was sought to be offset by unwanted borrowing in the name of the ONGC. I would like to have a clarification from the Finance Minister because I don't want to mislead the House. I want to be corrected whether this information of mine is proper or valid or not because this has been worrying me for quite some time.

Coming to the question of the Reserve Bank instructions, today we find that the Reserve Bank has given instructions about the advances given by commercial banks to industries, sick industries, that the cure for bringing back sick industries to health should not be at the banks' cost. Are the banks a private property or are all these banks owned by the Government of India itself after the nationalisation? So, any money paid by these banks is the money paid by the Government in an indirect way. So, if development is to be there, if sick industries are to be sustained and maintained and if so many thousands and lakhs of workers are not to be made jobless, then, should the position be like this, that sick jobless, that sick industries should not be maintained at the cost of the banks? After all, then, let the Government of India abandon the responsibility of looking after the needs of the working people of our country or the small and medium industries. I would have understood it if you

say, "Yes, we do not want to bother about that. We want to have a certain section, 5 to 10 per cent of the total population. The entire Government policies are to be made only in the interest of that small coterie, not the masses of people." But, instead, why do you put it like that, that the cure for industrial sickness should not be at the cost of banking companies? What is developing banking in our country then? For a country which is just trying to improve its economic condition, the credit institutions is an important instrument. That instrument has been nationalised so that it may not be in the hands of a certain few people to misuse the funds of these institutions for their sectional or group gain. When it is

intended for mass improvement for that matter and when these particular banking institutions are owned by the Government of India, then, they should be treated like a wing of the Government for the development of our country in all parts, in all States. That is what is needed today. That is development banking.

Instead, you are thinking in terms of privatising the banks, privatising the public sector. At whose dictates are all these things coming? At whose instance? Who have been talking about these things for quite some time? We have been reading and hearing about them. These were coming from far across the seas, and that is gradually being implemented here. Can the banking institutions and public sector institutions not be made more active, more efficient?

Then, we find that in many of the public sector undertakings and in several banking institutions also there is no chief executive. For months, even years there is no Chairman. Managing Director in specific institutions. I am not going to elongate my speech by naming them. Why don't you appoint in time the chief executives of these banks so that they can move properly? Proper effort should be put therein. I know some institutions. I don't want to name them. There are a certain institutions. There

[Shri Asish Sen] certain people have been placed at the top. They are ruining those institutions. They should be removed, and proper and efficient people should be brought and put there. If suggestions are required, then, we are in a position to come forward with suggestions. They could be given.

Now, for the public sector a talk is going on about a security net. A security net for what? Security for not to get jobs, security to become unemployed. Is this a security net? If the weak and non-performing—I should not say "non-performing"—non-profit-making public sector undertakings are to be wound up, then, for whom is this security net and for what? That has to be seen. Where is the guarantee that the workers will not become jobless and that they will be able to have the purchasing power to create the demand for the consumer goods that our local, indigenous industries could provide?

Incidentally I have found that a Minister of State who is not sitting over there, had misled the House by placing a balance sheet, which is not the correct reflection of the state of affairs of the financial institution called the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, I will be able to give more factual details about it, but today I am only mentioning that this is happening.

Now I come to the question of de-nationalisation. How is it going to improve the working and efficiency? If de-nationalisation is going to improve the efficiency, why did we go in for nationalisation? If privatisation is going to improve matters, then why not let the Government think in a different way that except law and order and Defence nothing will be looked after by it. Everything will be given to the multi-national corporations and the Government will not have to come before the House and explain and elongate the dictates and formulations of the IMF. Give these to them. Otherwise there is no meaning of it. When the foundations were

created for the core sector of our economy and industry by nationalising certain sectors and keeping in reserves certain industries, why now systematically they are to be one by one—and more particularly the credit institutions—have to be handed over to private individuals and institutions? By doing so I don't know whether we will be going back to the pre-1969 or pre 1956 position or we will be going forward to strengthen the foundation of our economy.

Now I come to the question of efficiency because of privatisation. All these institutions could be very much efficient provided there could have been good and proper industrial relations. For example what is the position in which we are finding today certain banks and financial institutions? I give you an example of Madhya Pradesh. A leader of a union of small, tiny Regional Rural Banks exposed to the sponsoring bank that its Chairman has created so many wrong things. He showed evidences of corruption and other things. The moment he reported to the higher authorities, he was suspended. Last Friday we found employees of Regional Rural Banks came here and sat on Dharna on these and other issues. Tomorrow Syndicate Bank Officers are coming and are going to sit on Dharna. On what ground? Nearly 250 of their Officers have been harassed, victimised and vindictive action is being taken against them. Why? Because they exposed the corrupt practices of the management of the Syndicate Bank. For the last one and a half years repeated attempts were made by them, but nothing is happening. More and more vindictive action is being taken against them. These are the people who will be able to help in running these institutions in the way that is needed in the country. If this way the industrial relations go on, ultimately you will be saying these public sector undertakings have become inefficient. So betterhand it over some private agencies so that they will be able to do it better. It Cannot bannen like that

Mutual Funds are coming up. So long the Mutual Funds were being dealt with as subsidiaries of the Banks. In today's perhaps I find in the Corporation Bank the Mutual Funds allowed to be run as a normal banking business of the Corporation. That means Rs. 205,000 crores which has been deposited by the small - people as small savings deposits will be utilised for speculative activities. And who does not know that tomorrow these banks will become sick again and the Minister and the Government will come and say they have become sick. Naturally we have to deal with it in a different manner. That is my worry about it.

Now I come to Centre-State relations. A lot has been said by my friend, Mr. Ratnakar Pandey, that this Budget is going to improve the revenue of the State Governments. But actually what we find from the press reports is that the specific projects of West Bengal and the various non-Congress (I) Governments are being refused funds and loans.

Allocation of funds is not being properly done. There is a positive sign of discrimination. The Central Plan assistance to West Bengal was about Rs. 863 crores for 1991-92. That was provided by the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr. Mohan Dharia. It was already approved. But I came to know only today that it will not be given to the State of West Bengal. This amount includes Rs. 130. crores which was meant to be given by the Soviet Union for the Bakreshwar Thermal Power Project. The cess amount due to the States of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—I think, Mr. Ambedkar talked about Madhya Pradesh also—for coal and other minerals will not be paid. They will not be given their legitimate dues by making charges between cess and royalty.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: The Chief Minister of Bihar and members of the State Assembly are coming over to Delhi to stage a

dharna for this purpose. You please mention that point also.

SHRI ASHIS SEN: I am coming to that. You can supplement it to my point.

The Chief Ministers of different States are coming to Delhi for staging a dharna. The question, is comrade workers came over here to stage a dharna. Our comraae omcers are coming from different institutions to stage a dharna. Now, the Chief Ministers are also required to come over here for dharna, this is indicative of what is happening to the Centre-State relations out of the present budget. This is ali that I wanted to say about it. I would like to say that yet there is time for the Finance Minister and the Government that instead of looking across the seas, instead of looking across the border, there is immense scope and possibility for an alternate line of approach which can be thought of, worked out in consultation with various people and it can be implemented by stages. There should not be a type of sell-out of our country at the dictates and at the orders of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank which is going on today. That is my submission to the Finance Minister and to the Government as well. Let not our country be put to that position.

SHRI CHHOTUBHAI PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. I rise to support the budget of 1991-92. Dr. Manmohan Singh was the Finance Secretary. He was the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. He was an Advisor to the Central Government. Today, he is the Finance Minister of the Government of India. He has a vast experience. He has a clear concept of global economy. He has covered the concept of the Congress party's manifesto. This budget has opened a new economic age.. This budget shows comprehensive action



[Shri Chhotubhai Patel] plan for national economy. The Government has built a runway for take off stage for the economic development of the country. Now our country will get a chance to compete in the global economy. This budget is not only a balance-sheet but it is also a document of the Government's economic and financial policies and programmes. I want to make some points about the current economic scenerio of the country. Before this budget what was the fiscal position? The Indian economy is facing hard days. The IMF loan is the only way at this stage to come out of this difficult position. During the last 18 months, somehow or the other, the economy of the country has been facing set-backs generally, and exports particularly. The Gulf War is also a vital factor in putting great strains on the economy. During the last 18 months, the following are the areas in which the country has seen the downward which has **affected** the entire economy:

1. Our exports have come down from 39.9 per cent to 20.4 per cent. This has adversely affected the foreign exchange position and increased the big gap in our trade deficit. This has happened only due to the unstable Government and absence of long-range planning.

2. Due to the increase in the price of oil as well as other petroleum products, the country has to pay heavy foreign exchange and day by day, the trade deficit is increasing enormously.

3. Due to the unstable Governments, the inflow of funds from non-resident Indians has sharply come down and it has created deficit in foreign exchange.

4. The administrative and nonproductive expenses have increased sizeably. This has also affected the production and generation of funds within the country.

5. We had two good monsoons. However the oilseeds production has come down and as a result, the import of edible oil has become a must. For this reason, again, the country has to pay heavy foreign exchange.

6. The RBI has put very strict restrictions on credit flow and it has affected the local production and created an adverse atmosphere.

7. We have put a ban on very important items of import. This has also affected production and exports.

8. The Government was no really serious to undertake immediate steps to maintain the position.

9. Our external deficits have increased and the proper planning for repayment was not made.

10. The Government belatedly approached the IMF to come out of this serious situation. If timely action had been taken, this situation would not have arisen.

Sir, today, we are remembering our beloved leader Shri Rajiv Gandhiji. He was a new Prime Minister of India. At that time, some politicians said and that Rajivji was a new man a young man and an inexperienced person. They said he could not deliver the goods for the nation. But, Sir, we saw this competency and credibility. Today, our Finance Minister also has compe-

और ऐसा कहने के पीछे मेरा तात्पर्य यह है कि हींग चाहे छोटा हो या बड़ा, मगर उनकी चमक-दमक एक ही होती है।

सर; फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो पालिसी पैकेज एडाप्ट किए हैं उनके बारे में मैं आपसे और आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि इस उपाय के तौर पर एक तो रुपए का अवमूल्यन किया, सोने को गिरवी रखा, निर्यात को उदार बनाया और नई इंडस्ट्रियल पालिसी को भी उदार

and credibility.

बनाया। तो ऊपर जो कही गई बातें हैं उनको महिंजर रखकर हमें बजट को देखना चाहिए। बजट घाटा कम किया है उसके लिए नॉन प्लान एक्सपेंडिचर में 150 प्रतिशत कम किया है। सब्सिडी भी कम की गई है। वार्षिक योजना खर्च में भी 13 प्रतिशत की बढ़ोतरी की गई है। विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जित करने के लिए उदारीकरण किया गया और काले धन को मुख्य धारा में लाने के लिए योजना बनाई गई है। टैक्सेशन के बारे में भी प्रत्यक्ष, डायरेक्ट टैक्सिज से इन्कम ज्यादा होगी। मगर मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को कहना चाहूंगा कि डायरेक्ट टैक्स कलेक्ट करने के लिये हमारी जो एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव मशीनरी है उसको सक्षम करना पड़ेगा, उसको सुदृढ़ करना पड़ेगा। अत्यन्त अप्रत्यक्ष कर कम होने का वजह से आम जनता पर कर का बोझ कम होगा। कर प्रणाली हमें सुदृढ़ करनी पड़ेगी। सर, रेवेन्यू डेफिसिट अधिक महत्वपूर्ण है। सरकार को विदेशी कर्जा भी जो बोरॉइंग बात है, पर अधिक आधारित नहीं रहना चाहिये। इंटरेस्ट पेमेंट्स कम होना चाहिये। आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में हमने वित्तीय साधनों की डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग से पूर्ति की है जिससे हमारी यह आर्थिक हालत हुई है। आठवीं योजना में हम नहीं दोहराना चाहते जिससे हमें आंतरिक संसाधनों को जुटाना पड़ेगा। पब्लिक सेक्टर से हमें ज्यादा धनराशि कमाना पड़ेगी, कर ढाँचे में अधिक सुधार करना पड़ेगा जिससे हमारी आय बढ़ेगी। आठवीं योजना में हमें बोरॉइंग एंड डेफिसिट के बारे में ध्यान रखना पड़ेगा। यह बजट एक कदम है This Budget is a first stage for economic reforms.

सर, मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को कुछ सुझाव भी देना चाहूंगा। रेवेन्यू डेफिसिट को बढ़ाने नहीं देना चाहिये, इसके लिये नॉन प्लान एक्सपेंडिचर को कम करना पड़ेगा। बाहर से पैसा लेने के बजाय इंडियन मार्केट से ज्यादा पैसा लेना चाहिये। पब्लिक सेक्टर में भी काफी

सुधार लाना चाहिये क्योंकि हमारे कई पब्लिक सेक्टर घाटे में जा रहे हैं। पब्लिक सेक्टर का हम इकॉनामिकली नहीं कर पायेंगे तो मुझे लगता है कि इकॉनोमिक बेलेंस के प्रति जो हम जा रहे हैं तो ज्यादा अन-बेलेंस हो जायेगा। टैक्सेशन से अधिक से अधिक धनराशि प्राप्त करनी चाहिये, कीमतों को बढ़ने से रोकने के लिये आवश्यक वस्तुएँ—वेज गुड्स जो हैं इसका प्रोडक्शन बढ़ना चाहिये। हाई कास्ट इकॉनोमी के बारे में अधिक जरूरी है कि हमें देश में उत्पादन और क्वालिटी बढ़ानी पड़ेगी। काला बाजार, जमाखोरों पर कड़े हाथों से काम लेना चाहिये। हर एक राज्य की अपने स्टेट के लिये इस बजट की क्या प्रतिक्रिया हुई है, इसके बारे में एक सेल बनाकर स्टेट क इकॉनोमिकली डवलपमेंट के बारे में समीक्षा करनी चाहिये। नये बजट के संदर्भ में जो लेबर एंड एम्प्लोयमेंट पोलिसी है उसमें कुछ बदलाव लाना भी मुझे जरूरी लगता है ताकि इस बजट से ज्यादा से ज्यादा लाभ आम जनता को मिल सके। मैं इस सदन में लम्बे अरसे से कह रहा हूँ कि Subsidy is not a remedy. मगर सब्सिडी प्रोडक्शन के साथ लिंक-अप करना चाहिये ताकि आम जनता को सब्सिडी का ज्यादा बेनिफिट मिल सके, पुअर-फार्मर्स को इसका बेनिफिट ज्यादा मिल सके। इस बजट में व्यापार उद्योग में तो खुशी आ गयी है, इसका सपना साकार हुआ है। मगर मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को कहना चाहूंगा कि आम जनता का सपना कब साकार होगा। (समय की घंटी)

सर, मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। मगर कुछ अव्वल बातें हैं, कुछ हाई-लाइट्स जो हैं इसके बारे में दो-तीन बातें मैं कहना चाहूंगा। एक बात तो यही है कि सरकार ने टेक्नोलोजी कमिशन फॉर ड्रिफिंग वाटर राजीव गांधी जी के समय में बनाया था, तो राजीव गांधी जी के नाम पर यह मिशन चलाने की बात जो सरकार ने कही है, फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो बात कही है यह बहुत खुशी की बात है देश के लिये। मगर सारे देश में

[Shri Chhotubhai Patel]

विशेषकर के गुजरात, राजस्थान और मध्य प्रदेश की बात करता हूँ तो वहाँ हमारे यहाँ जो पानी मिलता है वह साफ-सुथरा पानी नहीं मिलता। उत्तर गुजरात में देखें तो पलोरान्ड वाटर ज्यादा है, सौराष्ट्र के रीजन में हज देखें तो गिन्नी-वर्म का ज्यादा है। हम गुजरात के कास्टल एरिया में देखें तो सलाईन वाटर, जहाँ पर आयरन वाटर भी है। तो मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को कहना चाहूँगा कि इसके बारे में जो धनराशि 7.85 करोड़ की रखी गयी है।

5.00 P.M.

महोदय, इसमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा धनराशि देने की जरूरत है। हमारे देश का जो वेस्टर्न बेल्ट है—गुजरात, मध्य प्रदेश और राजस्थान, वहाँ के लिए ज्यादा से ज्यादा धनराशि चाहिए। हमारा सौराष्ट्र रीजन पूरा सूखा है। वहाँ पानी ले जाने के लिए हम एक बड़ा ब्रिज बनाने की सोच रहे हैं जिसकी लागत 400 करोड़ से बढ़कर 600—800 करोड़ हो गई है। तो मुझे लगता है कि पानी के बारे में सरकार ने जो कदम उठाया है वह सही कदम है। मगर गुजरात में जो साफ-सुथरा पानी नहीं मिलता है, इसके बारे में मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please conclude now.

SHRI CHHOTUBHAI PATEL: I am concluding, Sir...

महोदय, कम्युनल हारमोनी का जो ताना-बाना है वह बहुत बिक हो गया है। इसके लिए सरकार ने जो सोचा है वह बहुत अच्छा बात है। इससे हमारे देश में माइनोरिटी के लोगों में विश्वास पैदा हो सकेगा। इसके साथ ही पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए जो निगम बनाने की बात कही गई है वह भी स्वगत योग्य है। इससे पिछड़े वर्गों का राष्ट्र की मुख्य धारा में शामिल किया जा सकेगा और उनका इकानॉमिक डेवलपमेंट भी हो सकेगा।

महोदय, राजीव गांधी फाउंडेशन के लिए जो 20 करोड़ खपत देने की गुंजाइश

बजट में है वह बहुत खुशी की बात है। तो फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने जो कदम उठाए हैं वे सराहनीय हैं और मेरी सभी राशियों से विलती है कि वे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को अपना सहयोग दें और इस बजट को पास करें। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Shri S. P. Gautam, not here. Mr. Ashwini Kumar, you can speak on behalf of your party.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस वर्ष जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया गया है उस बजट के अंदर जिन तीन भूतपूर्व प्रधानमंत्रियों के नामों की बार-बार दुहाई दी गई है, उनकी घोषित नीतियों को वित्त मंत्री ने रही की टोकरी में फेंक दिया है। आज तक देश की जो भी नीतियां थीं उनको वित्त मंत्री ने नकार दिया है। यद्यपि उन्होंने कहा यही है कि हम उन्हीं नीतियों पर चल रहे हैं लेकिन वास्तव में उन नीतियों को नकार कर एक नई दिशा की ओर जाने का प्रयास किया गया है। यद्यपि उनकी स्वीकारोक्ति यही है कि हम उन्हीं नीतियों पर चल रहे हैं लेकिन व्यवहार में उन नीतियों को बदल दिया गया है। जिन नीतियों के आधार पर देश की स्वाधीनता, स्वावलंबन की चर्चा की गई थी, उनको तिलांजलि दे दी गई है और नयी तरह से एक नयी दिशा की ओर हम बढ़ रहे हैं। वह दिशा ठीक है, या नहीं, यह मैं आगे कहूँगा।

महोदय, आज एक संकट की तस्वीर पेश की गई है। यह कहा गया है कि देश पर अपार संकट है। संकट यह है कि विदेशों के साथ जो हमारा व्यापार है, जो हमारा आयात-निर्यात है, विदेशों से हम जो मंगा रहे हैं वह ज्यादा है और जो भेज रहे हैं वह कम है। हम कर्जदार हो गए हैं और उस कर्ज को चुकाने की हमारी क्षमता खत्म होती चली जा रही है और इसलिए देश दिवालियापन के कगार पर आ खड़ा हुआ है। इसलिए एक खतरे

की स्थिति पिछले वर्षों में आई है लेकिन इस स्थिति के आने के पीछे कौन सी नीतियाँ जिम्मेदार थीं, विशेषकर पिछले पांच सालों में ?

महोदय, 1980 में हम इतनी बुरी स्थिति में नहीं थे, साधारण स्थिति में थे, चलने वाली स्थिति में थे। सन् 1985 में हमारी स्थिति थोड़ी सी खराब हुई और 1985 से 1990 तक जिस प्रकार हमने खुले हाथों आयात किया और नए ऋण लेकर घर चलाया, यहां तक कि रेवेन्यू बजट की पूर्ति के लिए विदेशी कर्जा लिया उसके तो यही बात चरितार्थ होती है कि “ऋणं स्वा वृत्तमपिबेत” अर्थात् ऋण लेकर घी पियो। पुनर्जन्म किसने देखा है, मृत्यु के बाद जो आएगा वह देखेगा और आज वही हो रहा है। जिन्होंने पिछले 10 वर्षों में ऋण लिया है, वे उसके बाद की स्थिति को देखने के लिए यहां नहीं हैं, भगवान के पास चले गए हैं और हमें भुगतना पड़ रहा है।

हमने सुख-सुविधाओं के लिए जिस प्रकार से अधाधध आयात किया है, यह उसी का नतीजा है। अगर हमने हाई-टेक्नोलॉजी के लिए मशीनरी इंपोर्ट की होती तब भी बात समझ में आती और वह घनराशि हम लौटाने की स्थिति में होते। लेकिन हमने एयरकंडीशनर, बी० सी. आर. जैसी चीजें इंपोर्ट कीं। आज भी महोदय, हमारे यहां जो टी० बी० भारतीय नाम से बिकते हैं उनके कबिनेट तक भी विदेशों से बनकर आते हैं। यह टेक्नोलॉजी इंप्रूवमेंट पिछले वर्षों में हमारे यहां हुआ है।

महोदय, जब हमारा देश 1947 में गुलामी से मुक्त हुआ तो एक साहूकार देश था और इंग्लैंड के ऊपर हमारा हजारों करोड़ का बॉलेंस ऑफ पेमेंट था लेकिन आज दुनिया का शायद ही कोई ऐसा देश होगा जिसके हम कर्जदार नहीं हैं। यहां तक कि हम आयरलैंड और डेनमार्क के भी कर्जदार हैं जिनकी आवादी शायद दिल्ली की आवादी के बराबर होगी। हम कर्जदार क्यों बन गए, यह सोचने का

विषय है। इसके बारे में सारे देश को गंभीरता से विचार करना चाहिए। जिन उद्देश्यों को हम सामने रखकर चले थे, हम उनकी पूर्ति नहीं कर पाए।

महोदय, मैं थोड़े से शब्दों में देश की स्थिति का वर्णन करना चाहता हूँ। आज बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है। आज देश के साढ़े तीन करोड़ नौजवान बेरोजगार हैं और जो अर्ध-बेरोजगार हैं उनकी तो गिनती ही नहीं है। प्रतिवर्ष लाखों नौजवान स्कूल-कालेजों में निकलकर बाजार में काम खोजने आ रहे हैं लेकिन उनको काम देने में भारत सरकार अक्षम है। बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है भुवमरी बढ़ रही है। हम उन लोगों को काम नहीं दे सकते। आप गांवों के अंदर काम देने की बात करते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हम 42 सालों के अंदर अपने भाइयों को गांवों में पीने का पानी उपलब्ध करा सके हैं? कितनी शर्म की बात है। आप भी गांवों के साथ जूड़ हुए हैं। आदिवासी इलाकों में, गांवों में जो पानी हमारे भाई-बहन पीते हैं उसके लिए उन्हें कितनी दूर जाना पड़ता है।

इतनी दूर से उनको पानी लाना पड़ता है, कहीं कहीं तो 5 किलोमीटर दूर से पानी लाते हैं। लेकिन उसके लिए जो स्कीमें हैं वह आज तक लागू नहीं हुई हैं। पानी के बगैर आज भी हजारों गांव हैं। आज भी हमारे देश में सबसे ज्यादा अनपढ़ लोग हैं, आज भी हमारे यहां सबसे ज्यादा टी. बी. के मरीज हैं, आज भी हमारे यहां सबसे ज्यादा गांव बिना बिजली के हैं। क्या इसको सुधारने की दृष्टि से इस बजट में कोई इंतजाम है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बहुत काट के साथ कहना पड़ रहा है कि इनको सुधारने की एक भी स्कीम या एक भी उपाय हमारे इस बजट में नहीं है। दूसरी जो मुझे शंका हो रही है वह यह है कि हमने जो 1947 में राजनीतिक स्वाधीनता प्राप्त की, इन नीतियों के द्वारा शायद हमारी आर्थिक स्वाधीनता वांछित के दरबार में गिरवी होती चली जा रही है। आज जो कुछ भी हम कर रहे हैं,

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

उनके इशारों पर कर रहे हैं हालांकि ये कह रहे हैं कि आई. एम. एफ. हमको डिफटे नहीं कर रहा है। जिन लोगों ने विदेशी समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा या वहाँ के समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा पिछले 6 महीने से आई. एम. एफ. कह रहा है कि ये काम करोगे तो तुमको उधार देंगे। हम दूसरों से उधार मांगते जाते हैं, जब हम भिखारी हो गए हैं तो हम सही चीज क्यों नहीं कहते, क्यों डाटेड लाइन पर दस्तखत करने पड़ रहे हैं? हमारे साथी कहते हैं कि हम अपने व्यवहार में सुधार करें। वह कह रहे हैं कि हम अपनी मर्जी से कह रहे हैं, हमें कोई डिफटे नहीं कर रहा है। ऊपर से तो अपनी मर्जी भी दिखा रहे हैं। इसका मतलब यह है कि जो कुछ भी कर रहे हैं वह बेमन से कर रहे हैं। घोर करने का जो परिणाम होगा उससे दुष्परिणाम निकलेंगे। उसमें से कोई अच्छा परिणाम निकलने का लक्ष्य मुझे नजर नहीं आ रहा है।

आई. एम. एफ. के डिफटे पर, उनके कहने-सुनने पर कई देशों की आर्थिक स्थिति सुधरी है, ऐसा हम को कहा जाता है। जैसे फिलीपिन्स का उद्वहरण है, मैक्सिको का उद्वहरण है। फिलिपिन्स के बारे में अभी पीछे 15 दिन पहले समाचार पत्र में पढ़ रहा था कि फिलिपिन्स में अमेरिका ने बल्टिक बैंक ने अरबों-करोड़ों डालर वहाँ जाकर डाल दिये हैं। फिलिपिन्स की स्थिति क्या है? उनको अपना बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट चुकाने के लिए अपने जंगल की सारी लकड़ी विदेशों में भेजनी पड़ रही है। उनकी इंडस्ट्री बंद हो रही है। घर बनाने के लिए, होटल बनाने के लिए स्लैम को डिमैटल करना पड़ रहा है। हर शहर में रोज़ घरबार तोड़े जा रहे हैं। फिलिपिन्स के जधान स.उध-ईस्ट में जाकर कमा रहे हैं उससे बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट चुका रहे हैं। सबसे वाष्ट का विषय यह है कि फिलिपिन्स की बालाएँ जापान के बाजार में देह बेच कर बैलेंस आफ पेमेंट चुकाने के लिए बाध्य हो रही हैं। यह फिलिपिन्स की हालत हम देख रहे हैं।

क्या हम उधर जाने की मनःस्थिति बना रहे हैं? यह सारी नीतियाँ उधर ले जाने के लिए बाध्य कर रही हैं। मैं आपके माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी के माध्यम से सरकार को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इन्हीं नीतियों पर गये तो देश का भविष्य खतरे में पड़ जायेगा। उसकी ओर सावधान हो जाइये। अगर सावधानी से नहीं चलेंगे तो देश का कल का भविष्य भयंकर खतरे में पड़ जायेगा।

प्रो. चन्द्रेश पी. ठाकुर (बिहार) : कोई खतरा नहीं है।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : आपको नहीं लगता होगा। मुगसारीचिका में ओस्ट्रिच को भी नहीं लगता कि मुझको खतरा होगा।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन (उत्तर प्रदेश) : खतरा आप से भी है।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : खैर हम से खतरा है तो हम तो घर के हैं। अमेरिका के खतरे को जग संभालिये। जिसे रोज़ आप गली देते रहे हैं। वह आपके सिर पर भूत बन कर बैठा हुआ है। (व्यवधान) अभी तो हम कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट की चालीस साल की हालत देख रहे हैं। जब हमारा विषय आयेगा तब देखा जायेगा। आयेगा या नहीं यह तो भविष्य जति लेकिन आपका हम देख रहे हैं।

श्रीमती सत्या बहिन : य० पी० में आग सा लगाइये। (व्यवधान)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : इस समस्या का निदान करने के लिए स्वावलम्बन का विषय लाये होते तो उसका कोई अर्थ होता। हमने विदेशों के अर्थ कर्ज मांगा है। मल्टीनेशनल के लिए दरवाजे खोल दिये हैं। मल्टी नेशनल हमारे यहाँ क्या बनाते हैं? हमारे यहाँ बहुत सी मल्टी-नेशनल्स हैं। अगर हमारे यहाँ मल्टीनेशनल्स ऐसी मशीनरी बनायें जो भारत में उपलब्ध नहीं है तो उसका हम स्वागत कर सकते हैं। मगर आज ऐसी मल्टीनेशनल्स हमारे देश में है जो ऐसी मशीनें बना रही हैं जो भारत में है। साबुन बना रही हैं,

जूता बना रही है, पाउडर बना रही है। जब तक विदेशी मल्टीनेशनल का बनाया हुआ जूता नहीं पहनेंगे तो क्या हमारे पैर की चरमाराहट नहीं मिटेगी? क्या जब तक हम विदेशी मंजन नहीं करेंगे तो हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता? जब तक हम विदेशी परम्पूम नहीं लगायेंगे क्या तब तक हमारे देश का काम नहीं चल सकता? हम उनकी ओर जा रहे हैं। 1947 से मल्टीनेशनल्स सारी चीजें बना कर हमको दे रही है। जिनके माध्यम से विदेशों में हमारा पैसा जा रहा है। आज हमने उनको खुला निमंत्रण दे दिया है। हमारे पास कुछ करने को नहीं है। आप हमको बचाओ। बल भी मदद में कई लोगों ने कहा कि इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि मल्टीनेशनल्स हमारे यहां को इंडस्ट्रीज को समाप्त करेंगी। हमारे बड़े इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स छोटे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को समाप्त करेंगे। छोटे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स कोटेज स्माल स्केल बलों को समाप्त करेंगे। इससे बेरोजगारी और गरीबी बढ़ेगी। आज जो रोजगार मिल रहा है हमारे देश के नौजवानों को, मजदूरों को वह स्माल स्केल, मिडिल स्केल और विलिज इंडस्ट्रीज से मिल रहा है। बड़ी इंडस्ट्रीज में सिर्फ पांच परसेंट होना बाकी 95 परसेंट इन छोटी इंडस्ट्रीज में है। आप इन 95 परसेंट लोगों के रोजगार पर, उनके पैट पर लात मारने जा रहे हैं। जिनको दो जून किसी प्रकार से रोटी मिलती है शायद वह भी उनसे छोन कर अमेरिका और वहां के बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपतियों के हाथों में देने जा रहे हैं। अगर आप हवाई जहाज बनाने के लिए मल्टीनेशनल्स का प्रयोग करें तो स्थिति समझ में आती है। परन्तु आज जो दरवाजे आपने खोले हैं यह देश के लिए घातक है। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार को सावधान करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के बजाय गड्डे में ले जाने के लिए बहुत बड़े हिस्सेदार हो जायेंगे।

जब कर्जा आता है देश के अंदर, आत्मनिर्भरता और स्वाभिमान के आधार पर आदमी चल नहीं सकता है। विदेशी कर्जा लेकर कर्जा उतारने से नीति नहीं चलती है। आज वही नीति चल रही है

जो हमारे लिए अत्यन्त घातक हो रही है। इन नीतियों से हम देख रहे हैं कि आज बजट में देश की अर्थ नीति में सुधार लाने के लिए छोटे-छोटे उपाय विये जाते हैं और वे भी हाफ हार्टेड एक्ट्स हैं। चूंकि समय कम है, इसलिए मैं दो तीन बातों का वर्णन करना चाहूंगा। कालेधन को निकालने की वित्त मंत्री ने योजना बनाई है कि 3 नवम्बर तक सारा धन जमा कर दिया जाय। मैं एक मैगजीन में पढ़ रहा था, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर मैं गलत हूँ तो वे सुधार कर लें, उस मैगजीन के माननीय लेखक ने कहा है कि पिछले 25 वर्षों में काला धन निकालने की 21 योजनाएँ बन चुकी हैं और वे सब फेल हो चुकी हैं। यह शायद 22वीं योजना है। इसमें कहा गया है कि आप काला धन जमा कर दीजिये और छुट्टी पा जाइए, लेकिन अगर ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो कहा गया है कि हम कठोर कदम उठावेंगे। आप अपने इनकम टैक्स विभाग से पूछिये कि उसने कितने छापे मारे हैं। उन छापों में सिर्फ दूरी प्रतिशत का कॉन्क्शन होता है और बाकी 98 प्रतिशत में से-दे-करके कारोबार चलता है। यह बात हर व्यक्ति जानता है और आप भी जानते होंगे। इस बारे में लोगों ने हमें बताया है, आप भी जानना चाहते हैं तो आपसे उनको मिला दूंगा। ये स्थान भ्रष्टाचार के केन्द्र बने हुए हैं। ब्लैक मनी को रोकने के लिए आपने क्या उपाय किये हैं? ब्लैक मनी बनता है इनकम टैक्स ला और एक्साइज और कस्टम ला में जो दोष हैं उनके कारण। जब तक आप इन दोनों को दूर नहीं करेंगे तब तक ब्लैक मनी बनता रहेगा। वित्त मंत्री ने कहा है कि एक बड़े अर्थशास्त्री प्रो कालाडोर ने कहा है कि इतने प्रतिशत तक टैक्स होने चाहिए। मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि कालाधन बनने से रोकने के लिए क्या आपके पास दूसरी युक्ति नहीं है? क्या भारत में बुद्धिमान लोग नहीं हैं, इकनॉमिक एक्सपर्ट नहीं हैं, जो इस बारे में विचार करने के लिए तैयार हैं? क्या आप इनकम टैक्स की दर घटाने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं? आज गरीब क्लाम के लोग, मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग और यहां तक कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में एक चप-

[श्री अश्विनी कुमार]

रासी भी इनकम टैक्स देता है। क्या आप उसको छूट देने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं? आज जो ब्लैक मनी जेनरेट हो रहा है उसको रोकने के लिए कोई उपाय नहीं किये गये हैं। इसमें वित्त मंत्रालय में जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी है उसके वेस्टेड इंटेरेस्ट्स हैं। इनकम टैक्स आफिसर से लेकर अन्य जो लोग हैं, जिनके केसेज आपके पास आते हैं, वे सब इसमें मिले हुए हैं। करोड़ों की सम्पत्ति आज आफिसरों के हाथ में है। हमारे देश में जो कालाधन बन रहा है उसमें बिजनेसमैन और ब्यूरोक्रेसी का एक्सिस है और कहा तो यहाँ तक भी जाता है कि राजनीतिज्ञ भी इसमें शामिल हैं। इस पर आपको कोई एक्शन लेना चाहिए था। आपको इनकम टैक्स निमित्त 36 हजार और 40 हजार तक बढ़ानी चाहिए थी और बड़े लोगों से आप जो टैक्स लेते हैं उसको राशनलाइज करना चाहिए था जिससे ब्लैक मनी बनना बंद हो सके। कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में 80 हजार करोड़ का कालाधन है। एक प्रकार से यह एक पैरेलल इकनामी चल रही है। यह आज की बात नहीं है। इस संबंध में जो भी कदम उठाये गये वे हाफ हार्टेड कदम थे। उसका कोई लाभ नहीं हुआ। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप कोई समूल योजना बनाइये और इनकम टैक्स के अन्दर कोई आमूलचूल परिवर्तन करना चाहें तो वह भी कीजिये। एक सुझाव यह भी आया था कि क्या इनकम टैक्स रखना नितान्त आवश्यक है? यह कोई सोशलिस्टिक प्रणाली होगी या कैपिटलिस्ट प्रणाली होगी जिसमें यह रखा गया है। लेकिन आज ब्लैक मनी जेनरेट हो रहा है। हमारे देश में बड़े-बड़े इन्वैस्टमेंट्स बैठे हुए हैं, वित्त मंत्री हैं, वे इन बातों पर विचार कर देखें।

दूसरी एक समस्या जिसकी तरफ मैं ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ वह तस्करी की है। हमेशा कहा जाता है कि हमारे देश में तस्करी हो रही है। वित्त मंत्री ने कई बार प्रश्नों के उत्तर में स्वीकार किया है कि लगभग 75 टन सोना प्रतिवर्ष तस्करी से आ रहा है और अरबों रुपयों की बचतें और ड्रज आ रही हैं। इनको क्या किया गया है?

सोना आवश्यक है। हमारी मां-बहनों को सोने के गहनों की भूख है। कोई भी शादी दो सेट या चार सेट सोने के गहने दिये बिना नहीं हो सकती है। हमारे पास सोना नहीं है। क्या सरकार ने सोना लाने की कोई व्यवस्था की है? सरकार इसमें अक्षम रही है। इस चीज की जरूरत है। आपको पता है कि सोना आ रहा है, तस्करी से आ रहा है। उसको लाने का कोई सीधा रास्ता बना दो तो तस्करी खत्म होगी। लेकिन ब्लैक मनी का रास्ता खुला रखा हुआ है। मैं आपको कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप इसको रोकने के लिये अपनी इच्छा शक्ति नहीं लगाते, इसका उपाय नहीं करते तो इसके गंभीर परिणाम होंगे। लेकिन जो वेस्टेड इंटेरेस्ट इन गवर्नमेंट इसके अंदर हैं, जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी है उसको आप निरस्त नहीं कर सकते हैं।

तीसरा, आपने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के बारे में कहा कि उसमें प्रॉफिट नहीं हो रहा है। आप समझते हैं कि आपने उनको नेशनलाइजेशन किया है लेकिन वास्तव में उनको नेशनलाइजेशन नहीं किया गया है बल्कि उसका ब्यूरोक्रेटाइजेशन किया गया है। आज हमारे बड़े-बड़े उद्योगों की स्थिति क्या है? लावांश सम्पत्तियाँ हैं। न उनकी कोई मां है न उनका कोई बाप है। किसी को न उनसे कुछ लेना है न उनसे कुछ देना है। अपनी नौकरी करो और वहाँ से घूस कमाओ। वह सफेद हाथी है पैसा आयेंगा और जायेगा। पिछले 20-30 सालों में, जब से पब्लिक सेक्टर आया है क्या सरकार ने उनके लिये कोई ऐसी नीति बनाई है तकि वहाँ जो एम. डी. है, जो वहाँ काम करने वाले हैं, उनको यह लगे कि यह हमारा उद्योग है और इसमें मेहनत करके हम ज्यादा प्रॉफिट कमायें तो प्रॉफिट का कुछ अंश भी हमें मिलेगा या हमें यश मिलेगा। लेकिन न तो आप यश देने के लिए तैयार हैं और न ही प्रॉफिट देने के लिये तैयार हैं। रूस में भी यह डंडे के जोर के बावजूद फेल हो गया, आपके पास तो वह डंडा भी नहीं है। यह ऐसा विषय है जिस पर आप थोड़ा सा विचार करके रखें तो अच्छा हो। दुनिया में पब्लिक सेक्टर आज चल रहा है। यह फ्रांस और इटली में अच्छा चल

रहा है। यहां भी अच्छा चल सकता है लेकिन इसके लिये आपने कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था नहीं बनाई है। हमें अपने पब्लिक सेक्टर में प्राफिट लाना होगा। इसके लिये मेरा कहना है कि उसमें आप मजदूरों को भागीदारी दीजिये। हमारे यहां प्राइवेट सेक्टर में एक्सपेरिमेंट हुआ। कमानी ट्यूब का दिवाला हो गया, नहीं चली लेकिन उसे दो हजार मजदूर चला रहे हैं। जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है कि प्राफिट में वह चल रही है। आप भी ऐसा करके देखिये। वर्कर्स को शेयर दीजिये परन्तु वह रिजल्ट ओरियентेड हो। इस चीज को देखने की आवश्यकता है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक दो विषयों की ओर ध्यान देकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करूंगा। देश की आर्थिक उन्नति का आधार ऊर्जा है, पावर है। लेकिन हमारे यहां पावर की शॉर्टेज है। 7 प्रतिशत, 8 प्रतिशत बिजली की शॉर्टेज है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह बड़े दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि इस देश के अंदर दो प्रकार की चीजें हैं। मैं एक जगह का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। उत्तर प्रदेश में एक झील है। उसके किनारे 6-7 पावर हाउस लगे हुए हैं। एक पावर हाउस की क्षमता 50 प्रतिशत है, दूसरे की 85 प्रतिशत और तीसरे की 110 प्रतिशत है। एक ही झील के किनारे के तीन पावर हाउसों में इतनी भिन्नता है। इसलिये मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि सरकार यह देखे कि एक में क्यों 50 है और दूसरे में क्यों 110 है। एन. टी. रो. सी. कुछ अच्छा काम कर रहा है लेकिन जो हमारी स्टेट इलेक्ट्रीसिटी बोर्ड हैं वे देश की एकानामि पर कैंसर बनकर रह गये हैं। वे भ्रष्टाचार का केन्द्र बने हुए हैं। पावर एफेसेंसी नहीं है। अगर देश हित में आप उनमें सुधार नहीं करेंगे तो आप जो चाहे कर लें देश का भविष्य नहीं सुधरने वाला है। आप एक नहीं हजारों करोड़ रुपया कर्जा ले लें जब तक आप स्टेट इलेक्ट्रीसिटी बोर्ड को सुधारने की सक्रिय योजना बनाकर काम नहीं करेंगे तब तक देश का कोई भविष्य नहीं है।

महोदय, आज मैं पढ़ रहा था, प्रणव मुखर्जी ने कहा है कि 89 प्रतिशत गांवों में बिजली चली गई है। बहुत अच्छी बात है, बड़ी उपलब्धि हुई है। पर कितने घरों में गई है, 25 प्रतिशत घरों में। ये आंकड़े बता रहे हैं कि यह उपाय जरूर है परन्तु उसको हम घरों तक ले जाने में असमर्थ हैं। जिन लोगों के पास खाने के लिये रोटी नहीं है वे बिजली कैसे लगावेंगे यह सोचने की बात है।

अंत में मैं सुझाव देना चाहूंगा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय कि प्रधानमंत्री कह रहे हैं, वित्त मंत्री कह रहे हैं कि देश पर संकट है, पेट बांधकर खाओ। लेकिन क्या आप पेट बांधने के लिये तैयार हैं? मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि सरकार के कितने ही ऐसे मंत्री हैं जिनके पास एक बंगला, दो बंगल, तीन बंगले, चार-चार बंगले हैं और ऐसे कितने ही मंत्री हैं जिन्होंने 10 लाख, 15 लाख, 20 लाख अपने रीफर्निशिंग पर खर्च किया है। इसलिये यह जो आप कह रहे हैं यह आप गरीबों का अपमान कर रहे हैं कि टाइटेड युवर वेल्थ। महोदय, हमारे देश में एक व्यक्ति हुआ है जिसने टाइटेड वेल्थ कराया है। उसके बारे में लोगों की राय थी कि वह ईमानदार व्यक्ति है, सात्विक जीवन व्यतीत करता है। 1965 के युद्ध में जब देश में संकट उत्पन्न हुआ तो उसने कहा कि आज अमेरिका आर्मा डिस्टिग कर रहा है। पी. एल.-480 के अंतर्गत जो हमको गेहूं दे रहा है उस पर शर्तें लगाई जा रही हैं। अगर देश साथ दे तो हम उससे मुक्ति पा सकते हैं। हम सब एक बार गोमवार को अनाज खाना बन्द कर दें, यह उसका उपाय है। सारे देश ने इसको स्वीकार किया। क्या इसी प्रकार का नेतृत्व आप देश को प्रदान करने की क्षमता रखते हैं? अपने व्यवहार को सुधारिये, नहीं तो आज हम ग्रुप सेवन की गुलामी की ओर चलते जा रहे हैं (समय की घंटी)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The time is running out of our hands.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: I will conclude only in one minute.



**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA):** You have already taken 5 or 6 minutes in excess.

**SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR:**

मैं आपसे दो मिनट का समय मांग रहा हूँ। कभी कभी आप इनायत कर देते हैं इसलिए आपसे कह रहा हूँ। जो नीतियाँ हैं हम सात इंडस्ट्रियल नेशंस की गुलामी की ओर बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। सन 1947 में हमने आर्थिक स्वाधीनता प्रण की थी। जिस ढंग से हम आज की नीतियाँ ला रहे हैं, मुझे यह लग रहा है कि हम वॉशिंगटन की आर्थिक गुलामी की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं। यह बजट देश की आर्थिक गुलामी की घंटी बजा रहा है जो हमने कुछ तरीके बताए हैं उनसे अनुसार चल कर आप इसको रोक सकते हैं। स्वाधीनता को लाइये, स्वावलम्बन को लाइये, सादगी को लाइये जिससे लोगों को लगे

that there is transparency of character with the Government which is running.

आज वलार जो आफ अर्थार्थी हो रहा है। इसको अगर आप रोक सकते हैं तो इसको रोकिये। आपके सामने ब्राज़ील और अर्जेंटीना के उदाहरण रखे गए हैं हैं। अगर आपको विदेशी उदाहरणों से सीखना हो तो मैं यह कहूँगा कि सन 1947 में जब हम स्वाधीन हुए तो साहूकार थे। जर्मनी और जापान की फैक्टरी की एक एक ईंट उठा कर इंग्लैंड, अमरीका और रूस ले गये। आज 40 साल के बाद वही जर्मनी और जापान दुनिया को डंके की चोट पर आर्थिक चुनौती दे रहा है।

Deutsche Mark and yen are more powerful than dollar and pound.

अगर आप अपना सकते हैं तो वह रास्ता अपनाइये। उन्होंने टाइटनिंग आफ वेल्ड किया, सेविंग की। बड़े से बड़े नेता ने जनता के सामने उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करके दिखाया। मेरे कुछ मित्रों ने बताया जो सात-आठ साल बाद जर्मनी गये कि वहाँ के चांसलर और मजदूरों ने कोर्ट में पत्रादेश लगाए, पैट में पत्रादेश लगाए और नये कपड़े नहीं पहनाए तथा सेविंग करके देश का नवनिर्माण किया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर हम को देश को बचाना है तो हमें खून पसीना एक करके इस देश का आर्थिक निर्माण करना पड़ेगा। जो अपव्यय हमने किया है, उस पर रोक लगानी पड़ेगी। जब तक रोक नहीं लगाएंगे और बाहर से कर्ज लेकर 'ऋणम कृत्वा घृतम पिबेत' की नीति पर चलेंगे तो आने वाली पीढ़ियों को हमें कर्ज में डूबोते जायेंगे। मेरा आपके माध्यम से सरकार से निवेदन है कि बड़े संकट की स्थिति में आपने शासन को सम्भाला है, देश को गुलामी की तरफ न ले जा कर स्वाधीनता की ओर ले जाने के लिए कदम उठयें तब हम बजट का समर्थन करेंगे, अन्यथा नहीं। आज का बजट गुलामी का बजट है, इसलिए मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ।

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA**

(Bihar): I have a point of clarification. I had raised a matter in this House during Zero Hour and the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs had stated that, he would try and come back to the House with full facts by today. I would like to know from the Government as to what has happened to that matter, whether they will come back with full facts to the House today, about Mr. Dixon's suicide and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's murder case. Will somebody from the Government react and tell us what exactly we are in for? We must know because we have to make our programme accordingly.

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry):** Today morning the hon. Minister of State for Home Affairs said that after collecting all the information he possibly will come to the House. He did not commit for today. (Interruptions)

**SHRI YASHWANT SINHA:** Mr. Narayanasamy can't say anything on behalf of the Government. I do not know whether he has been promoted. Have you been inducted in place or Mr. Rama Murthy? Are you... (Interruptions) Have you taken over in place of Mr. Rama Murthy? There

are Ministers present in the House and they can answer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR.

NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Narayanasamy, you are not expected to say anything on behalf of the Minister. The Minister is there. He will react. Please take your seat. (*Interrupt-Rsns*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am just telling what happened in the morning. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: I want to know, is the Minister coming back with the reply today with full facts? Is he making a statement today or not? This is a thing in which the whole House is interested in knowing

वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री डलवीर सिंह) : पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर ने यह रिक्वेस्ट किया था उस वक़्त उप-सभापति महोदयों भी यहां थीं, कि जब फैक्ट्स एंड फिगर्स आ जाएंगे उस आधार पर उसको यहां रखा जाएगा ।

श्री यशवन्त सिन्हा : उन्होंने यह कहा था कि वे आज भी प्रयास करेंगे आने के लिए। अगर आज संभव नहीं होगा तो कल अवश्य करेंगे। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आज वे इस स्थिति में हैं या नहीं हैं? आज वे इस स्थिति में हैं (व्यवधान) अधूरा नहीं, वे बतायें कि आज करेंगे, कल करेंगे। ये क्यों नहीं बता रहे हैं कि आज करना है, कल करना है। सरकार में कोई नहीं है जो यह बात बता सकता है कि आज करना है या कल करना है।

श्री डलवीर सिंह : वह प्रयास जारी है। आज नहीं तो... (व्यवधान)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Our Government is more efficient than your Government.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA: That is what you are saying here every

day. And Mr. Narayanasamy, we are seeing here three or four parliamentary *faux pas* a day. That is your record.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The Government has taken note of the point and the Parliamentary Affairs Minister will come and inform the House.

श्री अश्वनी कुमार : मेरा यह निवेदन होगा कि आप कोई समय बांध दें 15 मिनट या अर्ध घंटा जिसमें कि आकर ये सूचित करेंगे ताकि उस हिसाब से हम भी अपना कुछ प्रोग्राम बनायें और इंतज़ार कर सकें।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): He will inform the House in what position he is now.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: Where is he? He is absent.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): He has to collect the information and he will then come to the House.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: Is he coming today or tomorrow? Let him tell us within half an hour. It is my request. You ask the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to come within half an hour to take the House into confidence as to what he is going to do. We are not dictating as to what he should do. Let him take us into confidence.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Okay. I shall ask the Parliamentary Affairs Minister to come and inform the House. Now, Shri S. S. Ahluwalia. I know you can speak very efficiently for hours together and with all merit. But we have very little time in our hands. I know this also that you can be very brief even with all the heavy thoughts.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): You know all my qualities, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Knowing all your qualities, I hope that you will be very brief...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I will be very brief, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA):...and you will conclude within the time allotted.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: The Budget is very big, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Your speech will prove your efficiency, how brief you could be.

**श्री अश्विनी कुमार :** पार्लियामेंटी अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर आ गये हैं। अगर वे रिप्लेट करना चाहते हैं तो हम लोग प्रसन्नता से सुनना चाहेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Mr. Minister, Shri Yashwant Sinha and others want to know what information you could collect.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Sir, I told the House in the morning that I am making efforts to get the information from Coimbatore about the question they have asked. If I am able to get all the information today, I will come before the House. I have not received all the necessary information yet Sir, I cannot make it now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): So, today you are not going to make?

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You are not going to make any statement today?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: No.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Tomorrow?

SHRI M. M. JACOB: Subject to the collection of the information. I am collecting the information.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please collect the information. And after collection, you inform the House.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: You are not serious about the investigation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Now, Mr. Ahluwalia.

**श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनरल बजट पर अभी यहां बैठकर मैं जो भाषा सुन रहा था वह भाषण सुनते सुनते मैं सोच रहा था कि सोये लोगों को जगाना जरूरी है.. (व्यवधान) जो जागते हुए सो रहे हैं उन्होंने को जगाने की कोशिश में हूं क्योंकि जब उन्होंने कुछ मंत्रियों, पदाधिकाारियों और नेताओं के नाम पर आरोप लगाये कि उनके सकारों को जरा देखें तो मैं उसी वक़्त उठकर कहना चाहता था कि सुन्दर लाल पटवा का घर भी जाकर झांक कर देख लें। सुन्दर लाल पटवा के क्रियाकलाप भी जरा सुन लें और उन पर कुछ कार्यवाही कर लें तो मैं शायद पतार्थ हो जाता और इस देश की जनता भी पतार्थ हो जाती कि इनकी कथनी और करनी में कोई फर्क नहीं है, ये जो कहते हैं वह करते हैं।

**श्री अश्विनी कुमार :** चला जाए। देख लिया जाए। चलिए, देखने के लिए हम तैयार हैं.. (व्यवधान) वो देखकर अये हैं उनके परम मित्रों में से हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): The person who is not present in the House should not be referred to here.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Sir, he is a Chief Minister. I belong to the Council of States.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Confine to the Budget.

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Don't take wrong brief.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: Are you passing aspersions on the Chair? i

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: I am not passing aspersions on the Chair. If wrong information is given, it is wrong.

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : उन्होंने किसी का नाम नहीं लिया। चोर की दाढ़ी में तिरका। .... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): I request the Members to confine their speech to the Budget and not make any irrelevant statement which can provoke other Members.

श्री हेच. हनुमन्तप्पा : टोका-टोकी तो पालियमेट्रो डिस्कशन का सिस्टम है। वह टोका-टोकी करें और हम लोग चुप रहे, यह नहीं होगा। .... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): When your turn comes you speak. You should riot interrupt.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Ashwani Kumar spoke about the Ministers of Congress Government. How are the BJP Ministers behaving? Is it wrong?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): No interruptions. To make interruptions is not a parliamentary practice.

SHRI ASHWANI KUMAR: No... (Interruptions).

उनके पास तीन बंगले हैं, आप भी जानते हैं और मैं भी जानता हूँ। (व्यवधान)

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: Mr. Hanumanthappa, I don't need any

अगर सदन सिर्फ जनरल बजट पर ही सीमित रहता और अपने सीनरों में बांध कर ही चर्चाएँ होतीं, तो शायद इस संविधान में अधिकारों की रक्षा करने वाले मंदिर से जो आदेश निकलते, वह पालित होते। पर इनकी परम्पराओं को किसने तोड़ा है? इनकी परम्पराओं को किसने धराशायी किया है? किसी सदस्य के फिलफ बात करने से पहले यह सोचने की भी जरूरत है।

राष्ट्रीय बजट पर चर्चा करने हम आ तो रह हैं, पर उससे पहले हम जो राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं को सामने नहीं रखते हुए हमने दूसरी राष्ट्रीय समस्याएँ खड़ी की हुई हैं, सारे विश्व का ध्यान उन समस्याओं की तरफ है, सारी सरकार का ध्यान उन समस्याओं की तरफ है, जिससे अगर पूरी तरह से उसको कोलह में डाल कर चलाया भी जाए, तो तेल नहीं निकलता, सिर्फ समस्याएँ निकलती हैं और वह समस्याएँ खड़ी करने वाली पार्टी है—भारतीय जनता पार्टी, जिसने हमारे मुल्क में राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं की एक बाढ़ लाकर सामने खड़ी कर दी है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : 42 साल में हम ने राज करके गरीबी खड़ी है और कर्जा बढ़ाया है यह आप स्वीकार कर रहे हैं, तो हम स्वीकार कर लेते हैं।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आज देश में क्षत्रीयवाद की बात किसने उठाई, आज देश में जातीयवाद की बात किसने उठाई है, आज देश में सांप्रदायवाद की बात किसने उठाई है? आज देश में एक-एक घर के अंदर पार्टीशन की दहलीज या एक दहलीज पर जो दीवार खड़ी की है—हिंदू और सिख की, सिख और मुसलमान की, मुसलमान की और हिंदू की, वह कौनसी पार्टी है। कौनसी पार्टी कहती है कि गवं से कहो कि मैं हिंदू

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]  
ह? कौनसी पार्टी है जो कहती है—  
“जो हिंदू हिंसा में लगे रहेंगे, वही  
देश में राज करेंगे”? वह कौनसी पार्टी  
है, वह किसकी पार्टी है?

श्री रफीक आलम (बिहार) : पूरी  
कंट्री को खत्म कर रहे हैं।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
क्या मैं उस पार्टी का सदस्य हूँ? राष्ट्रीय  
संस्थाओं का सम्मान करना डाला है  
इन्होंने बगैर को राज लोचना करने से  
पहले उस से उस अपनी स्वीकार शोषों  
में देखें कि हमारे बेहरे जिस तरह से  
लहू में रंगे हुए हैं।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : 1984 में  
हमों ने यह हिन्दू-सिख रकट करवाने के  
लिए। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
वह किसने करवाये हैं? ... (व्यवधान)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : पता करिए  
ना। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
वह हमने अच्छी तरह से जान ली है।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : इन्वयरी रिपोर्ट  
देखो, उस पर एक्शन लो। ... (व्यव-  
धान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
इन्वयरी रिपोर्ट यह कहती है कि दिल्ली  
का हर दूसरा घर जनसंघ का है,  
भारतीय जनता पार्टी का है और आप  
गर्व से कहते हैं आप 1984 में कहां थे?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : हमने सहायता  
की थी। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
बी.जे.पी. का कोई एन.डी. कार्यकर्ता  
खड़ा होकर कह दे कि मैंने किसी सिख  
की गर्दन बटने में बचाई थी तो मैं उस  
बी.जे.पी. के कार्यकर्ता का सिर सोने  
से मढ़वा दूंगा।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : हमारे चार  
कार्यकर्ता उसमें मारे गए हैं, 4 कार्यकर्ता  
सिखों को बचाते हुए मारे गए हैं। कहिए,  
तो नाम ले दूंगा?

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप लोग  
देशव्यापी दंगा कराना चाहते हैं?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : दंगे आपने  
करव ए हैं। सन् 1947 में हुए। ...  
(व्यवधान)

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : गुरुद्वारे में  
ग्रंथ साहिब की प्रणाम करने जाने वाले  
जो यात्रा थे उनको आपने वसों से उतार  
करके गोली सरवया और आप बात  
करते हैं... (व्यवधान) आपको सरकार  
देशव्यापी दंगा कराना चाहती है। ...  
(व्यवधान) क्या मुसलमानों को हिन्दू  
सह सगर में डुवाएंगे, बंगाल को खाड़ी  
में डुवाएंगे? मुसलमान इल्पसंख्या वहां  
जएंगे, सरदार कहां जाएगा? ....  
(व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
मैं तो बड़े आँकड़े इकट्ठे करके लाया  
था। .... (व्यवधान)

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : हमने कैबिनेट  
मिनिस्टर उत्तर प्रदेश को सरकार में  
सरदार को भी बनाया है और मुसलमान  
को भी बनाया है।

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : वह आगज  
के फूल की तरह आपने बना रखा है  
नेम जो इस सदन का मुसलमान,  
असली फूल नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अभी जो बयान्य सामने  
रखा गया, मैं पिछले हफ्ते पीलीभीत  
घूम कर आया हूँ, जहाँ इसकी सरकार  
चलती है। 29 जून को जो यत्नी गुरु  
गोविन्द सिंह के जन्म स्थान पटना सहिब  
का दर्शन करने गए और 2 तथा 3 तारीख  
को पटना सहिब गुरुद्वारे में वे 25  
आदमी सराय में रहे। उसकी फोटो काफी  
मेरे पास है। वहाँ की सराय की जो  
लिस्ट है, जो रजिस्टर है उसकी फोटो

कापी मेरे पास है। 5 से 8 तारीख तक वह सीढ़ी बाह्य सब खंड हज़ूर साहेब गुरु साहिब की जो समाधि है वहां दर्शन करने गए। वहां के रजिस्टर की भी फोटो कापी मेरे पास है जो बत्ती गए। उनके बाद इंदौर होते हुए ग्वालियर होकर बंडोछोड़ गुरुद्वारे ग्वालियर जिले में दर्शन करके 12 तारीख सुबह कचलाघाट पहुंचे। वहां इसके हितायता वह सुपरिटेण्डेंट पुलिस, जो अपने कार्यकलापों के लिए मशहूर है, जिन्होंने मलियाना में कुछ नौजवानों को मार कर उनके पोरों के साथ बालू के बोरे और पत्थर बांध कर उन्हें नहर में फिकवा दिया। जब बीस-बीस दिन बाद उनकी लाशें फूल कर ऊपर आईं तब वे पहचाने गए। वह त्रिपाठी, एस. पी. जिसके दिमाग में एक जूनन है, जो इनको उसी पार्टी का सदस्य है, जो कहती है कि गर्व से कहो, मैं हिन्दू हूं।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : वहां किसका राज था, आपने उस पर कोई एक्शन लिया ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : एक्शन तो हम ले रहे थे, उसका एक्शन विदड़ों किसने किया ?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : गुरुदासपुर का एस. पी. बता रहा है कि ये आतंकवादी थे।.... (व्यवधान) जरा उसको भी पढ़ लो। अब तुम ही ने उसे एस. पी. बना कर पीलीभीत में रखा हुआ है।.... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : इस घटना के 15 दिन पहले उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री कल्याण सिंह महोदय ने यह सारे केस विदड़ों किए और 12 तारीख को इनको सुबह दस बजे कचलाघाट में बस से उतार कर जीप में बिठा लिया और रात को तीन हिस्सों में बांट कर मुठभेड़ दिखा दिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज तक उनकी लाशों को पहचानने वाला कोई नहीं पहुंचा और उनकी लाशें जला दी गई। आज तक पीलीभीत के जो तरिन्द्र सिंह और लखाविन्द्र सिंह हैं, उनके घर में

आज तक उत्तर प्रदेश प्रशासन की हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि जाकर कहे कि आपके बच्चे भी इसमें सारे गए हैं। आपने किससे मुठभेड़ की ? तीर्थ यात्रियों के साथ, जिनके पास आम काटने के लिए चाकू तक नहीं था और आप कहते हैं कि इस देश में सरकार चलाना चाहते थे। आप ऐसी सरकार बनाना चाहते हैं ?

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : हमने तो जुड़ी-थियल इन्कवायरी घोषित कर दी है। आपने 1980 से 1990 तक क्या किया है, जरा उसे भी देख लीजिए। पंजाब के बेटों को आपने क्या बना दिया ? आपने उन्हें खालिस्तानी बना दिया है। आप आतंकवादी बना रहे हैं। हम तो आपके पाप धोने आए हैं।.... (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप राम मंदिर में जाकर नाटक मत कीजिए।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : आप नाटक कर रहे हैं।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : राम मंदिर के नाम पर जनता को बरगला रहे हैं।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : आप भी नहीं बरगलाइए, फैक्टस बताइए।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप जो कार्य कर रहे हैं, वह देश को तोड़ने वाला है।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : सन 47 में आपने ही देश को तोड़ा है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. NAGEN SAIKIA): Please don't enter into arguments.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने 1952 से कांग्रेस का इतिहास पढ़ा। नेहरू जी के जमाने से बजट को खींचते आए। मैं इनका बजट भाषण सुन रहा था। महोदय, इस मुल्क को आजाद करने वाले जो स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानी थे, चाहे जिन्होंने फांसी के फंदे चूमे हों, चाहे काले पानी की सजा काटी हो, चाहे कामागता-

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

मारु जहाज पर चढ़कर आए हों और शहीद हो गए हों—उन सब का सपना कुछ और था। यदि उसे बापू के शब्दों में, राष्ट्रपिता के शब्दों में एक वाक्य में कहें तो वह सोने का भारत बनाना चाहते थे। पर यह किसी एक दल को वर्दाशत नहीं था और वही दल आज भी इस चीज को वर्दाशत करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है कि यह भारत, स्वर्णिम भारत हो, इस भारत का इतिहास स्वर्णिम अक्षरों में लिखा जाय, इस भारत का भारतीय, सिर ऊंचा करके घूम सके। आज भी यह वर्दाशत नहीं है। यही कारण था कि गांधी जी को पैर छूने के बहाने, पैर छूने हुए उनको गोली मार दी गयी। महोदय, भांग्य की विडंबना देखिए कि यह वही ताकतें हैं, ये वही लोग हैं जिन्होंने भारत को, स्वर्णिम भारत बनने से रोका है और आज जब राजीव गांधी आत्म-निर्भरता की बात करते थे, तो उसी तरह पैर छूने का बहाना बनाकर राजीव गांधी की भी हत्या की गयी। इन ताकतों में आज भी कोई फर्क नहीं आया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस पूरे देश को अगर मैं अपने परिवार के रूप में देखू तो किसी भी परिवार की प्रोग्रेस, उसकी प्रोस्पेरिटी, उस परिवार में शांति, उस परिवार में संपदा तभी आ सकती है जब कि परिवार में एकता हो, जब परिवार एक हो, एक होकर खड़ा हो तभी वह बलिष्ठ परिवार बन सकता है। महोदय, गांव में लोग घबराते हैं कि वह परिवार बलिष्ठ है क्योंकि एक है। पर उस परिवार को तोड़ने की सबसे तेज कोशिश, 1947 से जब आजादी मिली तभी से एक तरह से शुरू कर दी गयी। किसी ने हिंदू महासभा बना ली और नारे लगाना शुरू किए। “हिंदी, हिंदू, हिंदुस्तान” के नारे लगे और लोगों को गुमराह करने की और इस मुल्क को कमजोर करने की कोशिश जारी रही। पर आजादी के बाद जो लोगों में देश प्रेम की भावना थी, उस कारण देश इन सारी चीजों को कमजोर कर अपने पथ पर अग्रसर होता रहा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर)  
पीठासीन हुए।

SHRIMATI MIRA DAS (Orissa): It is a budget speech or about history?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA: When we are taking about the Budget, we should know the history. A man, in this country, is known by history only.

आदमी कुत्ता भी खरीदने जाता है तो उसकी पिडिग्री पूछता है।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : अरे भाई भजन सुनाओ।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : बजट की पिडिग्री पर आ जाइए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर) : आगे बोलिए अहलुवालिया जी।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : अगर आप भजन सुनना चाहते हैं तो वह भी सुना देता हूं क्योंकि मैं प्रवचन भी कर सकता हूं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे कहने का मकसद यह है कि राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं का सामना करने के लिए एक बलिष्ठ और एकजुट भारत चाहिए।

पर वह एकजुट भारत होने नहीं दिया। कहीं तो किसी ने नारा लगाया कि मैं हिंदू हूं, किसी ने नारा लगाया कि मैं मुसलमान हूं, कोई सिख है, तो कोई ईसाई है। हालत उससे भी बदतर हो गई जब नारा लगने लगा कि मैं बंगाली हूं, मैं बिहारी हूं, मैं असमी हूं, मैं पंजाबी हूं, मैं उड़िया हूं, मैं तमिल हूं, मैं कन्नड़ हूं, मैं आंध्रा का हूं, मैं मराठी हूं, मैं गुजराती हूं। इस तरह के नारे जब लगे तो देश और कमजोर होने लगा। आखिर यह सब क्या है ?

मान्यवर, अगर एक आदमी का जो शरीर है, उसका हर अंग कहने लगे कि मैं अलग हूं और प्राण से अलग होकर बात करने लगे तो उस प्राण-विहीन अंग का क्या अस्तित्व है ? आज हमारे देश की

अवस्था वही है। बजट चाहे जैसा हो, उस बजट को चलने कौन देता है? आप देखें, पार्लियामेंट में प्रायग्रिटी क्या है? प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि अरबों का बजट चार दिन में पास कर दिया जाता है, रात के अंधेरे में पास कर दिया जाता है, चाहे सरकार किसी की रहे। चार-पांच मेम्बर बैठकर पास कर देते हैं। क्यों? क्योंकि प्रायग्रिटी आज क्या है? प्रायग्रिटी टेराग्रिज्म है। प्रायग्रिटी क्या है? कम्युनलिज्म है। प्रायग्रिटी क्या है? सेपरेटिज्म है। प्रायग्रिटी क्या है? लॉ एण्ड ऑर्डर है। प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि गांव के लोगों को पानी मिला है या नहीं मिला है? प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि स्कूल में बच्चे जाते हैं तो वहां शिक्षिका जाती है या नहीं जाती है। प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि अगर स्कूल के नाम पर अनुदान दिया जाता है तो वहां वाकई में बिल्डिंग है या नहीं है। प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि उस स्कूल में ब्लैकबोर्ड है या नहीं है। प्रायग्रिटी यह नहीं है कि स्कूल के बच्चों को किताबें मिलती हैं या नहीं मिलती हैं और उस बच्चों को जो रोज का नून-मील देने के लिए पैसा जाता है तो उनको खाना पहुंचता है या नहीं पहुंचता है। यह प्रायग्रिटी नहीं है। आप अपने विवेक से पूछें कि कितने दिन आपने इन चीजों पर चर्चा सदन में किया है! कितनी ही मिनिस्टरीज ऐसी हैं, जिनके बारे में सदन में चर्चा ही नहीं हुई है। कितनी बार आपने चर्चा करके देखा है कि वाकई यह प्रायग्रिटी है या वह प्रायग्रिटी है? प्रायग्रिटी है, मैं देखता हूं, जीरो आवर में पुरा हाऊस भरा रहता है और जब रेल बजट का भाषण हो रहा था, रेल बजट पास हो रहा था तो सिर्फ सात सदस्य थे हाउस में। फिर आप प्रायग्रिटी कैसे मान रहे हैं?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब तक हम अपना नेशनल करेक्टर नहीं बनाएंगे, जब तक अपने आपको हिंदू, सिख, ईसाई, मुस्लिम बोलने से छोड़कर अपने आपको भारतीय नहीं कहेंगे तब तक इस बजट की महत्ता हमारे सामने कुछ नहीं है क्योंकि हम अंकुश नहीं लगा सकते हैं, हमारे में हिम्मत नहीं है कि हम करप्शन रोक सकें

क्योंकि हम व्यस्त हैं अपने कार्यकलापों में, अपनी राजनीति में। जब तक हम यह नहीं सोचेंगे कि कैसे राष्ट्रीय संपदा, राष्ट्रीय आय, राष्ट्रीय संपत्ति की रक्षा की जा सकती है, जैसा कि अभी हम कह रहे थे कि ब्लैकमनी निकालने के लिए यह बाईसवीं बार, तेईसवीं बार चांस दिया गया है, मेरा कहने का मतलब है कि जब तक हमको यह पता नहीं होगा कि राष्ट्रीय संपत्ति और राष्ट्रीय आय इसमें एकवट होती है तब तक इस तरह के चोर रहेंगे ही और इस तरह के टैक्स-इवेशन करेंगे ही। तो हर चीज के लिए जरूरत है राष्ट्रीय चरित्र की और वह राष्ट्रीय चरित्र जब तक नहीं आता तब तक आप राष्ट्रीय आय नहीं बढ़ा सकते, राष्ट्रीय व्यय नहीं रोक सकते। इन सब चीजों के लिए राष्ट्रीय चरित्र बनाना पड़ेगा और वह राष्ट्रीय चरित्र हमारे पास नहीं है। अब माननीय सदस्य उठकर चले गए, अपना भाषण दे दिया और चले गए। उनको जवाब कैसे दें?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर): टाकीकली वह सुन रहे हैं। आप अपना भाषण करते रहिए।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: राष्ट्रीय चरित्र का जब तक गठन नहीं होगा, तब तक हमें राष्ट्रीय महत्व का पता नहीं लगगा और जब तक... (व्यवधान)

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा: (बिहार) अश्विनी कुमार जी मैदान छोड़कर चले गए हैं।... (व्यवधान)...

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: आप तो बैठी हैं।

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा: हम तो बैठी रहेंगी।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया: उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मेन मुद्दा है बजट का कि जब तक हम ऐसा चरित्र नहीं बनाएंगे तब तक यह हमारे लिए आंकड़ों का एक पुलिन्दा ही है और इस



[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

आंकड़ों के पुलिन्दे में, भूल-भूलैया में कुछ नहीं है। यह मोटे-मोटे बजट के पेश और हमारी विजनेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी का निर्देश कि चार दिन के अंदर इसका फैसला कर देना है, चार की बजाए अगर तीन में हो जाए तो वह भी कर देना है। तो इसका कोई फायदा नहीं है, इसको समझने की जरूरत है क्योंकि हम बजट का तो यहां फैसला करते हैं पर गांव में वैसे इंसान को पता ही नहीं कि उसके बच्चे के लिए कितना पैसा खर्च करना हुआ है, वहां एनिमल हमब्रेडरी के लिए कितना पैसा आ रहा है या पीने के पानी के लिए या स्कूल के लिए या अस्पताल के लिए कितना पैसा आ रहा है? उसे तो पता ही नहीं लगता और वह पैसा ऊपर ही ऊपर दूसरे की जेब में चना जाता है और जब वहां पर निरीक्षण किया जाता है तो पाया जाता है कि वहां तो स्कूल है तो नहीं, वहां तो नलकूप है तो नहीं। ... (व्यवधान) ... मैं कह रहा हूं कि राष्ट्रीय चरित्र जिनका नहीं है, जिनकी की जेब में जा रहा है, वह मैं भी हूं, आप भी हैं।

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : आप ही की जेब में जा रहा है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : मैं तो कह रहा हूं कि मेरी और आपको, दोनों की जेब में जा रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रशेखर पी० ठाकुर) : अहलुवालिया जी, आपसे अनुरोध है कि अपना भाषण जारी रखिए।

श्री नरेश सो० पुगलिया (महाराष्ट्र) : अभी बजट पर तो कुछ ही नहीं किया है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : अभी तो वार्म-अप हो रहा हूं। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं इस बजट की बहुत ज्यादा आलोचना या समालोचना के चक्कर में नहीं पड़ना चाहता क्योंकि इन आंकड़ों के हिसाब में मैं नहीं पड़ना चाहता क्योंकि ये आंकड़े ऐसी चीज हैं जो आदमी को कम्प्यूज करने के सिवाय और कुछ नहीं करते। मार्च के बाद डिबैल्यूएशन हुआ

रफा का और डिबैल्यूएशन होने के बाद उसका सबसे ज्यादा फर्क पड़ा है, मैं आंकड़ों में क्यों नहीं पड़ना चाहता यह बता दें, क्योंकि मेरी समझ में नहीं आया, हो सकता है मंत्री जी को समझ आया हो। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, थोड़ा सा ध्यान देंगे आप।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रशेखर पी० ठाकुर) : हां। मैं ध्यान दे रहा हूं।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आप कहते हैं कि आपको एड्रेस कहां आप उभर देख रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रशेखर पी० ठाकुर) : नहीं, सुन रहे हैं। ... (व्यवधान) ... आवाज इतनी बुलन्द है कि कोई चारा ही नहीं है, सुनना ही पड़ेगा।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कहा कि आंकड़ मेरे को कम समझ आते हैं। आप इकानामिस्ट भी हैं, मेरे को तो समझ में नहीं आए। मार्च में...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रशेखर पी० ठाकुर) : आप उन झमेले में नहीं पड़िए, दूसरी बात कहिए।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उस झमेले में नहीं पड़ रहा हूं, इसलिए मेरे को समझा दीजिए आप।

श्री विठ्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल (गुजरात) : अब इनको कल बोलने दीजिए, 6.00 बज खतम कीजिए। हम सुबह के बैठे हैं, खाना खाने भी नहीं गए।

डा० रत्नाकर पा डेय : हां, खतम कीजिए आप। आप सारे सदस्यों की राय ले लीजिए।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : क्या हाउस एडजॉर्न कर रहे हैं आप?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रशेखर पी० ठाकुर) : नहीं, नहीं।  
Next Speaker is already in.

श्री बिठ्ठलसाई मोतीराम पटेल : नहीं, नहीं। यह रोज नहीं हो सकता। ... (व्यवधान) ...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: It is our desire to complete the debate. (Interruptions)

Rs.6. 00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The Minister wants to make some observation.. (Interruptions) ...

SHRI M. M. JACOB: This is our own Parliament. Mr. Ahluwalia is speaking. Don't disturb him.

SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL: He can speak tomorrow also.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): If you listen to him now, he will not speak tomorrow!

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मेरे को एक चीज समझ में नहीं आयी कि मार्च, 1991-92 का जो बजट एट ए ग्लेंस निकाला गया उसके बाद रुपये का डिबैल्यूएशन हुआ और रुपये का डिबैल्यूएशन उन-उन मिनिस्ट्रियों पर बहुत जरूरी से लागू होता है जहां पर हम चीजों को इंपोर्ट करते हैं। जो चीजें इंपोर्ट और एक्सपोर्ट से जुड़ी हुई हैं उस पर बहुत फर्क पड़ता है। महोदय, मैं जिन डिपार्टमेंट्स को उसमें आइडेंटिफाई करता हूं—इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स, साइंस एंड टेक्नोलॉजी, ओशन डेवलपमेंट, इन चीजों में मार्च में जितना पैसा सैंक्शन था जुलाई में उतना ही दिखाया गया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है कि हम लोगों ने पीछे बिना किसी ब्लड शैड के करीब डेढ़ लाख नौटिकल माइल्स एरिया समुद्र में लिया जो एक्म-क्लूविड इकोनॉमिक जोन है हमारा और पिछले कई वर्षों से हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि वहां ओशन डेवलपमेंट में पैसा लगा कर उसकी टेक्नीक हमारे पास नहीं है, हम बाहर से टेक्नीक लाकर और वहां पाली मेटलिक नाइलून हैं उनको

निकाल कर उसमें काफी विदेशी मुद्रा अर्जन कर सकते हैं, पर वह आज तक नहीं कर सके और जब डिबैल्यूएशन भी हो रहा है तब भी आप उसमें प्रावधान नहीं बढ़ा रहे हैं, आप वहीं के वहीं अटक गए हैं और तो और ओशन डेवलपमेंट में एक ऐसी चीज है कि अगर वहां पर इन्फ्रा-स्ट्रक्चर पूरा तैयार किया जाये तो ओशन डेवलपमेंट के अंदर शुरू में टूना फिश पकड़ कर करीब एक साल के अंदर 8 मिलियन डालर कमाया जा सकता है और हमें इतनी विदेशी मुद्रा मिल सकती है पर हमारा कोई कोशिश नहीं, हमारे आंकड़े मार्च के और जुलाई के वहीं के वहीं खड़े हुये हैं जबकि इन बीच हमने रुपये का डिबैल्यूएशन भी किया है, जो डालर के साथ, पाउंड और स्टर्लिंग के साथ और येन के साथ में फर्क पड़ता है। आखिर ऐसा विचार क्यों है और इसको हम पूरा कैसे करेंगे? दूसरी बात है महोदय, मैं बहुत ज्यादा समालोचना नहीं करता, पर मंत्री महोदय से मैं पूछना चाहूंगा आपके माध्यम से कि इस बजट के मायम से आपने ग्रीन रेट क्या लिया है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर) :  
फोर परसेंट ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
और उस ग्रीन रेट में आप कितने लोगों के लिये एम्प्लॉयमेंट जेनरेट कर सकेंगे?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Nine hundred million. That is what the budget says.

श्रीमती कमला सिन्हा : आपका 13 मिनट है... (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया :  
13 मिनट में तो गरमी आती है... (व्यवधान) मैडम, आप परेजान करती रहेंगी तो यहीं बैठी रहेंगी और हम बोलते रहेंगे.... (व्यवधान) उधर ही पूछिये।

महोदय, यहां बड़ी चर्चाएं हो रही थीं कि कोई आई. एम. एफ. कह रहा था,

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया] कोई आई. डी. ए. कह रहा था, कोई कुछ कह रहा था, यह पुरानी परम्परा है हमारे देश को बांटने की और यह परम्परा पहले आती थी कि कभी मोहम्मद गजनवी आता था, कभी मोहम्मद गौरी आता था, कभी ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी आयी, कभी फ्रेंच आये थे और कभी पुर्तगैज आये थे। उस वक्त एक कंसेप्ट था वर्ल्ड में टैरिटोरियल एक्सपेंशन का। उस वक्त एक कंसेप्ट था वर्ल्ड में टैरिटोरियल एक्सपेंशन का, अपने क्षेत्रों को बढ़ाने का और जब नारे विश्व में यह परिणाम सामने आया कि टैरिटोरियल एक्सपेंशन कभी-कभी लैबलिटी बन जाता है तो उन्होंने यह कंसेप्ट छोड़कर मार्किट एक्सपेंशन की बात सोची और आज यह मार्केट एक्सपेंशन की ही बात है। आज उन्हें कहीं अपना यूनिशन जैक नहीं लगाना है, अपना झंडा नहीं लगाना है बल्कि अपने कंट्री के डेवलप का मैटीरियल बेचने के लिए उन्हें बाजार चाहिए और वे भारत को बाजार बनाना चाहते हैं। महोदय, उस बाजार को रोवने का सबसे अच्छा तरीका यह होता कि हम इस मैक्रो और माइक्रो इकोनोमिक्स को भूलकर इस मुल्क के सीधे-सादे गांवों के लोगों के बारे में सोचने और उनकी परचेजिंग पावर बढ़ाते, उनकी परचेजिंग कैपेसिटी बढ़ाते, ओवरऑल इकोनोमिक डेवलपमेंट की बात करते क्योंकि जब देहात के लोगों की परचेजिंग पावर बढ़ेगी तो कंज्यूमर मार्केट बढ़ेगी और तभी कंज्यूमर प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा और तभी इस देश में आत्मनिर्भरता आ सकेगी। जब तक हम अपने देश के लोगों की परचेजिंग कैपेसिटी नहीं बढ़ाएंगे, तब तक हम अपने देश में आत्मनिर्भरता नहीं ला सकते हैं। हम भारतीय जरूर कहलाएंगे पर हमारे बाजारों में माल विदेशों का ही मिलेगा। जिस तरह इस पार्लियामेंट में भी जो हैड-फोन लगा हुआ है, उसके नीचे एक स्टिकर लगा है—“मेड इन हॉलैंड”।

महोदय, जब तक हम अपने मार्केट को अपने कंट्रोल में नहीं रखेंगे, जब तक हम आत्मनिर्भरता की बात नहीं लाएंगे, तब तक यह बजट और हमारे भाषण

और हमारी चर्चाएं व्यर्थ हैं। इससे बचने के लिए जरूरी है कि फॉरेन पावर्स का जो मार्केट हमारे यहां है, उसको दूर करने के लिए अपने मुल्क के लोगों की परचेजिंग पावर को हम बढ़ाएं और उसके लिए जरूरी है कि ऐसी इकनॉमिक पालिसी लाएं जो हमारे लोगों को उनको भाषा में समझ आ सके। महोदय, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई कि मार्केट के बाद रुपए की कीमत घटी है और उसके बावजूद आप कुछ महत्वपूर्ण मिनिस्ट्रीज को पैसा नहीं दे रहे हैं जिनका काम इंपोर्ट पर चलता है। इसका मतलब यह है कि आप उनका काम कम कर रहे हैं और वे एमे डिपार्टमेंट हैं जो आपको सैल्फ-रिलायेंस की तरफ ले जा सकते हैं।

महोदय, हमारे पूर्वजों का एक सपना था कि हम एजुकेशन फॉर ऑल, हेल्थ फॉर ऑल, जस्टिस फॉर ऑल, वाटर फॉर ऑल का एक कंसेप्ट लेकर चलेगे पर वह सपना कहीं कहीं टूट जाता है और बिखर जाता है क्योंकि हमारा ध्यान इन टारगेट्स से हटकर दूर निकल जाता है और हमें विभ्रात होकर कहीं और चल जाते हैं। हम यह नहीं सोच पाते कि बाकई हम रास्ट्र-निर्माण कर रहे हैं या अपनी पार्टियों का निर्माण कर रहे हैं या अपने व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण कर रहे हैं यथ व्यक्ति विशेष की धन-संपदा का निर्माण कर रहे हैं।

हमें अगर रास्ट्र-निर्माण की तरफ चलना है तो हमारे पूर्वजों के जो सपने हैं उनको पूरा करना होगा और सीधी भाषा में जमीन का जो आदमी है उसके साथ बात करने का जो रवैया राजीव गांधी ने अपनाया था, उसे अपनाना होगा ताकि ये जो बीच के सत्ता के दलाल हैं, ये जो कमीशन एजेंट हैं, ये जो ब्यूरोक्रेसी में हैं डलिंग लाँसेज हैं, इनको जब तक हम नहीं रोकेंगे तब तक चाहे जितना भी अच्छा या बुरा बजट आए, उसका फायदा आम आदमी तक नहीं पहुंच सकता है।

महोदय, दुर्भाग्य की बात यह कि जिस वक्त यह बात कही जा रही थी

उस वक्त हमारे विपक्षी साथियों ने इसका विरोध किया और अगर 2 साल पहले वह रास्ता अपना लिया गया होता तो शायद जो ये 50 प्रतिशत का हैडलिंग लॉस है, वह रुक जाता और उस 50 प्रतिशत से हम बहुत से काम कर सकते। लोग बड़े गवे स कर्ज की बात कहते हैं। कोई कहता है मैं आई.एम.एफ. से लोन ले आया, कोई कहता है मैं आई.डी.ए. से लोन ले आया, कोई कहता है मैं वर्ल्ड बैंक से लोन ले आया मगर कर्जा तो कर्जा ही है और यह कर्जा लेना शर्म की बात है और जब हमारा राष्ट्र कर्जा लेता है तो यह राष्ट्रीय शर्म की बात है। इससे बड़ी शर्म की बात और कुछ नहीं हो सकती है। पर दुःख इस बात का है कि जब-जब जनता ने कुछ फैसले किए और दूसरी सरकारें आई तो उन्होंने अपने फर्ज को भूलकर लोगों को विभ्रान्त किया।

महोदय, मैं श्री लालू प्रसाद यादव का एक बयान पढ़ रहा था जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है कि वे चाहते हैं कि बिहार में चुनाव हो। अभी मार्च 1990 में वह चुनाव हुआ था और उन्होंने सरकार बनाई थी और आज वह चाहते हैं कि चुनाव हो। क्या चुनाव में खर्चा नहीं होता? चुनाव में तो चुनाव आयोग का खर्चा होता ही है पर मैं तो आश्चर्यचकित हूँ कि कच्छ से कोहिमा तक और कश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी तक चाहे उनके उम्मीदवारों की जमानत जप्त हो गई हो पर एक पार्टी का झंडा हर जगह जरूर लगा हुआ था और बड़े-बड़े पोस्टर जरूर लगे हुए थे और वेशकीमती बैनर्स जरूर लगे हुए थे। आखिर यह पैसा आया कहां से? कोई उनसे पूछे कि इतना पैसा कहां से आया और कहां लगाया गया तो उनके पास जवाब नहीं है। वे जवाब नहीं दे सकते और उनके उम्मीदवारों की हर जगह जमानत जप्त हुई है। लेकिन फिर भी उन इलाकों में उनके पोस्टर और बैनर्स देखकर मैं आश्चर्यचकित रह गया।

महोदय, मैं अरुणाचल प्रदेश में कहीं घूम रहा था। वहां मुझे महाराष्ट्र के एक

आर.एस.एस. के कार्यकर्ता मिल गए। मैंने कहा भाई यहां तुम्हें कितने वोट मिलेंगे क्योंकि जितना खर्चा कांग्रेस और विपक्ष ने किया और तुम शायद उससे सौ गुना ज्यादा खर्चा कर रहे हो। तो वे बोले कि साहब हम अपनी राष्ट्रीय पहचान बना रहे हैं। हम कमल के फूल को खिला रहे हैं। हमें वोट मिलता है या नहीं यह तो मालूम नहीं पर लोग झंडा तो पहचान रहे हैं कि यह इस दल का झंडा है। हम अपने सिंबल की पहचान बना रहे हैं। तो ऐसे लोग, ऐसी पार्टियां जब राष्ट्रीय चरित्र को इस तरह से भ्रष्ट करने की कोशिश करेंगी और इस तरह से अलग पहचान बनाने की कोशिश चलती रहेगी तो आपका राष्ट्रीय बजट चाहे जितना अच्छा हो, इसका फल गरीब जनता तक नहीं पहुंच सकता।

महोदय, जब हम बजट पर चर्चा करते हैं तो हमें आदमी यह कहता है कि हमारे देश की जनसंख्या बहुत ज्यादा है और उसके कारण हम खर्चा पूरा नहीं कर सकते। महोदय, अगर इस जनसंख्या को हम ऊर्जा के रूप में देखें तो एक दरिया पर बांध बांधकर हम बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं। हम हाइड्रो-इलेक्ट्रिक पावर बना सकते हैं। हम झरनों, दरियाओं पर बांध बनाकर बिजली पैदा कर सकते हैं। हमारे पास जब इतने आदमी हैं और हमारे यहां सूर्यसन रिसोर्स डवलपमेंट मिनिस्ट्री है तो हम इस कांसेप्ट को क्यों नहीं लेते कि हम इनको वह ट्रेनिंग दें और ट्रेनिंग देकर इनका एक्सपॉर्ट करें। आज डवलपिंग कंट्रीज में लोग जाते तो जरूर हैं—प्लम्बर से लेकर इंजीनियर तक पर वहां जो विदेशी मुद्रा कमाल है वह विदेशी मुद्रा सरकार के खाते में नहीं आती। वह हवाला कम्पनी के माध्यम से बाजारवाजार में चली जाती है। आज भी आपके पास कोई ऐजेंसी ऐसी नहीं है जिसके माध्यम से आप डाइरेक्ट लेबर सप्लाई कर सके। आपके यहां नेशनल बिल्डिंग कंस्ट्रक्शन कारपोरेशन था। वह कभी-कभी यह काम करता था। पर आज उनमें भी दलाली है। उनके माध्यम से जाने के पीछे भी इतनी दलाली है कि एक आदमी

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]  
को कुवई जाने के लिए, अबूधावी जाने के लिए या अमान जाने के लिए अपना घरबार बेच देना पड़ता है। कमाता तो जरूर है पर जब वह एयरपोर्ट पर उतरता है और जो वह विदेशी सामान का अम्बार लाता है वह विदेशी मुद्रा, विदेशी सामान स्टेट बैंक में जमा नहीं होता। वह विदेशी मुद्रा के दलाल जो हवाला कम्पनियों के हैं वह उन्हें इनके बदले इंडियन करेंसी दे देते हैं। हमें इससे क्या फायदा होता है? अगर हम इस प्रोब्लम को चेनल इज करें, इस सही रूप से लगाने की कोशिश करें तो इस के माध्यम से न सिर्फ एम्प्लायमेंट देंगे बल्कि इसके साथ-साथ विदेशी मुद्रा का भी आभवन होगा। उससे जो आय होगी वह राष्ट्रीय आय होगी। आज तक इस पर कोई विचार नहीं हुआ। मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से गुजारिश करूंगा कि वह इस पर विचार करें, ऐसा कोई कमीशन बैठायें, कोई कमिटी बैठायें जो इस पर विचार करें। अगर इसकी फिजिविलिटी है जो कि मैं समझता हूँ, है, उस पर कार्यान्वयन किया जाये।

यह बजट हर वर्ष आता है और हर बार आकर यह कहा जाता है कि इस पर स्वस्थ मन्तव्य इतना काम करेगा, शिक्षा विभाग इतना काम करेगा, रेल विभाग इतना काम करेगा, पेट्रोलियम विभाग इतना काम करेगा। पर उनके वाक्जुद जो डक्टर्स और पेशेंट का रेशो है वह क्यों नहीं काम होता। टीचर और स्टूडेंट्स का रेशो है वह क्यों नहीं काम होता? जॉब अपोर्चुनिटीज और एम्प्लायमेंट का रेशो है वह क्यों नहीं काम होता? ट्रेन और पैसेंजर का रेशो है वह क्यों नहीं काम होता? आज ट्रेन में चढ़ने के लिए जगह नहीं मिलती। बस में चढ़ने के लिए जगह नहीं मिलती। मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। बस में जाने के लिए जगह नहीं मिलती। ट्रेन में लोग छत पर चढ़ कर आते हैं। मंत्री महोदय बिहार से आते हैं और आप भी बिहार से आते हैं। जरा सोचिए। आखिर बजट का पैसा इन चीजों को कंट्रोल करने में क्यों नहीं समर्थ होता, क्यों नहीं सक्षम होता?

इन चीजों को स्ट्रीमलाइन करने के लिए सबसे जरूरी चीज यह है कि जब तक इन देश में राष्ट्रीय चरित्र का निर्माण नहीं होगा तब तक यह बजट व्यर्थ है। क्योंकि ऐसे बजट से इन चीजों को कोई फायदा नहीं पहुँचेगा।

मैं अंतिम बात आपके सामने रखता हूँ। जब तक हमारे इस सदन में इस बजट के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जायेगा। क्योंकि यह बजट अरबों रुपयों का है। और इस पर हम सिर्फ तीन दिन में फैसला करना चाहते हैं, जब तक यह दुर्व्यवहार होगा तब तक यह सदन में नहीं आएगा कि बजट क्या है। इस बजट की समस्या को हम जब तक नहीं समझेंगे और तब तक हम अपने देश के लोगों तक इस बजट की भावना को नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं, राष्ट्रीय सम्पदा भी भावना को नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं, राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति की भावना को नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं, राष्ट्रीय धन की भावना को नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं, राष्ट्रीय आय की भावना को नहीं पहुँचा सकते हैं और जब तक हम इन भावनाओं को उन तक नहीं पहुँचायेंगे तब तक सब व्यर्थ है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर) :  
श्री वेंकटरामन् ।

श्री विठ्ठलसाई मोतीराम पटेल :  
महोदय, हम कब तक बैठे रहेंगे? हम सुबह से बैठे हुए हैं ... (व्यवधान)।

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHA!/: Sir, it is already 6.30 p.m. Are you continuing?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR):  
He is already on his legs. We will continue. Yes, Mr. Venkatraman. (Interruptions). It is a very important item. So many Members are interested in speaking.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): We have various meetings to attend. We have our own commitments. We cannot sit here. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let us hear him. He has been already called. Mr. Venkataraman, please go ahead.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): I will - speak tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): No. Please go ahead.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: I may take half an hour.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): You have the audience. Do not worry. (*Interruption*). Renukaji please. I request you.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANA-BHAM: It is not a question of audience. It is already 6.30. We have our own engagements.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): The question is that the total number of speakers is very large, (*In-terruptions*).

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: It is a question of the prestige of the Chair, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mr. Venkataraman, please go ahead.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: Everybody wants to have it tomorrow. I cannot go against them. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Don't you want to speak?

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: I want to speak tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Do you want to speak today or not?

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: I want to speak tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I am calling the next speaker. Mr. Hari Singh.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: Everyone has left.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR?): Everybody has not left. Prof. Bhattacharjee, would you like to speak?

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, please do not do it now. (*Interruptions*). He says tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Then he will take his turn tomorrow. Do you want to speak today or not?

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): My time may also kindly be given tomorrow. Today, nobody is in a mood to listen. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: Today nobody is in a mood to listen, nor to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Let me individually check up who is in a mood and who is not. Prof. Bhattacharjee, are you in a mood to speak today?

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: No. Tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Please, you don't speak for him. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN: . . . I think the Chair wants to divide and rule.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not averse to speaking, but... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): Mishraji, would you like to speak?

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: He is asking why he should speak when nobody is there.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): They are all coming. (*Interruptions*). The whole question, of course, is whether the House is in a mood to speak and listen.

DR. RATNAKAR PANDEY: Sir, you have to honour the mood of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I am just trying to assess the mood. (*Interruptions*). Let me share the problem with you. The total hours allotted, you know, are limited. How many people are interested in speaking? So it is left to the good wisdom of people who are still to speak whether they want to speak or not. If they want to speak, then some Members must be there to let the House continue. (*Interruptions*).

पटेल सहज जरा सुनो भी ।

श्री विठ्ठलभाई मोतीराम पटेल : मैं तो बस बोलने वाला हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. चन्द्रेश पी. ठाकुर) : अभी तो लगभग बोल रहे हैं आप ।

We have just heard an hon. Member, Shri Ahluwalia, making a charge that the Budget should be taken seriously. One of the elementary ways of taking the Budget seriously is to utilise the time available to you effectively. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL: We have discussed it the whole day. This is not fair. We are not bonded labour.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने सीरियसली यह कहा लेकिन यह नहीं कि रात को बैठकर यह किया जाय। मैंने कहा कि 11 बजे से 6 बजे के अंदर, जो भी आपका विजनेस है वह करिये। ऐसी बात नहीं है कि देर रात तक बैठकर यह किया जाय।

श्री अश्विनी कुमार : एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल तो पास हो चुका है। इसलिये इसको अगर कल कर लें तो अच्छा होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष प्रो. चन्द्रेश पी. ठाकुर) : इतनी देर में तो एक स्पीकर बोल चुका होता। ... (व्यवधान) ... इतनी देर में पटेल साहब आप अपना भाषण कर चुके होते।

How many of you want that there should be continued discussion this evening? How many of you want the discussion this evening? How many of you want the discussion today and how many of you want it tomorrow?

SEVERAL HON'BLE MEMBERS: Tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR): I think the House is not unanimous. Anyway, I respect the wishes of the majority of the Members. If you are not in a mood, let us adjourn till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-seven minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 31st July, 1991.