

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up Budget (General), 1990-91.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Will it also be passed like that?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the House so agrees, the Chair has no objection.

SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER: Provided the Finance Minister gives some more concessions.

ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION ..(SIXTY-FOURTH) AMENDMENT BILL 1990.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Chairman has informed the Members that the Business Advisory Committee, at its meeting held today, the 27th March, 1990, recommended that the consideration and passing of the Constitution (Sixty-fourth) Amendment Bill, 1990, will be taken up on Wednesday, the 28th March, 1990, and allotted two hours for the same.

I have also to inform that Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed will make a Statement on the Kashmir situation at 6.00 P.M. today. Yesterday, the Members were concerned about it. Today, the Government has come forward with the Statement and I hope you will discuss it in all seriousness.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Could the Home Minister's Statement be at 6.30 P.M?

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY): I have no objection.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: So, it will be at 6.30 P.M.

Now we shall take up Budget (General), 1990. Shri S. B. Chavan.

BUDGET (GENERAL), 1990-91

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, the

Budget has been presented by my esteemed friend, Shri Madhu Dandavate. I would like to refer in particular to the third paragraph of his speech where he makes a statement about the constraint under which the Budget had to be presented to the House. In fact, he has said: "This is not with a spirit of acrimony but with a view to revealing to the House the grim realities...." That is how he has started.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): in the Chair] Sir, there are two or three points on which he has dwelt, and the first point was whether the Central Government budgetary deficit was Rs. 13,790 crores as on 1st December 1989, a level nearly double the deficit projected for the whole year in 1989-90. The second aspect about which he has made a special mention was that the wholesale prices had risen by 6.6 per cent since the beginning of the financial year. And the third point which he was pleased to mention was that the balance of payments position was under strain and that the foreign exchange reserves excluding gold and SRDs were down to around Rs. 5,000 crores. The fourth point was that the stocks of foodgrains have fallen to 11 millions. Sir, these are the four special constraints which the hon. Finance Minister has made a reference to.

Sir, I would like to request the hon. Finance Minister to see the total deficit of the year 1988-89. And I may bring to his notice that the overall deficit which was projected high, if you would see the actuals for 1988-89—item No. 16—the overall

deficit was reduced to Rs. 5,642 crores. In the year 1989-90, the overall deficit was Rs. 7,337 crores. And the figure which they had quoted, Rs. 13,790 crores, has come down to Rs. 11,750 crores. This also is because of the non-plan expenditure which, in fact, I do not recollect. But I have heard from some of my colleagues that one of the officers of the Finance Ministry

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came on the TV and said that the additional expenditure under Defence was agreed to during the regime of the Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. In fact, we would like to find out as to how far this is factually borne out. But the fact of the matter is that in 1989-90, for the first time, we had reversed the position of reducing the deficit budgeting to the extent possible. And that is why it becomes all the more necessary to see as to why is it that the hon. Finance Minister was in a terrible hurry to see that a number of items under which the arrears had to be paid for and were accounted for 1989-90, were not taken in 1990-91. So, these are the usual practices which, in fact, are being adopted to show that the deficit was very high in 1989-90 while the deficit has come down in 1990-91. In order to show a lesser deficit, this kind of a jugglery has been adopted, that is why I would like to bring to his notice that these are not the ground realities. The ground realities are totally different from what he has brought to our notice.

Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that there are three or four items which will have to be considered before we come to any definite conclusion as to what the overall deficit is going to be like. Sir, before I do that, certainly I am interested also in bringing to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister Col. 6 of this Budget at a Glance, on the very first page, where the non-plan expenditure has been shown. The non-Plan expenditure was Rs. 54,262 crores and the projection for 1990-91 is Rs. 64,343 crores, which means an increase of about almost 19 per cent. That by itself is a figure which definitely testifies that this is not an effort to bring down the revenue deficit but there is a huge deficit of 19 per cent over 1989-90 and if that be so, I am sure that the Eighth Five Year Plan we are going to end with a very huge

revenue deficit which in fact is a matter of great concern to all of us. One of the maladies which, in fact, has been troubling the total fiscal economy of this country is that capital receipts are being used for revenue expenditure and this is not for the first time that we are going to do this. Continuously this has been going on. For the first time in 1989-90 we made some kind of an effort to arrest the same and to reverse the process, and things which were supposed to be untouchable so far, we had even gone to the extent of touching those items and see that the deficit is being brought down to the extent it is possible but with redoubled vigour I find that all the expenditure is now going ahead in spite of the fact that the hon. Finance Minister made a reference in his speech that there are a number of items for which he will be interested in seeing that the expenditure is brought down to the extent possible. Administrative expenditure is growing at a very rapid pace and he would like to bring down this expenditure. The second thing to which he has made a reference was about the subsidies which are being paid and he was pleased to state in one of the paragraphs that he himself was not quite sure whether these subsidies are reaching the targetted groups. I was under the impression that having made a reference to these two items some kind of an effort will be made by the Hon. Finance Minister to see that the expenditure is brought down and the subsidies are being properly scrutinised with a view to see that the overall deficit is being brought down. But I am sorry to say that having gone through all the budget papers which were supplied to us I do not find any such exercise being undertaken by the Finance Ministry.

Now, in order to give a correct picture as to how things were happening before and whether we should feel so diffident that the overall deficits are in fact going very high, the revenue deficit is also going very high, the eco-

onomy seems to be in a very bad shape, this is a kind of message that our National Front Government, which has taken over, is trying to give to the world at large. I think that it will be a very sad commentary if in spite of the fact that we have a number of very good things to our credit if you were to see the overall rate of growth, I am sure the hon. Finance Minister will agree with me that for a decade before we had never reached beyond 3 to 3.5 per cent increase in the rate of growth. For the first time in the history we have been able to achieve about 5.2 per cent rate of growth on a long term basis, and for the Eighth Plan as a whole we were thinking of having a rate of growth of 6 per cent. So, at that end if you have to see the actual fiscal achievements under different heads, I am sure that the Hon. Finance Minister will agree with me that it is not only the expenditure which is booked but it is the physical achievements under different items which we have been able to achieve. We have been able to procure up to February about 11.7 m. tonnes of food-grains and thus could create a buffer stock of a sizeable amount. In fact this is totally inadequate looking to the requirements of the people. This kind of buffer stock is not going to be of any avail unless intensive efforts are being made to procure during the rabi season. We had to import a number of things in order to see that the open market interventions became operative and we have been able to arrest the price rise. That we had tried to do and to some extent certainly, we can make a claim that we have been able to arrest the price rise.

The balance of payments position was also one of the points which he mentioned. I am in full agreement with the hon. Finance Minister that this is a matter which really causes concern to all of us and we will have to make a conscious effort. We will have to make determined efforts to see that our exports are increased and our imports are reduced to the barest minimum. Imports can be of different

items. In regard to imports which have some kind of an export orientation, certainly we cannot afford to restrict the import of such items. But there will be some item which, in fact you can avoid and the imports of such items can be reduced.

Sir, this is the kind of scenario in which power was handed over to the new Government and that is why, I do not think, there is any need to create an impression that we are in such a bad shape that we do not know what we are going to do. I can understand if, in order to justify your fresh levies, you want to create an atmosphere that the economy is in a bad shape, that our coffers are empty and, therefore, you tell the people you have to keep yourselves ready for bearing the burden which we propose to impose on you. That is perfectly understandable. Every Finance Minister has to do this unpleasant job. For this reason, if you say so, certainly, I will be the last person to take objection to it. I am one of those who will definitely appreciate criticism. But in the name of self criticism, if you go to the extent of self denigration and give a kind of alarming impression to the entire international community that India, one of the leading countries among the developing countries, is in a terrible shape, who is going to be helpful to us? I think, the hon. Finance Minister and the other friends sitting on the ruling side seem to be under the impression that they are still in the Opposition and that they do not belong to the ruling party. This is the kind of impression which is still persisting in their minds and that is why things are being exaggerated to such an extent that, without meaning anything, you are giving a wrong and an alarming kind of signal to the international financial institutions have paid tributes to India for managing its economy very well. But you are now saying that things are really in a very bad shape and that is why you would like to see that something new is attempted.

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Now, with this background, we will have to consider the new proposals that the hon. Finance Minister has put before us. The first question which, in fact we will have to apply our mind to will be, how far the deficit which has been presented by the hon. Finance Minister is realistic. If it is realistic, certainly, we will be very happy that he has been able to bring down the deficit in terms of the Budget estimates, which is still very high. In fact, I am quite sure, for the year 1989-90, in spite of the fact that you have said that it is of the order of Rs. 11,000 crores odd, with the extra revenue also, in terms of the revised estimates, the deficit will definitely come down. This is my impression.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE
(PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE):
Thank you.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: This will be in terms of the actuals.

In this background, when we look at the new proposals there are certain items which make us feel, which give us an impression, that these have not been properly provided for. The overall deficit does not clearly indicate as to what the Finance Minister is going to do with these items. The first thing to which I would like to make a reference is, he has assumed contribution of Rs. 2100 crores as the share of Central public sector undertakings. According to me, this seems to be on a very high side. This is not going to be realised. There is bound to be a shortfall. You cannot have a figure which, in fact, is going to be double of what you have already achieved in 1989-90. Public sector undertakings are coming in the Centre sector and I do not think this is going to be borne out by facts that you will achieve a contribution of almost Rs. 2100 crores from them. That is why I am sure

that this is going to add to your deficit for which you will have to keep ready

The second point which I have not been able to follow is, what exactly is the scheme that the hon. Finance Minister has in view. If we know anything, the reports of the Reserve Bank of India and NABARD clearly stated that in the loan waiver scheme that the National Front had in their manifesto, if the scheme is confined to small and marginal farmers, weavers and village artisans, the total financial requirement will be of the order of Rs. 14000 to 17000 crores. Now it seems that because of pressure brought about by some people in the Government, it has been extended to all the farmers, the only condition being that he should not be a wilful defaulter. That is the only condition. I am really surprised, yesterday while answering a question in the House, the hon. Finance Minister said that the insolvency proceedings, which were filed by Mr. Joshi, they are also going to get the benefit of this. Does this mean that the kind of scrutiny whether he is a wilful defaulter or not is not going to be applicable to Mr. Joshi's cases? Those who have applied in the court for insolvency proceedings, till the court were to take a final view of the whole thing, are you going to presume that they are all insolvent people and they are going to get the benefit of the scheme that you have in view? Apart from that, my first objection is, if the whole thing is going to have the implication of Rs. 14000 to Rs. 17,000 crores, how have you made a provision of just Rs. 1000 crores? And then you also say that in the case of cooperative banks State Governments will undertake the same kind of exercise and if any assistance is required from the Central Government, that will also be taken into account. So, the benefit is not only to go to the small and marginal farmers but part of it is also going to go to the State Governments also. So, the kind of scheme that you have in view

is still very intriguing to all of us. We have not been able to understand the exact nature of the scheme that you have in mind. Either you have not clearly stated the facts in your manifesto or you have misled the people by saying that all these loans are going to be waived, and after getting the mandate based on that promise you want to riggle out from it by saying that you are going to provide just Rs. 1000 crores and you are going to give the benefits to all the agriculturists. The first impression that I have is that most of this money is going to be taken away by kulaks and big landlords, and small people are going to be left in lurch, they are not going to be benefited by this scheme. An amount of Rs. 1000 crores is grossly inadequate. What is the explanation to this? We are certainly entitled to be enlightened as to what exactly is the scheme that the hon. Finance Minister has in view. Within a small amount of Rs. 1000 crores

how will he be able to do 1.00 P.M. justice to all kinds of farmers that he has in view? Sir, the next point to which I would like to make a reference is that a very important announcement was made by the National Front Government and I thought it was a very revolutionary concept which had been expounded by the National Front Government—the concept of right to work—and they proposed to amend the Constitution to make it a fundamental right. When we tried to find out what is the provision that they have made in the Budget, I am sorry to say, in fact they have not been able to make any provision for this fundamental right. They are still to come for amending the Constitution and after the Constitution has been amended, to say thereafter that it will depend upon the availability of resources is something strange. One of the things on which I was myself surprised was that the Attorney-General came on the TV and gave an explanation that even if it is accepted as a fundamental right, ultimately it will depend upon the availability of

resources. This is the first time I am seeing the Attorney-General coming on the TV and giving explanation on behalf of the Government. I do not think that the Attorney-General is competent to give any opinion on matters of policy. Ultimately it is a matter of policy which the Government has to decide. Yesterday, the Prime Minister was pleased to state that though they are committed to this right to work being guaranteed as a fundamental right, yet it would depend on the availability of resources. What exactly is the concept, we have still not been able to follow.

These are the two major commitments that the National Front gave to the people and this is the mandate on which you have come to have the Government in your hands. On both these issues, I find that you are trying to riggle away by saying ultimately that resources are not available. In fact, in the very first President's Address which was placed on the Table and which came up for discussion, I had requested the Government to clarify whether it is in the shape of manifesto, or this has been properly scrutinised by the Finance Ministry and all other administrative Ministries concerned. I was waiting till the last, but there was no explanation given by anybody. On the other hand, the Finance Minister himself, the Prime Minister and all the other Ministers have been openly saying some of the Members of the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha and others from their parties have been going out and telling people, "You need not pay, your loan is now going to be waived". This is the kind of atmosphere that we have generated. It is perfectly all right, this is a part of your policy that you had announced. We were so happy and we were not only waiting for the directions that will be issued to FSI/ NABARD on the issue of waiver but I find that there is no explanation. And I am sure it will be extremely difficult, I can understand Finance Minister's predicament that though policy pronouncements have been made, he just does not have the resources. In

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spite of the fact that he has levied huge amount of taxes, I do not think he is going to be in a position to provide substantial amounts for implementation of the mandate which they got from the people.

The third point about which I would like to make a reference is about the employment opportunities both for women and youth. These are the people who have been given all kinds of promises. Youths have been told, you are going to get employment opportunities, a number of jobs are going to be offered and a new kind of policy is going to be followed by this Government which will give job opportunities to all the youth. I was trying to go through the papers to find out whether any additional provision has been made, both for youth as well as women. At least, to my recollection, I have not been able to identify or point out that this is the additional provision which has been made and on the basis of that they can possibly claim that they have implemented the mandate which was given to them. Certainly, this another area on which I will be very happy if I am enlightened by the hon. Finance Minister that these are the programmes which in fact we are committed to and there is no question of running away from them. All these programmes will have to be provided for. Why I am mentioning all these programmes is because you have not made any provision, and if you make provision, then your deficit increases. That is why I am mentioning all these points. These are the points which clearly show that these are your commitments and you have not made any provision for the same. If these programmes have to be implemented, then you will have to provide for the same and thereby increase your deficit and then admit that actually what we have provided as a kind of deficit is on the lower side; it will be much higher than what we are asking the people to believe—that it has been reduced considerably.

Sir, I have made reference only to three or four items. It does not necessarily mean that all the other items have been provided for. My only point is, these are the glaring instances which come to the notice of everybody concerned. Major items have been totally left out—either they have not been provided for or they have been provided for in a grossly inadequate manner—which clearly indicates that at the end of the year you will have to come before Parliament saying, "I have tried my level best to decrease the deficit but I could not do the same because of this, that and other factors." I am sure, you will have to take that kind of a stand.

Sir, there is another issue which again is one of the areas which they have been oft repeating, and that is about price rise and the promise they have given to the people that they would like to bring down the prices. That was another commitment which the National Front party have made to the people. If you see the levies on different items, petroleum products have been taxed heavily, iron and steel and tyres are going to have a cascading effect and price rise is going to be there all along the line. In fact, I will be happy if the honourable Finance Minister can convince us that in spite of the increase in costs it is not going to lead to price rise. I was myself surprised that one of the experts—for whom I have great esteem—the Finance Secretary came on the TV and said that it is an anti-inflationary budget. By bringing down the deficit from Rs. 13,000 crores to Rs. 11,000 crores, is it the claim of the Government that this is an anti-inflationary measure that they have undertaken? I can understand inflation not being allowed to go up, but to say that it is anti-inflationary, I cannot understand it. At least, I am not an economist and that is why I would like to understand what exactly is the implication of this kind of a statement. Anti-inflationary budget may mean

that there will be no deficit financing hereafter, or the rate of inflation is going to come down considerably. That is the kind of impression that one gets. Apart from the other levies that I have pointed out here, about petroleum products certainly I am one with the honourable Finance Minister in saying that the rate of increase of petroleum products which we are importing is, in fact, something which we cannot afford. There is no doubt that our import of petroleum products is on the increase. This has to be contained to some level. But is this the method by which you are going to do it? 40 to 45 per cent of the vehicles belong to the Government and the rest of the vehicles belong to the companies, and no matter how much increase you have on the petroleum products, the requirement of petroleum products is going to increase. An eight per cent rise in the requirement is definitely on the high side and, in fact, some other methods should have been devised in order to see that our requirement is pegged down to a lower level. As if this was not enough, in spite of the concessions which the Railway Minister was pleased to announce on the floor of the House, all freights and fares have been increased considerably, 10 per cent increase in the freight, and during the lean period, I believe, it is 7 per cent. So, on an average it will come to about 8 per cent to 8.5 per cent. Is this 8.5 per cent increase in the freight really going to have an anti-inflationary effect? I am sure, all transport costs are being passed on to the consumers. So, the prices of everything are bound to increase in spite of whatever you may have in view.

As if this was also not enough, the Posts and Telegraphs Department has also increased the rates considerably. So, with all the three taken together, what is the total effect on the economy of this country? I am sure that instead of arresting the price-rise, definitely it is going to increase the prices. The rate of inflation is definitely going to increase. And I won't be surprised if this year itself we reach a rate of 51 RS—9.

inflation which is in double digit. That is my apprehension.

I would be the happiest person if the Finance Minister can point out "These are the action plans that we have in view, these are definite steps that we are going to take which will show that the inflation does not increase and the prices are going to be kept under check." At least in the Budget papers that I have gone through, no action plan is visible to me at least. That is why certainly the House will be interested to know what definite steps are under contemplation which the Finance Minister proposes to take in order to see that this is being brought down.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I would like to read the guidelines which were given in the Economic Survey. In 1985 these guidelines were prescribed. If these guidelines are any indication, I am sure the hon. Finance Minister will have to give very serious consideration. On page 7 of the Economic Survey, 1989-90 it is said:

"The Long Term Fiscal Policy (LTFP) announced by the Government in December 1985 had indicated some broad targets. When the actual out turn is compared with these targets the broad picture that emerges is as follows:—

(a) Performance of Tax Revenues has been more or less on target, although indirect taxes have performed better and direct taxes remains slightly lower than the targets.

(b) Non-Tax Revenues have also performed well.

(c) Non-Plan revenue expenditures exceeded plan targets by significant margins. In particular Defence, Interest Payments and Food and Fertilizer Subsidies were substantially above the targets.

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(d) Both market borrowings and budget deficit exceeded the targets by wide margins.

(e) Contribution of public enterprises fell short of projections by significant amount.

(f) The size of Centre's Plan and assistance to States and Union Territories were also well above the Seventh Plan targets."

So, these were the projections, these were the targets that we had accepted in 1985, and non-compliance with some of them is an area to which the hon. Finance Minister will have to pay special attention and see that these are achieved. That is why it becomes all the more necessary that you try to concentrate on these targets and try to find out what exactly have been the reasons why we have not been able to reach the targets which were prescribed by the experts in the field. I must also bring to hon. Finance Minister's notice the features which, in fact, were also emphasised by the Ninth Finance Commission. My esteemed friend, Shri N. K. P. Salve, has been the Chairman of that Commission. They have also given guidelines. If you were to see Chapter IV, Report II of the Ninth Finance Commission on page 15, paragraph 4(b), it says:

"The objective criteria constituting our approach in assessing the Centre's revenue, receipts and non-plan revenue, expenditure, are the following:

(1) The Centre should set an example to the States.

(2) The Centre should improve on its own past performance.

(3) The price-rise assumed 5 per cent should be fully captured in tax buoyancy.

(4) The real growth of GDP assumed at 6 per cent should be reflected fully in the tax-yield."

(5) The Centre should move towards the objective of eliminating deficit. The tax revenue yield should reflect some further increase resulting from better efficiency in taxation policy and administration.

(6) General items of non-tax revenue receipts should also partly reflect general price-rise which increases the cost of the services rendered.

(7) The increase in non-plan revenue expenditure consequent on general price-rise should be marginally below the rate of price rise.

(8) The real increase over and above the effect of price-rise in non-plan expenditure should be less than the rate of growth of GDP. This would imply an overall nominal rate of increase—real increase plus price-rise effect of non-plan revenue and expenditure of around 9 per cent per annum.

(9) Within the level of overall rate of increase, the higher growth rate needs all interest payments and other unavoidable expenditure should be accommodated by downward adjustments of the rates of increase in other items of non-plan revenue expenditure."

So, these are the two guidelines. One is in the Economic Survey and another is in the Ninth Finance Commission's Report, which clearly indicate that a conscious effort will have to be made to see that we are able to achieve the ideal of reducing the overall deficit and specially the revenue deficit that I was talking about.

The recent price-rise which, in fact, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister, is reported in the Press. There is a sharp rise in the wholesale price index. This is of this week itself. This is *The Times of India* of March 26, 1990. It

clearly indicates with all the commodities index based on 1981-82 at 100, for the latest week ended March 10, 1990 it rose sharply by 0.4 per cent to 169.4 from 168.8 in the previous week. In this context this clearly shows that the prices are on the increase. There is going to be a much higher increase in the prices in the periods to come. That is why it will be very necessary for the Government to make a conscious effort and come before this House with a definite plan of action as to what needs to be done and what they are proposing to do in order to see that the deficit is being brought down to a considerable extent and unnecessary administrative expenditure is being avoided and every effort is being made to see that the subsidies which are rising year after year, in fact, are really reaching the targeted groups. Surprisingly, in fact, this was one of the issues which has also been faced that in the food and fertilizer subsidy, fertilizer subsidy is given not to the cultivators, but it is given to the manufacturers of the fertilizers. In the name of these cultivators and farmers, we are trying to subsidise the manufacturers.

The retention formula of the fertilizer industry is a matter which will have to be considered very seriously; otherwise I don't think that we can give any relief to the cultivators.

I am very happy that the budget makes a categorical statement that we will have Agricultural Policy Resolution as we have Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956. It says that they are going to come before this House with a clear statement as to what they propose to do in the matter.

Regarding fixation of remunerative prices, the Minister incharge was pleased to state that they are going to consider one or two more items. This is not a new thing and in fact this was already a decision taken by the previous Government. So there is nothing new in the formula that this new Government is claiming. They say that they have decided to give

remunerative prices and there is going to be a change in the formula of fixing the prices. They also say that the Price Fixation Committee which is being appointed by the Government is going to take into account the contributions of the farmer himself; entrepreneurial contribution of the farmer is one of the items which they are going to take into account. The minimum wages or the real wages whichever is higher is also going to be part of the expenditure which they have claimed. In fact, these are the things on which we have already taken a decision. I was also trying to search for the new items which the hon. Finance Minister mentioned in his speech and that was about the Central subsidy to the industries which are to be located in the backward areas. I have not been able to locate exactly what is the provision that you have made. May I know from the Minister whether he has given up the idea of a growth centre or is he going to stick to the old concept? There were three categories of Central subsidy area, 'A' category, 'B' category and 'C' category. 'A' category area was entitled for 25 per cent of the Central subsidy and concessional finance from the financial institutions, 'B' category area was getting Rs. 15,000 Central subsidy and the same concessional finance from the financial institutions and the 'C' category was entitled for 10 per cent Central subsidy and concessional finance from the financial institutions. I was trying to find out whether there has been any definite provision made in the budget for 1990-91 but I have not been able to locate it. If there is any provision made in the budget, certainly I would like to know. You will have to make a provision of a substantial order. These are the points certainly on which I would like to be enlightened by the hon. Finance Minister. Let him say that these are the areas which are very important from our point of view and we have made a definite commitment for the same we have made a provision in the budget and this is the kind of relief that we proposed to give to the people.

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My only objection, Sir, is about the kind of promise which were made to the people. If I am allowed to say so, I am sure that the National Front parties never thought that they were going to come into power. So reckless promise were made and now it is the fate of the new Finance Minister to carry out all the commitments that they have made. In the initial period may be he would have got away from it but repeatedly they were bent upon repeating the same argument over and over again and got themselves committed to it not as a party programme but this has become a Government programme. Are you committed to this programme? Certainly the House is entitled to know from the Government as to what are the provisions that you have made or what you propose to do in the matter in order to implement what you have promised or admit that you have made false promises. You have made promises which, in fact, are beyond the capacity of the Central Government to fulfil. I am sure you have hardly any option. Either you admit that these are false promises that you have made to the people or bring before the Parliament as to what exactly is the plan of action which you would like to implement and see that the targeted groups of the farmers, the right to work to all the people and youth and women, they are being given the kind of relief that you have contemplated and about which you have made an appeal that all their problems are going to be solved. I think these were the few broad issues which I thought I should mention in order to elicit exact information from the Government so that we are able to understand and appreciate what exactly are the implications of the Budget of 1990-91. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Shri Kamal Morarka.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan): Sir, there is hardly any time

left. Only three minutes are left.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): You begin your speech and then after lunch, you can continue.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals. (Interruptions)

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): Change your habit.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Starting on that note, Sir, where Shri S. B. Chavan was speaking and when I was analysing the financial position of the country, I was just trying to recall, except, of course, that his language and command is much superior to mine, the contents were exactly the same that I have been speaking for the last two years. (Interruptions).

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: So, there is no new commitment.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: From the analytical point of view, Shri Chavan's points fall into two or three parts. (Interruption).

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): Mr. Morarka, are you really supporting the Budget?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Of course.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: I don't believe that.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Unstinted and solid support. (Interruption).

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Otherwise, he will be removed from the Janata Lal. (Interruption).

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: At one point of his speech, he said that in spite of these achievements and growth etc. this new Government is always saying that the economy is in bad shape. "Are we really in such a bad shape?" I think, that is the central

question to which we should address ourselves and the part of the Economic Survey 1989-90, which Shri S. B. Chavan quoted, itself is an eloquent testimony to the financial and fiscal mismanagement in the five years preceding the last Economic Survey. That was the Economic Survey presented by Shri S. B. Chavan. It gave an account of how the long term fiscal policy presented in December 1985 had totally failed. I agree with him that the problems that he addressed himself in that Economic Survey which I had held last year were hardly tackled in the last year's Budget, those problems remain. The same problems remain today. I am afraid, one thing I will have to admit and that is, a drastic financial restructuring that is required has not come about. This Government has been in power only for a hundred days. This Budget does not financially restructure the economy which is the need of the hour. We must understand that the central question to which we should all address ourselves—it cuts across party lines—is the severe maladies that have crept in the economy in the last eight-ten years which the Ninth Finance Commission has very rightly pointed out and one basic thing they have said is, "abolishing the revenue deficit is an absolute fiscal imperative." I do not think we can put it more accurately than that. Having said that, let us see what are the options available to us. The revenue deficits are there. The need for development is there. The tax revenues, as the Economic Survey has shown, have largely kept to the target. There are certain areas like public sector undertakings which have not fulfilled their role as envisaged in the long term fiscal policy of December 1985. In the Seventh Plan period which coincides with the period of the previous Government, for the first time, we have seen that the entire Plan targets have been met either by borrowings or by deficit financing.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR:
It is a compliment.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Is it a compliment? I would like to be enlightened on that. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR:
You said plan targets have been met.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I hold Prof. Thakur in very high esteem.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): The hon. Member will continue after lunch-break. Now the House is adjourned till 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (Shrimati Jayant Natarajan) in the Chair.

BUDGET (GENERAL), 1990-91—Contd.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Madam, as I was saying, there are certain things on which there should be no dispute at all and I was surprised when Mr. S. B. Chavan was objecting to the new Government describing the economy as it is in its present condition. He asked a question: "Is the economy in bad shape?" Now, as I was saying, it is not a question of the economy being in a bad shape or being in a good shape. But let us all admit that over the last seven or eight years, severe distortions have crept into the economy. In that, please don't take our word for it. Mr. Chavan's own Economic Survey, presented to the Parliament last year, is there which he himself quoted in his speech and that Economic Survey lists the maladies that have entered into the economy. That was presented last year in March and, eight years or ten years prior to that, during that period the same Government has been in power. I am sure Mr. Chavan, while listing out the

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maladies, will not ignore these distortions. He himself read out from the 1985 Long-Term Fiscal Policy and mentioned what it projected, and he himself read out from his own Economic Survey saying that this has not been fulfilled and there have been severe distortions and now, on that part of the analysis, I totally agree.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Whom are you addressing? Mr. Chavan is not here now.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: He spoke before lunch and he has now gone away. He was reading out and I really could not understand as to what he was driving at. I am saying this because last year this is what I had exactly said when he was the Finance Minister and in his reply he rebutted everything. Last year he rebutted everything and, today, he is repeating everything. I said, So, I will leave it at that.

Now, the distortions in the economy are known to all concerned.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is right.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The point that has been made is that there has been growth, that there has been an unprecedented growth during the last few years and yet the new Government is trying to hide that fact. Even when you were sitting here on this side and we were sitting there, you could see my speeches, the speeches I made at that time. We have not said that there has been no growth. We have got two questions to ask: Growth at what cost, and growth for whom?

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is right.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: These are the basic questions on which we differ. You people now are talking of the growth rate, of the industrial growth rate figure, of five per cent or

seven per cent or ten per cent. Now, you will see from the figures or statistics of industrial growth that in the year 1986-87 they had made a major change in the method of calculation of the industrial growth rate figure. The weighted average has been significantly altered and now you cannot compare the growth rates. You are now talking of industrial production in terms of the growth rates which the statistics show for the 'seventies and eighties'. But you cannot compare them. Even leaving aside that, you take the average GNP—I am glad that Prof. Thakur is here and he is going to speak; I am sure he is going to speak and I am sure he will deal with this question. You will find this question emerging: Is it not a fact that in the total growth figures the proportion of the services sector has significantly changed over the last five years? In the First Plan period, out of the total GNP of the country, 60 per cent was accounted for by the agricultural sector, 24 per cent by the industrial sector and 15 per cent by the services sector. In the 1985-88 period, for which statistics are available, I am sure, the story continues. For the next two years, the agricultural sector contribution came down from 60 per cent to 33 per cent; industrial sector grew from 24 per cent to 27 per cent; and the services sector increased from 15 per cent to 40 per cent. With regard to the growth that we are talking of today, forty per cent of that consists of the services sector. And what is the services sector? It consists of Defence, Communications, Transport, Banking and Insurance and Public Administration, and herein lies the clue to the whole mystery. If the growth rate is slow, you step up the Government expenditure. If you step up the Government expenditure even by deficit financing, even by borrowing, you will achieve the growth rate.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Even by borrowing?

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Yes, Now, what is it that we have done? We

have shown the growth rate to the people and said, "Look here. Our growth rate is so much. We have achieved it." But by what methods? By borrowing money, by printing currency notes, thereby fuelling further inflation and reducing the purchasing power of the people.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Of the poor people.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I will come to that later. No problem. Now, in this, let us not dispute on facts. We may have dispute on the strategy and we may have differences of opinion. But let us not push the facts under the carpet.

What I am saying is that the growth rate as projected for the last five years is not growth rate which comes as direct addition to the people's income by way of employment generation, productive employment generation or purchasing power in the hands of the people. Let us look it in any way. It is very easy to see and no economist is needed to see that. In the last five years, is it or is it not a fact that in spite of 40 per cent of the people living below the poverty line, the visible expenditure on consumer durables, on 5-star hotels, on private transport, on various types of luxury gadgets, has visibly increased, has significantly increased? How has that happened? It is because of the concessions, tax concessions. In the last five years, Budgets, tax concessions have gone to a particular section of the population and that population's purchasing power has definitely increased and that purchasing power has fuelled the industrial prospects of these limited items. What we are trying to say is that that kind of growth is a distorted growth, merely to show to the people. Whom are we trying to impress? They World Bank? The IMF? Mr. Chavan said that we are alarming the international community by saying that the economy is in a bad shape and the coffers are empty. He has been the Finance Minister and I have great respect for him. But I

would like to mention that the international community does not go by our statements. The international community goes by hard facts. The World Bank, the IMF and the other international institutions know what the exact position of India is as far as indebtedness is concerned, as far as growth is concerned. By merely changing the figures or the index you cannot impress them. We can only impress ourselves. Yes, that statement has alarmed my friends on the other side. But I do not think that that statement has alarmed anybody internationally. Our creditworthiness in the international market is the same as it was three months ago. It does not change overnight with the change in Government. Economics, statistics, remains the same. Merely because somebody says the coffers are empty, do you think the international market changes its course? This is a very facile view to take. I am surprised Shankarrao said it. Mr. Chavan talked on two points raised in our manifesto. One: the loan waiver scheme for farmers. Two: the right to work. I shall deal with these two specifically before coming to the general economy.

On the loan waiver scheme he said two things which are most contradictory. He said in the manifesto we had said that we will waive loans of small and marginal farmers. As per the Budget Speech, the Finance Minister it appears that the Finance Minister extended the scope to all farmers except wilful defaulters. On the other hand, he said that they are providing only Rs. 1000 crores. It appears that you have reduced your scope from the original manifesto promise. Now, both cannot be true.

PROF. CANDRESH P. THAKUR: I think the point that he was trying to make is that the loan waiver is for everybody, and the calculation was that the total figure would be roughly Rs. 13000 to Rs. 14000 crores...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I think I will clarify it....

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: Against the estimated magnitude of Rs. 14000 crores—or take the lesser figure of Rs. 13000 crores—the provision in the Central Budget is only Rs. 1000 crores. That is one part. It is an insufficient figure. Worse, the small borrowers who invariably borrow from the cooperative sector have been left at the mercy of the State Governments without any specific commitment or refinance from NABARD...

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: If you hear me fully ...

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): You have made it clear that only they will give it.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: The other point Mr. Chavan was raising was that even this Rs. 1000 crores is applicable to people regardless of the size of the landholding.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I will deal with these two points. No problem. I have understood what he has said. I have fully understood the problem, the political problem, that here is a promise which you thought we can never meet, and the Finance Minister by his ingenuity has found a way out for meeting that promise. I will tell you what happened. It is true. You talk of prudence. When the National Front manifesto said we are going to waive loans of small and marginal farmers,—I am glad he has raised the point—there was a competition among the Congress—I, Chief Minister in the last three months to announce bigger bonanzas. Mind you, the Central Government had some resources, some source of getting money; the state Governments have no recourse. And yet they went on making promises. I will only request you, please don't be misled by newspaper reports. Whose calculation is this that to fulfil that promise you

require 20,000 30,000 or 40,000 crores? These are shots in the dark. These are calculations which nobody can make. The fact is that statistics, accurate statistics, are not available instantly on what are the total loans of small and marginal farmers from the various nationalised banks, cooperative banks, regional rural banks. Now, the promise stands. What is the promise? The promise is to help the small and marginal farmers to get out of the indebtedness. It is not a *carte blanche*. I can say with all the force at my command that what the Finance Minister has announced does not mean that rich farmers should go scot free ...

श्री राम प्रबोध सिंह (बिहार): मैडम, इन्होंने कहा कि अभी तक एक्चुअल स्टैटिस्टिक्स कर्जे के बारे में उपलब्ध नहीं है। सरकार को चाहिए हुए तीन महीने हो गए हैं और अब उसके पास आंकड़े, बजट पेश करने तक भी नहीं है। तो फिर कब होंगे! बजट के पहले तो उसके स्टैटिस्टिक्स चाहिए। तो अब एनाउंसमेंट करना चाहिए।

श्री कमल मोरारका: ठीक बात है।

श्री राम प्रबोध सिंह: बिना स्टैटिस्टिक्स रखे हुए आप तो सरकार का दिवाला निकाल देंगे।

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: On this particular point I feel very strongly; I think we will all agree that while it is necessary to help small and marginal farmers, it is also necessary to maintain the confidence in the banking system and prudence in budgeting. I think we all agree—nobody can agree more than Mr. Chavan, I am sure. (Interruptions) I am surprised. I do not see. Merely because it is difficult to meet... (Interruptions). I do not agree that we cannot fulfil the promise of helping the small and marginal farmers. It requires effort. It requires a great deal of work. We will have to sort out who are the small and marginal farmers.

and how much money is required. If a thousand crores of rupees is provided, that is not the be all and end all. If we require more money, why not more money can be provided for the small and marginal farmer? There are Supplementary Grants. In the last five Years I have seen. So much money is being provided for the Apra Ut-savs and what not. (Interruptions). Let us not go by this.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam, Pupal Jayakar has resigned. That's why ... (Interruptions)

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Is it the case of the hon. Member that Rs. 1000 is a token provision and that is why it will be a higher deficit later on? (Interruptions)

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Not at all. Not at all.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I will reply later on. But in your absence in this House as well as in the other House and in the Consultative Committee I said that in this there can be various parameters and which are the sections which will be kept out, whether current dues or overdues, whether wilful defaulters or all. And even when we say irrespective of size, when people take Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 or up to Rs. 10,000 it is not big kulaks or Birlas. Then again the question is whether short-term or long-term. If you take different parameters, actually I told the House that the estimate is different, and while I mention what are the parameters, while replying I will clarify.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I only wish to reiterate that the whole idea is to help the small and marginal farmers within the parameters of the banking system that we have in this country, without the people at large losing confidence in the banking system. After all, it is public money. Let us not have any fear on this account. At the same time I quite agree that details will have to be worked out in the process.

The second question which Mr. Chavan raised, what about the right to work? And he said that the Fundamental Right to Work will be a very costly process. Again there is a lot of calculation going on in the Press. Yesterday Ram Awadheshji said that Rs. 36,000 crores will be required if everybody has to get work in the country. No, the right to work we are asking as a Fundamental Right. And in the Budget a small beginning by way of Employment Guarantee Scheme has been included. Last year there was the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana which was announced with great fanfare. I was one of those who said in the House that...

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: That was a bluff.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: Please. I do not agree that any Rozgar Yojana is a bluff. I only said in the House that let us not be misled.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: Do you like to play another fraud?

श्री कमल मोरारका : आपका टर्न आगा तो बोलए, काहे को आप बीच में इंटरप्ट करते है? अगर आप ऐसे ही करते रहे तो हम आपको बोलने नहीं देंगे । ... (श्वबधान)

On the right to work the whole idea is employment generation. In the last five years what we strongly objected to was that the investment in the industrial sector has been made in such a manner that does not generate employment. In the last five years, whatever industrial growth and even assuming what are the figures, change of figures and all that, you put them aside, what has happened on the ground? Industrial employment has shrunk, one out of sickness and one out of computerised and automatic industry. Now, the fact remains that most of the foreign technology about which many economists say that the moment you enter foreign collaboration you get upgradation of your own

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technology—that has not happened in this country. We have seen foreign collaboration working in the private sector in the last 20 years without any research and development. That is just a drain on the foreign exchange. This whole strategy of industrial development we are against. The right to work stems, our basic idea stems, from this: Agro based industry, village industry. Technology import is welcome. But it should be only in areas where our own country will benefit, not for consumer durables and not for fancy ideas. In this country I think the marketing people have taken over. By using some slogan, they can always market any product. Pepsi Cola has been marketed in this country in the name of Punjab. When you go into details, you will find that Punjab is nowhere; neither in the matter of employment nor in the matter of farmers' products. (Interruptions) So, we are against that kind of growth.

I had made three complaints to Mr. Chavan last year about his Budget. I am happy that Mr. Dandavate has met with those complaints. Firstly, I had said that the Budget must make up the mood of the people. I had complained that the last three or four years' budgets never made the mood of the people on matters such as austerity or control of expenditure or a focus that the rich should be taxed more. This Budget contains all those ingredients. The Finance Minister has restructured the saving mechanism in a way that the rich can take tax shelter, but they will have to save more. This Budget contains all those. Previously, the weightage was in such a way that you could get the same benefit for the same amount of saving whether you were rich or poor. Now the rich will have to save more to get the same benefit. (Interruptions) You can deal with this point later. I have studied the Finance Bill thoroughly. I am ready.

The second point is about black money. The Budget leaves the matter

open and says that on black money let us have a discussion. But the last three or four years' budgets have been conspicuous by their silence as if black money does not exist in this country.

The third point is about the public sector. This Budget says that we expect a higher revenue from the public sector this year. Mr. Chavan has said that he does not think that Rs 2100 crores can come. It is prediction or astrology. I don't think so. I think the public sector is at a stage where all efforts should be made to see that their revenues improve. Last year I had called it 'a course-correcting budget'. I had believed that the last year's Budget was a U-turn budget compared to the previous two years. I had believed that lots of things were done in the last year's Budget. I did not agree to the transfer of Rs. 2300 crores from the Oil Fund. But apart from that, the basic scheme of the last year's budget was welcome because.....

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: You are also doing the same thing.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : because it was a reversal of what had happened in the previous years. As I can see, this year's Budget has a focus that the rich people must give a large share to the Exchequer. Take, for instance, the corporate sector. A beginning has been made to simplify the tax structure. What had happened about the investment allowance? We had put investment allowance which allowed companies to almost escape total taxation by rapid expansion. It was again with public money. Then to counter that, we say: "No, no. Some tax they must pay." So, we put 115J. A minimum of 30 per cent they had to pay. Now all that has been removed. It is a simply thing. Let us not have investment allowance. Let us not allow them to escape taxation. Again 115J became a bone of contention because of various interpretations. It has been simplified. Forty per cent

tax. This is the first step towards that. I am sure the Finance Minister will consider further simplification either in the Direct Tax Code or in the next year's Budget. I think this route should be taken. All exemptions which complicate the tax law should be removed and the tax rate should be reduced *pro-tanto*. Of course, in the present case, we get even more revenue.

Now take the total structure of the Budget. The expenses remain the same. The three items which Mr. Chavan mentioned are exactly the three items which I mentioned last year, i.e. defence, interest and subsidy. They account for 60 per cent of the Budget. Which Finance Minister can do anything about it? The general complaint that I have heard from the people is that the petrol prices have gone very high or iron and steel prices have gone high as if the Budget is harsh. My frank opinion is that the Budget is not harsh enough. If we want to restructure our economy, we must tighten the belt for 5 or 6 years, have a harsher dose of taxation and have simplification. At the same time, you must give relief to the poorer sections of the people. But the tax-payers, the corporate sector and the industrial sector have to be taxed more. We have to look at the tax structure to tax them more with a view to get the revenue. Today, the need is to make taxation effective. Unfortunately, the taxation is on paper. You see the buoyancy of the tax revenues. Even in spite of sharp increases in excise duty, the buoyancy is below one. It indicates tax evasion. The whole system is structured in a manner that there are leakages and evasion everywhere. This is the first beginning. And I may say that it is a very small beginning. We must go far ahead in this sphere of simplification of taxes in a manner that evasion becomes impossible. When Mr. Chavan was not here I dealt with the distortions of the economy which I am sure he will agree. On one

point I agree with him, and that is the projected deficit of Rs. 7,205 crores. It will be required of the Government to keep a strict watch on the expenditure. Mr. Chavan knows as Finance Minister. Even the Finance Minister, Madhu Dandavate will face the same problem. All Ministries come with further demands. I think, we should lay down a cardinal rule that any Ministry coming with any demand must also bring a request for cut under some other head. The overall budget of a Ministry should freeze at the level projected in the Budget. Unless the Finance Minister is very strict on this, it cannot be possible for the Finance Minister to maintain this deficit at this level. Now the other strong measure required, of course, is on the overall burgeoning Government expenditure. That will require a national consensus because there the trade unions will have to be consulted if you have to put a freeze on vacancies. Yesterday, I was tempted to interfere in the Indian Airlines question which said that 2,000 vacancies are there in the Indian Airlines. I was tempted to ask that if the Indian Airlines can function with 2,000 vacancies, we should examine whether those vacancies need to be filled. So, the thing is that we cannot do it unilaterally. The trade unions are there in the country. There are poorer sections. We must talk to them and see where we can really cut Government expenditure. Here I must mention that in the last five years, even in the higher income groups, the tendency has been to take a soft option and to pay. And whatever struggles I used to see—I am talking as a layman; I am in Parliament for only two years.—I always used to see five or seven years ago, even in Mrs. Gandhi's regime or even before that, the Central Government employees were up in arms, the public sector employees were up in arms, the Electricity Board officials were up in arms, and there was a serious struggle going on between the employer and the employee. In the last five years, all that has vanished because of

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softer option. There is enough money and we pay. We pay everybody. First we pay to ourselves. If we pay to ourselves, we must pay to the workers because then you cannot say no. Then there is general profligacy, and the result is that Seventh Plan which shows 90 per cent borrowing and 10 per cent deficit financing. Now this kind of growth, I don't think should be on the agenda of a country like India. Do you know, Sir, that the total indebtedness, the total borrowing to GDP ratio in India is over 60 per cent? And people will be surprised to know that the only countries which have a higher ratio than us are Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nicaragua and Mauritania and only those countries. No developing country of any reasonable economic philosophy or any of the developed countries have such a high ratio. Now the moot question is how this will be corrected. I am afraid, the Finance Minister must sit with the Reserve Bank officials. You will have to find a method of funding this loan. There is no use paying this kind of interest and showing this kind of deficit financing and increasing the money supply by 18 per cent per year. No Finance Minister will be able to control this economy. I request the Finance Minister to please sit with the Reserve Bank and find out an agreeable method to reduce this indebtedness, the internal indebtedness.

Now, about external debt, there are two very serious matters. One is apart from it becoming Rs. 1 lakh crores—that figure has been discussed twice in this House—the most serious thing is the rate of interest. The average rate of interest which used to be only 2.1 per cent in the 70s is now 5.2 per cent. That is a very high rate of interest for external borrowings, and one of the costliest external borrowings is the NRI accounts. Unfortunately, again in the last five years in this country the NRI has become a very special person. The

moment any policy comes, the NRIs are welcome. I don't have to name who are the brilliant NRIs, who have come in this country and what havoc they are playing with the economy here. I think, there names are printed more often in the newspapers than the Finance Minister. I think, this NRI business must be examined afresh.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I am glad my name does not come with them.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I think, the Finance Minister should reexamine whether these external deposit accounts bearing such a high rate of interest should have an unlimited scope because the country has to repay that money at a high rate of interest and at the prevailing rate of exchange. Now, I do not have to inform Members that the exchange rate has undergone a total metamorphosis during the previous regime. Only in the Seventh Five Year Plan period between 1984-85 when the Government came with a massive majority of 400 people and 1988-89 the exchange rate fluctuation against the dollar from 11.89 came to, I think it is about Rs. 18 now, and pound from Rs. 14.87 to almost Rs. 28 or Rs. 30. Everything has totally gone out of hand. We will never be able to repay. And we will find that we are only working to repay our NRIs. We should stop this. The total economic situation does not permit you to return this money immediately. But we can put restrictions on further deposits. One demand which we have been making also is that the Government should restrict its own borrowing under article 292 of the Constitution. The Opposition is also going to say that.

Now, my humble request to the Finance Minister is at least put a ceiling on the rate of interest on the borrowing. There are *Indira Vikas Patras* and some other *patras* where you are borrowing and the effective

rate is more than 14½ per cent. You have put restrictions on private corporate sector of 14 per cent. There is no justification for Government borrowing money at such high rate. The Government should not borrow money at more than 10 per cent, maximum and that itself will restrict the borrowing. If you put restrictions on the rate of interest that you will pay, it will restrict your borrowing. That is the first thing you should do.

We have allowed public sector to issue bonds, interest-free bonds, and there is no limit on any individual buying how much he wants. Now, that distorts the picture of taxation. We should not allow. Okay, the public sector has been able to raise its own resources without depending on the Government. But in the long run one has to have a look at it.

There are three particular aspects of this budget, which I strongly support. One is the Gold Control Act. It should be abolished immediately. Mr. Chavan was also working on some sort of allowing import of gold by NRIs and all that. The basic thing is that in India gold prices are all artificial. Smuggling of gold is rampant. One hundred tonnes of gold is being smuggled into the country every year. This Gold Control Act should be abolished and some steps should be taken for import of gold in a partial manner. So, if the prices of gold go down, the lure for smuggling will be reduced. That is one thing.

The second is the gift tax. This is another avenue of tax evasion. Everybody was getting gifts from x, y and z and claiming it out of love and affection. It was all a method of tax evasion. Gift tax on the donee is much more sensible. Because, after all, why should the donor who is really giving a gift, further pay to the exchequer. At least the donee has got the money. So, he better pay. Instead of the Gift Tax Act, this should be covered in the other income under the Income-tax Act. Anything by way

of a gift should be included in the other income and the Gift Tax Act should be abolished so that unnecessary paper work is removed. Since you have already changed it to the donee, it should be included in the Income-tax Act under the head "Other Sources of Income". That will simplify the position.

The third thing is 80M which he has amended, inter-corporate dividend. Again a very progressive step because it did not make sense that merely because you hold your shares through a company instead of yourself, you can save tax. It was unnecessary tax shelter and I am sure it will mean more payment of tax by those who own companies but it is a reform which was long overdue. These are the three points.

The two points on which there can be hardship are, one is removal of 80HH for the backward areas. There I feel that the Finance Minister should reconsider how to provide relief. If the provision has been misused and that is why he has changed, I have nothing to say. But backward areas still require incentives. Since you want people to go into backward areas, probably those incentives can continue.

On the Cash Compensatory Support he has amended certain provisions with a view to simplifying because of different interpretations by different courts. Now, one thing in taxation which I do not agree with, is retrospective legislation. If there is to much litigation, the correct answer is a final judgement of the Supreme Court or a tribunal. Because if by legislation we change the provisions with retrospective effect, it reduces the sanctity of legislation. As a principle, it is better to have a court give a final verdict which should be applicable to all. But for the future it will not make much difference because export profits are also exempt from tax. Whether CCS is exempt or not, does not make a difference. Madam, I can only say that the economy is full of distortions. It will

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require at least five consecutive Budgets, course-correcting Budgets, harsh Budgets, to rectify the economy. This Budget is a start in that direction. Nobody says that growth has not taken place. But we do not agree with the content of growth or with the cost of growth. We could have achieved the same in a much cheaper way. It should trickle down;—we are against the trickle-down theory—in fact, growth should directly go to the lower strata of society.

In one sentence, I can sum up to the opposition. This Budget is a prudent Budget in difficult times. The difficult times are all your making. The prudence is that of the Finance Minister. Thank you

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: And the correct interpretation is that of Kamal's.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Madam Vice-Chairman, I was listening with interest to the speech of my friend, Mr. Kamal Morarka. As I know him, he is an industrialist-cum-professional lawyer. Why do I say that he is a professional lawyer also? It is because, when he was speaking from this side, he was picking all kinds of holes in the Budget. Now, having gone to that side, he is trying to certify that Prof. Madhu Dandavate is a prudent Finance Minister. I have no objection to it. You can say whatever you feel like.

But I am also a little bit surprised. I sent for some material from the library but I have sent them back now. I was going through the speeches made by Prof. Madhu Dandavate. Most of his political life has so far been spent in the Opposition except for a period of two years when the Janata Party was in power, when he was the Railway Minister, unfortunately. But fortunately, his speeches have been sensible. I brought them here to point out what he said

on deficit financing, on taxation, etc. But if I do so, I would be left with less time to make my points. Therefore, there is no use in quoting Prof. Madhu Dandavate again on his face. Moreover, he himself knows what he had spoken. (Interruption)

I do not have the kind of knowledge about the economy, like my elder colleague, Chavanji or Prof. Thakur. I am a practical man. Neither I know economics nor I know politics. I am only an agriculturist-cum-co-operator. I only know commonsense-economy. I would like to draw the attention of the House to a point made by Mr. Morarka. Madam, I feel that the problems are so stupendous that if we go on comparing the different Budgets and go on saying that the Budgets presented by the Congress Government were not good, or, that the present Budget is good, etc., we will go nowhere. As I said, the task is very stupendous. It calls for hard political decisions and I think, we all will have to agree to put in our efforts to improve the economy.

I am also not blaming Prof. Madhu Dandavate for the Budget which he has presented because, within three months, this Government is not expected to do anything. But I was just going through the information as to how many committees they have appointed. I need not go into the details because that would again mean less time to make my points. Here is the record which shows how many committees this Government has appointed. But that is not much of importance.

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to my positive points on his Budget. Firstly, Mr. Finance Minister, you will have to think about a change in the entire planning process. That should be restructured and the importance of the Planning Commission has to be restored. Unfortunately, whichever political party it is, the Planning Commission has become an extension

branch of the Finance Ministry or the Prime Minister's office. That should not be so. Unless you give authority to the Planning Commission, no worthwhile planning can take place, we will go on blaming each other. With the planning process during the last ten or fifteen years, growth has been achieved in all sectors, whether it is the service sector or any other sector. I am not much afraid that the service sector growth is very dangerous to the economy. Professor Thakur and all others are the authority on that, but we see that in foreign countries even service or tourism sector also has given income and growth. So, one should not be very much afraid of the service sector because it creates employment. It has already created employment right from rural areas to the city, but planning should be such that the consumer goods production is more. Mahalanandis thesis of capital goods production should be given a go-by once for all. During Panditji's time it was necessary because we were building the country and a capital-base ought to have been more, but now the wage goods have to be produced on a large proportion. Madam, I was discussing a problem with a friend of mine who was a Central Minister here. He came from Bombay. He told me that the present Russian provocation was nothing, it would escalate further because even with the centralised planning in Russia the consumer explosion was not going to stop. What is happening in Russia at present? After all, the people in Russia are also human beings, they feel that they should have a shoe pair, they should have five or ten eggs. I agree with him that the consumer products should be manufactured and made available to the people on a large scale. Care should have been taken to manufacture all types of consumer products. At present what are we manufacturing? I think Mr. Chavan used to say, when he was the Finance Minister, that the kit culture has created a different type of what

you call, *ethos* in this country. 10 per cent of the rich elite is a captive consumer market of this country. They are the collaborators for good shoes, whether it is PVMA, Bata or Adidas whatever it is. Madam, you are sitting there, I do not want to comment, but Shri Madhu Dandavate also has said about lipstick that lips are indigenous and sticks are foreign. There I agree with him.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: This is not unparliamentary.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am not saying anything unparliamentary.

So, 10 per cent elite persons are enjoying the fruits of the entire organised and unorganised sector. This has to be stopped. There, Mr. Finance Minister, I feel your efforts to mop up money are with a bit soft hand. You should have gone in a very big way. Actually you have proposed tax of 1790 crores. I do not think any Finance Minister has done so much taxation. I have not seen like that. This is one of the aspects of this budget.

Then, Madam Vice-Chairman, I am looking to this agriculture sector. We had a discussion on investment in agriculture and the loan waiver scheme. There can be a thousand ways of looking at it. Whether one thousand crores of rupees will be enough or not, or the promise about employment opportunities and the right to work etc. are part of the election manifesto and every political party's leaders have made speeches based on their manifestos. Prof. Dandavate knows that one thousand crores will be a flea-bite. He is also so clever that he is requesting the States to take the responsibility of the cooperative loans.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We are offering them assistance also.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: You will also give them help! What help can you give? Already you have reduced

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the States allocation by Rs. 3000 crores. You have fixed the sales tax in lieu of excise duty etc., or whatever it is, in such a manner that the States have been divested of Rs. 3000 crores in total.

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. G. Vijaya Mohan Reddy) in the Chair]

If I had the time I could have quoted figures for that, but I am not interested in going into that. I am more worried about something else. I know there are various outlays for growth also, Madam, ... I am sorry, Sir, I did not notice the change in gender. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would have quoted the outlays for growth. At present, what is the position? Growth of exports? In the period of last 40 years, right from 1950, India's share in the export was 2.2 per cent which has gone down to 0.45 per cent. The net liability of the Government has been quoted. I do not want to quote those figures. That is one of the points which require attention.

Then, about deficit financing also, figures are available how it has increased. Everybody may suggest zero deficit etc. But time has come when, looking to the performance of various governments of various hues, when Parliament will consider it prudent to take recourse to Art. 292 of the Constitution whereby the borrowing by the Government from the RBI should be under parliamentary control or whatever it is, because borrowing has gone to such an extent—I also can quote figures, but I do not want to take the time of the House—that this is one of the items which requires attention.

Then the total foreign investment in India is Rs. 3000 crores. This is another aspect which needs attention. While in China or Thailand this is per year, for the last 40 years the total investment in India of foreign funds is of the order of Rs. 3000

crores which shows the way in which we are using these control measures and not helping industrial growth with foreign technology and investment.

Another aspect which needs the attention of the Planning Commission and the Finance Minister is that of human development. I find from the Budget that the total allocation is only Rs. 1,463 crores out of the total Government expenditure of Rs. 82,161 crores. That is 0.5 per cent of the GDP. Why I am saying this is because I was reading about economic developments in Japan and what the Japanese did in the old days, about a hundred years back. They saw to it that every Japanese was educated. Sir, I am told that according to estimates, by the end of the century, 54 per cent of the world's illiterates will be in India. If this is the position and if we are not going to develop, then there will be the problem of more uneducated human population which will not be useful for development.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are another three or four points which I want to make. One is about the inflationary impact of the budget. I am aware that the Professor also knows that the budget is naturally going to be so. I heard him speaking at Sangli where he said that as soon as the National Front Government assumes responsibility, within four months he would see that inflation was reduced considerably. How he is going to do it, what magic he is going to do, I do not know. But it is beyond him and I am aware that it is just not possible.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): There is time till 5th of April to complete that four-month period.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Perhaps, in a month he may do the magic.

Now, Sir, there are two or three subjects with which I am more concerned. Cooperatives is one, and it

is my avocation. The Finance Minister has invested resources in the agricultural sector and, as he comes from Maharashtra, he is aware of the social impact of cooperatives in Maharashtra. Cooperatives have got to be expanded all over the country because what I find is that if people are engaged in cooperative activity, more employment will be generated. Here I want to draw his attention to one aspect because he knows. Perhaps, my friends from Kerala and U.P. may not be able to appreciate what I am going to say, but Shankarraoji will definitely appreciate it. Sugar processing is not considered for taxation under income tax because the growers take the sugarcane to the factory, then it is processed in the factory and, finally, the price is paid after deducting the expenditure. There is a Ministerial Committee of the State which fixes the price. It is very good because that gives encouragement and higher realization to the farmer in the rural areas in Maharashtra unlike in U.P. and other States where they just announce the prices. The previous Chief Minister may have been a Congressman and the present Chief Minister may belong to Janata Dal. One might have announced Rs. 32 and the other may announce Rs. 40 and the Haryana man may announce Rs. 100. But God alone knows how the high cost will be realised. But, whatever it is, it is not taxed. In the same breath I want to ask, what about the cotton growers and weavers who are members of spinning co-operatives? Our cotton is processed through monopoly procurement; there is a total check. Monopoly procurement is in the interests of cotton growers and through that monopoly cotton goes to the spinning mills. Whether it is for handloom weavers or for powerloom weavers, that does not matter. But you are taxing the spinning mills as an industry and leaving the sugar co-operatives because that is agricultural processing. Don't you think, Professor, that the time has come when in this Budget itself you

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should help spinning co-operatives, whatever class of growers and weavers. Your problem is also of cotton growers. There are co-operative spinning mills in Andhra Pradesh, in Karnataka, in Tamil Nadu, in Punjab, wherever cotton is grown. Our Federation has established three co-operative spinning mills. So, it is high time that the cotton-growers' co-operative spinning mills should also be recognised for income tax exemption. A mechanism can be worked out. That is up to you and the State Government. I am not for that.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, how the Professor forgot I do not know. I have read an article. This is not a personal reference. But Mrs. Dandavate gave an interview to some newspaper. I wondered why Professor forgot. But she has dispelled my fear. She told the newspaper interviewer, "Professor forgets so many things. He even forgets his specks, where he has kept his specks. I have to find them out." Why has he forgotten that he has given concession to the corporate sector under rules from 40 per cent to 30 per cent? Don't you think that these co-operatives which are taxed under the Income-tax Act are worthy of getting his much concession at least? You have given the concession to the corporate sector firm or individual or whatever it is. Are not co-operatives worthy of getting at least this much concession? Mr. Vice-Chairman, I plead with the Finance Minister that these are points, which need his attention.

Then, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are two other points. I have addressed him a letter. I don't want to take the time of the House in quoting same points.

About 80 HHC, recognised export houses and informal export houses, Mr. Vice-Chairman, you will be surprised to know that in Maharashtra not only do the sugar co-operatives export sugar but the co-operative spinning mills export yarn, and it is the

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highest in the country. We are exporting cotton yarn right from Japan to the USA, all over Europe. You know we cannot establish offices to push sales. I am myself afraid because it requires corrupt practices. I am not interested in going into that. So, the Government has rightly stated that export houses should be recognised. It is quite right. But there are recognised export houses and the formal export houses. We cannot even talk to the Tata Consultants or the Tata Export House. Who will go to Bombay? Who will see people with *dhoti* and *lhenga*. He will not allow me to enter into his posh office. So, there are certain systems. We have got the customs certificates. We have got the bank certificates. The NABARD gives us loan because we are exporters. The IDBI gives us loan because we are exporters. But under section 80HHC you do not recognise us. This is an anomaly. I do not say that it has been done particularly to harm the co-operatives.

Then there are 100 per cent exporting units. Maharashtra has recently started eleven 100 per cent exporting units. All the yarn is exported. Here also some percentage is sold domestically as per Government order. The excise duty up to now was 150 per cent of the normal excise. Now you have transferred all the excise duty from the fabric stage to the cotton yarn stage including import duty and other incidentals. What will happen to that? Suppose circular No. 293 is annulled, it will play havoc on these co-operative organisations or even private organisations.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I am not making political points because I am not interested in them. I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the practical points which are very much there in my mind. In the Budget of 1988, it was the same Prof. Dandavate, who made a speech on the concessions given to

the synthetic yarn manufacturers. About Rs. 600 crores worth of concessions were given and in both the Houses it was adversely criticised by the Treasury as well as the Opposition benches. Perhaps some of my Congress friends will remember that Mr. Mirdha, Mr. Narayan Datt Tiwari himself and as high an authority as the Prime Minister himself had stated that a Monitoring Committee had been appointed to see that concessions are passed on to the weavers. Up to 1989 since my party was defeated, not a single paisa concession was transferred. I thought the Professor will at least remember the point on which he had poured so much his vocabulary to blame the then government to be in league with Reliance lobby. I do not want to say that you are in league with somebody, because I definitely know that you will not even face that side. But the point is that it is an elitist consumption like lipstick and ice-cream. But I must say that by taxing jams and jellies, you have made a little bit of injustice on the growth of horticulture which has got a great export potentiality. Packed horticultural products have got a booming market in foreign countries. Professor, you know we were exporting even grapes and roses. So, all these horticultural products need your help and sympathy. Professor, you and I perhaps have diabetes. That is why you have taxed jams alone.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: I have no private sugar factory.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Though I am a member of cooperative sugar factory, I don't have diabetes. So, I say jams and jellies should not have been discriminated against. If you wanted to do that, you should have done it across the board by taxing heavily elitist consumption. In your own Ratnagiri area, from where you have been elected, home-made jams are also exported. You know that.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: He has encouraged pickles.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: He has not taxed pickles. He has exempted this item.

SHRI RAM AWADHESH SINGH: I have also said that he has encouraged the production of pickles.

श्री अरवि द गणेश कुलकर्णी : आप तो तेज आम्रमं हैं आप खा सकते हैं, हम स्वाट आम्रमं हैं हम नहीं खा सकते ।

The sum total of what I say is that you have made investment in agriculture. I have no objection to your Budget because whatever we may say, on the issues involved we are all agreed. To that extent you have made a pragmatic Budget. It is just like Lakshman's cartoon, where he has explained Dandavate's Budget. In his cartoon he has shown a lady and the common man. The lady has an umbrella with no cloth covering it. She comes and says that Professor is a painter. He has painted the slum area. She tells her husband: Look, the Professor is showing the brighter side of the economy. To that extent your Budget has a brighter side and a positive growth point. But basically as Shri Chavan Sahib has said, don't be enamoured with what Mr. Kamal Morarka has said because he is your party colleague but what we say is more important. What we feel is that all these require a courage. On synthetic yarn and all these you know, I think, you have made a mistake. You could have collected this money without taxing much of petrol and all the other products. You could have just collected Rs. 600 crores. At least tax those products and reduce something on petrol or wherever this inflationary impact is going to affect. This is another suggestion worth consideration. As you know, Sir, these consumer goods are used by ten crores of people and this has also been stated in the papers given to us. This ten crore market is just like Europe, England and all others taken together. So these people have got a huge market. We have unnecessarily encouraged the consu-

mer products and the Planning Commission but take care of the Planning Commission because it is infected by Gandhian terrorists nowadays.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Gandhian terrorists?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Gandhian terrorists mean, you know, who look at everything in the Gandhian style. That time has gone. Now, you say that the villages should have industries, etc., but there is a limit to that. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, what I want to say is that the country has been brought up in the last forty years right from Panditji's time to this day on a capital-based industry which one should be proud of. If these Gandhian terrorists make inroads and put you back to the village industries and what our friend, Mr. George Fernandes has said about Matka, Kulhad and all these things. then, this is really a foolish thing. Let us go to a type of economy which will give a vibrant feeling to the people whereby more employment can be generated. Thank you.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister while concluding his budget speech observed that "we faced fiscal situation which constituted a threat to the economic strength and stability of our country." This is a factual statement and factual explanation of our economic position. The constraints faced by the Finance Minister vis-a-vis internal and external indebtedness, the grave problem of servicing debt, financial and budgetary deficits, high level of corruption, growing black spiralling balance of payments deficit are among the many. The budgetary deficit which was proposed in the last budget amounted to Rs. 7,337 crores. As Mr. Chavan has said finally it has now come to more than Rs. 11,000 crores. The rate of inflation was about 7 per cent last year. The external debts excluding the NRIs stand at Rs. 69,000 crores; including NRIs it may come to Rs. 1,00,000 crores. To serve this external debt, we have to spend nearly

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26 or 27 per cent of all income, income from foreign exchange. There was a reference to black money in the budget speech but nobody knows what is the actual amount of black money. After the new Government came to power, we talked about black money. So many steps are going to be taken against that. Now it is said that the black money is in the range of Rs. 70,000 crores or Rs. 80,000 crores which is running a parallel economy. Our foreign exchange position is also very difficult. By 30th of January 1990 it is only Rs. 5,531 crores which is hardly sufficient for the expenditure for three months. It is evident from the above that the finance of the country are in a bad shape and the country is almost near to debt trap. Therefore, I agree with the statement made by the Finance Minister in his concluding part of his Budget speech that we are in a very bad situation. Therefore, one can appreciate the constraints of the Finance Minister in formulating his budgetary proposals. But nevertheless, I am constrained to state not forgetting for a moment the difficulties the Finance Minister has to confront while going through the Budget proposals, the Budget represents no structural shift from the Budget of his predecessor. He has claimed that this Budget will not be inflationary. If one goes through all the figures, it seems it will not be like that. We find that there is a revenue deficit of Rs. 13,032 crores which will be roughly about 8 to 9 per cent of the GDP of 1990-91. The overall deficit for the year is shown as Rs. 7,206 crores. From the capital account itself, Rs. 6,000 crores is drawn. Together with this, it will come to Rs. 7,806 crores. For any deficit, money supply has to be increased. As the normal money supply multiplies, the money supply will increase to Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 11,000 crores which will be an increase of 12 to 13 per cent. Assuming that the output for the next year would be about 4 per cent, then it is evident from this increased debt that 7 per cent inflation is in-built in the Budget itself. The Finance Minister

promised that he will not allow the deficit of Rs. 7,206 crores to go up. That is a welcome statement. I wish him success in that attempt. He has also promised that six-monthly appraisal will be done. That is also very good. But while going through the figures, while examining the Budget closely, one will find that it will not be an easy job to keep the deficit at the present rate. As I have pointed out, 7 per cent inflationary increase is there in the money supply alone. The Finance Minister has provided only Rs. 100 crores for the DA payment and he has correctly asked the departments to see that their expenditure should be curtailed to see that the expenses on dearness allowance increases are met by them. Well, this is a good warning but I do not believe that these department people will be able to do that. Therefore, what is going to happen is very patent, very evident. We have defined money for payment of dearness allowance? Over and above these steps taken for revenue mobilisation through direct and indirect taxes by increasing administered prices and by increasing railway fares and freights, not by this Minister but by the Railway Minister, altogether will impose a burden on the people to the tune of around Rs. 5000 crores. The new taxes proposed will yield, to the Central Exchequer, Rs. 1790 crores plus postal tariffs of Rs. 172 crores. Added to this are the telecom charges increase of Rs. 600 crores and the railway hike. The amount comes to a big sum. All these increases in freight charges, prices of petrol, diesel, steel, etc. have a total spiralling effect on prices. This will tend towards a general price increase. Therefore, the common man is going to pay through his nose even for a postal letter. A general price rise will be the effect of these Budgetary proposals. Therefore, in total, the claim of the Finance Minister that this Budget is non-inflationary is a claim which is not supported by facts.

With regard to curtailing black money, there have been discussions

after the new Government came into power. With regard to parallel economy, many steps are proposed by the Finance Minister which are not bad. At the same time, he has sent in an invitation to black money holders, "Friends, come. Start some business. Build some houses. Some kind of slum clearance business you can do. There is only one thing. You have to pay some taxes. That is all." This invitation is a simple one that black money holders should come so that it will become white. The Finance Minister in his speech has referred to human ingenuity. They find ways and means to amass funds illegally without paying taxes. These people are to be treated differently from other people who pay tax. These people are to be penalised, strictly penalised. I do not want to give a lecture to Prof. Dandavate who is an expert in all these things. But, at the same time, the proposal, I must submit to him, is insufficient. That is all my observation on this.

The Finance Minister declared in this House—a welcome declaration which he has made—that the Government will not go for IMF and other types of loans at the peril of our economic independence. It is a very good statement. We wholeheartedly welcome that. But, at the same time, given the framework with which our economy is going to operate, we are going to be in a difficult plight, however ingenious methods our Finance Minister may try to take within that framework. He will be finding it difficult when he sees that 26 to 27 per cent of our foreign exchange will be required for monitoring or servicing the loans. And in today's position of industrial development, we cannot completely shut out some technology import. That means, that also requires money. Therefore, I do not know where he is going to find money. However, I wish him success in his attempt not to go for IMF and such kind of loans which will affect our economic sovereignty. The National Front Government came into power.

They have promised a fair deal to the State Governments. They have done something also. I do not deny that fact. But in the Budget, I may submit, the Finance Minister has seen to it that while mobilising the revenue resources, they are to be mobilised from the non-divisible sources. The second element is that he has given concessions. From those concessions, the States are to lose. Therefore, in the total mobilisation of taxes the States' share is Rs. 173 crores and the losses in the process are Rs. 170 crores. So additional and subtraction gives us a figure of 3 crores. Therefore, I may submit that it will be harsh on the States.

The Finance Minister has proposed a defence expenditure to the tune of 15,750 crores of rupees. In the present circumstances, nobody can complain against it because our defence cannot be weakened to meet the external situation developing. Therefore, all the Indians support the defence expenditure figures even though it is very harsh on the finances. But at the same time, with your kind permission, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I may refer to what has appeared in the "Indian Express" of the 24th March, 1990. Here is a big news item. I have seen that "Tulip" account is in the name of the Hinduja. I do not want to read and explain what it is. Everybody knows. That is, the Hinduja are having secret accounts in Switzerland in connection with the Bofors deal. Bofors gun has been bought for defence purposes and now we find that a lot of money has been pocketed by some people, I do not know who. But that is slowly coming out. Therefore, the money which is earmarked for defence, is really something which everybody will support without much discussion. But these being the circumstances, I would request the Finance Minister—I do not want it to be reduced—to have a strict supervision and, if necessary, a discussion on this subject, a special discussion on the efforts our Government has made. I also request the Finance Minister to

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take up seriously the report which Mr. Chitra Subramaniam and Mr. N. Ram have produced. They were also working on it earlier. Therefore, this report should be taken seriously by the Government. We cannot allow this kickback business to go on in defence matters. In other matters, we can at least understand. Without our country, where are we? So our country is to be defended at all costs. If somebody wants to make money out of our defence expenditure it is absolutely untenable. Nobody should be pardoned on this question. That is why, Sir, I have requested to have a discussion, a special discussion on the subject. The Finance Minister has taken a bold step.

The Minister has taken a bold step to increase the investment in the agricultural sector. Seventy per cent of our people are living on agriculture. Therefore, the Government, the people's Government, cannot ignore this sector. An attempt has been made by the Finance Minister to increase the investment in the agricultural sector which is good. Even saying so, I know and we all know that in the agricultural sector there are people, land owners, landlords, big zamindars, though technically they are not there under the law, holding lands in the name of daughters and *bahus*. I do not want to name anybody. But I know that in a village the whole land is in the hands of somebody. That is the position in India today. Therefore, Mr. Finance Minister, while talking about the agricultural sector, I would request you to differentiate between these people. Of course, you have made an attempt and said in your Budget speech itself that you are going to restructure the whole thing with regard to land ownership and that you are discussing it with the State Governments. Sir, I thank him for this, for this bold statement. It is a very big thing. But, while making increased investments in the agricultural sector, the Finance

Minister has to see that the money goes to the poorer sections of the people, the poor agricultural workers, and this part I want the Finance Minister to bear in mind.

Also, there is the Finance Minister's declaration about the implementation of the National Front's promise to waive the loan up to ten thousand rupees. This is a welcome step by this Government. But a sum of only a thousand crores has been set apart for this. We know the financial position as it exists today. He has also stated that wilful defaulters will not be given the benefit. O.K. I agree. But, together with that, he has also stated that land holdings will not be taken into account. I think this needs revision. Those people who are having sufficient land should not be given this concession. You know that in this country of ours, the moneyed people, the well-to-do sections of the people, can manipulate X into Y. Therefore, I am afraid that this money would be taken away by the upper sections of the peasantry.

There is another thing. The Finance Minister has asked the State Governments to see that some steps are taken to give some concessions to the peasantry in their States. That is the correct advice. But I must make one point quite clear here. The co-operative societies in the States are not in a position to bear the brunt of this expenditure. Therefore, I would like to request the Finance Minister to see that no burden is cast on the State Governments.

There is another thing which may not be palatable to many. I am constrained to say this. The Minister has said that the Gold Control Act is going to be repealed. Many people are supporting it. While going to the Press, everybody was in praise of it. But I am afraid, according to me, it is not a step in the right direction. Black money hoarders and gold hoarders will convert their black money into gold. Mr. Morarka was thinking

otherwise. That is all right. We can have different views. But my suspicion is this. If I am wrong I can be corrected by those economic experts who know better than me.

4.00 P.M.

Here I want to comment generally on certain other things. In para 34 of the Finance Minister's Budget Speech he has referred to environment protection. It is an important thing. Nowadays this is a subject which appears in the press often. I wish the Minister of Environment were here. She was here but she has gone now. But our Finance Minister is capable of conveying my views to her. Environment protection is a must today. But it must be environment protection versus development. It is now taken as a hobby by some gentlemen to oppose every developmental activity in the name of environment protection. I do not know how far and how much they have studied the subject. Today India is a Third World country and we have started industrialising only now, and those gentlemen of the developed countries tell the Indian people not to use coal, not to use petrol, not to use that, not to use this, because carbon monoxide and other polluting gases arise and destroy our green houses, our green house will be spoiled. Correct advice! What does it mean? They will be producing coal, they will be producing petrol, and they are using plenty of coal, they are using plenty of oil, they are producing all sorts of things and they are advising Indians, don't use coal, don't use petrol; we will supply whatever you want, everything we will produce and we will supply you. They think India is a market for them. Mr. Finance Minister you should be cautious about it I know you are cautious about it.

Another thing is internationally known facts are being twisted, diverted and converted to confuse people. Without power generation nobody

can live today. When we could live in the good old days with candies and bullock carts, I don't say it is not possible today. But today if you want a heart operation, you need current; for everything you need current. Current can be produced. You have various kinds of energy. You have diesel energy, non-conventional energy, solar energy. But all these types of energy are good for a 40W lamp. They are not sufficient to start industries. For industries what are the main sources of energy? The main source indisputably, the best source, is the hydel energy, non-pollution, cheap, etc. I don't want to take much time on it. But my only point is this. What kind of agitations are going on throughout the country? Stop this project, stop that project. Micro-economics worked out, big experts talking about it saying 100 crores spent, total expenditure so much, return so much! This kind of calculations they make. I must tell those friends who are engaged in this kind of calculations, they must understand that the energy produced, the electrical energy produced, from the hydel source is the most advantageous one in the world. You can fight for protection, forest protection, this protection, that protection. I am not against it. You want to stop the projects. Science and technology today can do many things. It can prevent degradation of forests. Instead you are saying that we are to abandon the project. No it should not be. That is not correct. Therefore, the question has to be viewed differently and that environmental question should not be taken as a question against development. Development and environmental construction can go together. This the Government should not forget in the present situation. If they say that this has to be stopped do not agree with that and say that it has to be stopped. The Government should properly study the situation.

Sir, in this connection I may invite the attention of the Petroleum Minister to a request made by the Kerala

[Shri E. Balanandan]

Government. I am going to raise one or two points here. One of the points is about power projects. This is a letter written by our Chief Minister to the Prime Minister, in which he has requested the Government of India to grant fuel linkage for a 90MW small projects to be started in Ernakulum district. Roughly 1,62,000 MT of LSHS available from the Oil Refinery at Cochin now being sent to distant places can be made use of for the power generation in Kerala. That is sufficiently available there. That is being exported some where. One or two projects have also been requested, using petroleum products. Total is one 90 MW, another 60 MW and one 30 MW—very small. The total requirement, if these projects are sanctioned the petroleum requirement will be half per cent of India's total. That is being objected to. On what basis? If more oil is imported, then only you can consider this. If half per cent oil is given to us, we will produce 90 MW of power. Ninety MW of power will be used for freezing prawns and fish and we will also start industries. The total annual requirement for the very small units that we are planning in Kerala will be around 3 lakh tonnes of LSHS. This will be a very insignificant addition to our total imports of petroleum products. Such an insignificant addition to import will make a very critical difference to Kerala in power availability and economic development. This a kind of simple equation, not understanding the problem. This is being delayed. This is absolutely wrong. I request the Finance Minister as well as the Minister of Petroleum to reconsider the position.

Another suggestion made by the Kerala Government is about a proposal for constituting a fund for rehabilitation of Gulf returnees. From Gulf countries, Kerala is getting. India is getting Rs. 5000 crores or more. You know the situation in Gulf coun-

tries. The Gulf countries are not attracting more people today and the people are coming back. Therefore, the Kerala Government submitted a scheme to the Central Government. I do not want to make any other comment. I request the Finance Minister to examine it seriously. When I make some suggestions, I do not mean that Kerala's money should be given to Kerala alone. No. That is not my demand. But Kerala should be considered a part of India so that we also have some kind of a living. In the earlier regime we were not getting a fair deal. We expect to get a fair deal from the new regime. Therefore, I request that this may also be considered.

Our Finance Minister has considered sympathetically the plight of the handloom industry. He has suggested certain very good measures. I do not know the details of all these things. But it is generally good. I must invite the attention of the hon. Minister to some 4½ lakh workers called coir workers in Kerala. They are the poorest of the poor in India, that is Bharat. The Finance Minister belongs to Maharashtra. He is well-versed about the textile industry as a whole. There is no Finance Minister from Kerala. We are having only one Finance Minister. Therefore, I must request Mr. Dandavate to help them. The coir question, is a question of life and death for Kerala. It may require substantial help from the Centre.

I want to make one small point. The Finance Minister has talked about the freedom fighters of Goa. He has said correctly that they will be treated as freedom fighters. I may bring to the notice of the Government, through you, that there was a struggle which is called "Vayalar Ponnupura Struggle". You do not know many details of that. Four hundred people fought against Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the then Dewan of Travancore who wanted that Kerala State should be a State independent of India.

AN HON. MEMBER: He became the Chairman of the Integration Council.

SHRI E. BALANANDAN: We fought and many from of us died. I was one of those who was accused in the conspiracy case. I do not want to mention it. I am only saying that they may be treated as freedom fighters. A few of them are alive. They are requesting for pension. That may also be considered sympathetically by the Government in view of treating Goa's case. But I want the Finance Minister consider about it.

Another point is about West Bengal. In principle, the Government of India has agreed to give Russian assistance to Bakreshwar Project. You see that Bakreshwar Project in West Bengal has become a part of the life of the Bengali people. Therefore, I request the Government of India to see that with full Russian assistance that project is allowed to be taken up so that the power problem of West Bengal can be dealt with.

Finally, Sir, this Budget, as I said, has been framed in very difficult circumstances. Yet I must submit once again that it is mostly in the old framework. Thank you.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): You have correctly pointed out that this Budget is inflationary. What is your specific request to the Finance Minister to contain inflation?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Budget reflects the true character of this National Front Government. As we all know, it is a minority Government which owes its existence to parties diametrically opposed in ideology, representing totalitarianism on the one hand and fundamentalist forces on the other. Sir, such a hotch-potch Government

can afford to be partially or even wholly irresponsible to its commitments made earlier. A Government of Parties having different manifestoes can be easily oblivious of any of these manifestoes, and that is precisely what is reflected in this Budget.

Sir, the Budget to me appears to be a very deceitful exercise and, in fact, a fraud played upon the people who are going to get practically nothing and who are going to be squeezed both directly and indirectly much more. It is bound to increase inflation, and not encourage savings at all. The Budget is based on no sound economic philosophy or fiscal policy, and is totally without any direction. As a result of the increase in the Railway freight and fare and the increased duty on petrol and diesel, there will be naturally a spurt in the transport sector, and the prices of all commodities, including the essential commodities are bound to go up, and that is precisely what is happening. The increase in the Postal tariffs will add further difficulties to the people of this country. And, Sir, this Budget is totally silent on unearthing black money which has posed a serious threat to our economy. If this Government could be in a position to unearth black money that is lying in the coffers of so many big people, perhaps, there was no need for any additional taxation. So, the Budget is against all the standards of socialism. And coming from a socialist Finance Minister, it amounts to a retrograde measure. And, Sir, as a result of the Budget proposals, the prices of essential commodities like cereals, pulses, edible oils, sugar, gur, khandasari have all gone up already. Sugar is already up by Rs. 7 to Rs. 10, gur and khandasari by Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, mustard, soyabin and cottonseed oils are up by Rs. 20 to Rs. 60, although the next financial year is yet to commence. This is the sorry state of affairs.

Sir, a survey made by the Scientific Analysers of the Market Information

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and Research shows that the Budget will cause 20 to 25 per cent increase in domestic expenditure and more than 29 per cent increase in the cost of transportation. Through the budget and other proposals the Government has burdened the people to the tune of at least Rs. 4,325 crores. From the budget proposals alone, additional Rs. 1,787 crores have to be realised. From increases in the duty on petroleum products the Government will get Rs. 836 crores and our public sector undertakings connected with oil will be getting another Rs. 1300 crores. From the rail budget people will have to pay Rs. 892 crores more and from the revised rates of telecommunications there will be an increase to the tune of Rs. 600 crores.

Sir, now India is going to be known as the country where the price of petroleum is the highest in the whole world. And, Sir, should the monsoon fail in 1990-91, or it may not be so good as it was this year, the deficit of Rs. 7000 odd crores will be much higher. Sir, the industry, as a result of this budget is going to suffer badly because the burden of the corporate sector will be up by Rs. 800 crores in direct taxes. The increase in the expenditure in the rural sector including agriculture is nominal. And, so there seems to be no possibility of any increase in the agricultural production in the country. The production may substantially be hampered by a bad monsoon. Sir, deletion of section 80C and introduction of a revised section 88 in the Income-tax Act has not provided any additional incentive for savings.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: On the contrary, whose income is Rs. 36,000, they will have to pay more tax.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: The position is that those belonging to the higher income group, they will have to save now additional Rs. 10,000 for getting the same benefit as they are getting

today. The relief in the personal income-tax is much less than what was demanded and was actually desired. There should be no income-tax up to an annual income of Rs. 30,000 and in the case of a family in which only one member is earning, personally I feel that the limit should be Rs. 50,000. For getting a relief of Rs. 10,000 the taxpayers will now have to deposit Rs. 50,000 in the savings schemes accounts and that too at a lower rate of interest. It will most certainly result in the evasion of tax and that is what the government is encouraging the people to do.

Sir, the budget pre-determines the overall economic growth rate by about 4.5 per cent but the coming monsoon alone will decide the fate of this growth. So, this pre-determination is nothing but pure speculation. No increase in the cost of fertilisers means that the Government will be giving more subsidy on that account. This will provide relief to only rich farmers and not to the poor farmers.

Sir, I entirely agree with Shri Mohit Sen, the General Secretary of the United Communist Party of India when he says that the Central Budget is another blow by the National Front Government against the nation."

Whereas I generally agree with the increase of 14.2 per cent in the Central Plan outlay for the next year, I am sorry to note that in the case of the non-Plan expenditure, the Budget estimate for the next year provides for Rs. 64,515 crores against this year's revised estimate of Rs. 59,200 crores. It means, not only there will be no economy in the non-plan expenditure of the Government but, on the contrary, the expenditure will be much more. It will be up by Rs. 5,295 crores. In fact, the revised estimate for the next year may show a further increase of a few thousand crores of rupees in the

non-Plan expenditure. This, I am inclined to call as 'bad fiscal management'. As it is bound to increase the proposed deficit in the next year's Budget. It is bad management.

Increase in the non-Plan expenditure coupled with the new taxation measures will definitely result in increase in the prices of essential commodities.

This Budget has no proposal to reduce the regional disparities. Therefore, the backwardness of the different regions will continue. The Budget is most certainly going to result in a lower growth rate and that is why I find it entirely against the interests of the nation. There is a provision of Rs. 1,000 crores only for waiving the farmers' loans, up to Rs. 10,000. More than Rs. 13,000 crores are, in fact, needed to meet this commitment of the Government. But the Government does not seem to be serious in honouring its own commitment made to the people of this country. The Government is only trying to befool the people of this country, befool the farmers, whose votes it has netted through false promises. And what will be the result? Very soon, you will find the farmers revolting against the Government.

Shri Jyoti Basu first called it 'a progressive Budget', but within 24 hours, he urged the Finance Minister to reconsider the hike in the prices of petroleum products. Some constituents of the Left Front Government in West Bengal have also called the Budget 'inflationary and anti-people'. The C.P.I.(M) Politburo has also criticised the Government for the hike in petrol and diesel prices and the steep rise in the postal rates, which are going to add to the burden of the already burdened people.

Shri Sharad Joshi, the leader of the Shetkari Sanghatana, and a

friend of Mr. V. P. Singh, the Prime Minister, has described the Budget as 'too little and too clumsy'. He also added that the farmers all over the country were seriously disappointed with the loan waiver scheme. Even the President of the Bharatiya Janata Party, Shri L. K. Advani, has reacted to the budget by saying that the Finance Minister has let down the people. The BJP leaders, like Shri Madan Lal Khurana, have called it an anti-people and anti-middle class budget.

No new duty on low speed diesel and kerosene is a mere eyewash compared with the additional heavy duty of Rs. 836 crores on petro-products, a hike of Rs. 1500 crores in railway and telecom. charges and new taxes to the tune of Rs. 2000 crores.

As regards the electoral pledge of the National Front Government for allocating its 50 per cent resources for the rural sector, the Finance Minister has already admitted that the budgetary allocation for the rural sector from the Central Plan in 1988-89 was as much as 44.8 per cent and for the year 1990-91 this allocation has been kept at 40 per cent. Thus not much change is going to be there and the situation will remain practically the same. Moreover, a bad monsoon may even reduce the agricultural production.

As regards the increase of Rs. 1,500 crores in the allocation for defence, no true Indian will grudge it due to the present danger to the security and integrity of the country from across the border. In this connection, I hail the announcement of the Prime Minister that India would also go nuclear if Pakistan is able to become a nuclear power. In this House, so many times in the past, I had requested the Government to develop nuclear weapons for our own defence. Also due care should be taken of the security environment. Twenty-two divisions of the Pakistan army are at present deployed on

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the Indo-Pak border. We must be told of the strength of our own army on the border and what it should be to ensure proper defence of the country.

It is obvious that the budget does not reflect any new fiscal policy of this Government. It is merely a bureaucratic exercise which is going to compel the Government to borrow more from other countries as well as from the internal market. Thus the debt burden, of which the members of this Government have been talking day in and day out and blaming the Congress Government it is going to be more rather than less. The Finance Minister himself has said, I quote:

"I have taken a credit of Rs. 8,000 crores on account of market borrowings as against Rs. 7400 crores in the current year. External assistance net of repayment is expected to be of the order of Rs. 4327 crores in the next year as against Rs. 3901 crores in the current year."

So, Sir, from the budget it is clear that our new Government is going to spend more than the previous Government. Yet, it is not going to boost either agricultural or industrial production. It is not going to create more job opportunities to contain the unemployment problem. It is only going to make things, especially the essential commodities, dearer for the common people. It is going to add to the debt of the Government by borrowing more from the external as well as internal markets. Also it is going to increase the non-Plan expenditure of the Government. This Budget, therefore, cannot check inflation.

The Budget does not promise anything for the working class. The Government says that it will bring forth suitable legislation to ensure

the participation of workers in management. But we all know that it is only a tall talk, like the tall talk of providing in the Constitution the citizen's right to work. If you cannot actually provide work to the citizens or in lieu thereof you cannot pay adequate unemployment allowance to your citizens, then what is the fun in providing the right to work in the Constitution?

Sir, in the Budget, there is no promise that full social and economic justice will be provided to the working people. As regards the working millions, the Government of India has not assured them that it will formulate and implement a national wage policy so that the present disparities in wages may be dispensed with. It is not said that, pending the formulation of such a national wage policy, it will give to the workers at least a national formula for dearness allowance.

Sir, the Government has disappointed the Government employees by not saying that it will grant minimum bonus at the rate of 8.33 per cent. In this connection it is noteworthy that when on 20th March, 1990, the press reporters asked the Finance Secretary and the Secretary (Expenditure) why in the Budget provision for DA was absent, their reply was that thereby the Finance Ministry would be able to put pressure on the concerned Ministries to cut their unnecessary expenses.

Sir, I demand that announcement regarding national wage policy and pending that, of the national formula for dearness allowance should be made forthwith. Also I demand payment of a minimum bonus to all Government employees at the rate of 8.33 per cent. I also want to know if the Government is going to ensure workers' participation in management, how it is going to provide for the participation of Government employees in administration? They are also wage earners and in certain

States Class III and IV employees have been granted trade union rights. So if the Government is serious, it must also consider this aspect of the problem that they have to do justice to the Government employees.

Sir, I also demand that the retirement age of all Government employees should now be 62 years. You will ask why? There was a time when our average life span was 24 years. At that time the retirement age was 55 years. Today the average life expectancy is 54 or 55 years. Moreover, the Government itself has increased the recruitment age for different services upto 30 years and in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes even upto 35 years. The pension that it pays is 33/66. Unless one puts in 33 years of service, he is not going to get full pensionary benefits. Therefore, it becomes necessary that the retirement age of the Government employees, both Central Government employees and State Government employees, should be increased to 62 years.

In the end, I also demand that all the anti-poverty schemes and all the employment-oriented schemes of the previous Government must be pursued most vigorously. Otherwise there will be chaos in the country, we will not be able to throw out poverty from the country and we will not be able to improve the living standards of our people.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji. Fifteen minutes, please.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, I congratulate the honourable Finance Minister for presenting the present budget in the present circumstances. As you are aware, last year's budget deficit, though estimated to be Rs. 7,206 crores, ended up at

Rs. 11,750 crores, and while the annual growth rate in the tax revenue for the last decade was 17.1 per cent, the revenue expenditure exceeded the tax revenue at the rate of 18.4 per cent. Therefore, there is no other go except to be a little hard and harsh. But at the same time, Prof. Dandavate promised that he will see to it that the estimated budget deficit will not cross Rs. 7,206 crores. I hope necessary steps will be taken in this regard.

Sir, I congratulate the Government for fulfilling the promise of the election manifesto, by including in this budget, debt relief up to Rs. 10,000 to all the farmers—whether it is small, marginal or whatever it is, irrespective of the holding. As you are aware, Sir, agriculture nowadays is not traditional agriculture. Now it is modern agriculture which demands more expenditure, more inputs, more investment, more capital. At the same time financial institutions are demanding about 14 per cent interest on loans and, at this rate, within three to four years even the Usurious Loans Act will become irrelevant as far as the interest component on loans from financial institutions to the agricultural sector is concerned.

As you are aware, for quite a long time the interest rate on loans to the farming community used to be only 0.5 per cent per month, and it was compounded in three years or so. But now a days the banking sector is behaving like a kabuliwallah and charging interest at the rate of 14 per cent the penal rate of interest being compounded every three months. With these rates of interest and with natural calamities around the corner each and every years, it is not possible for the farming community to repay such huge amounts by way of interest etc.

Since the 5th century B. C. there were concessions given to the farming community in this country. Whether it was the colonial government

[Dr. YELAMANCHILI Sivaji]

or government of kings and others, there was some relief or other given to the farming community whenever calamities took place. In Kautilya's Artha Shastra, in the Manu Smriti, even in the Koran and the Bible, there is mention about relief to the farming community. The Moghuls also used to announce some relief to the farming community. In the time of the East India Company, during 1793 A. D., there was a devastating famine throughout the country and so they framed a Famine Code to give some relief to the farming community. As you know, Sir, in 1874 there was the Deccan agriculturists Loan Act by which, especially in the composite Madras State, some relief was being given to the farming community there. In 1904 there was the Co-operative Credit Society Act, and in 1918 the Serf protection Act was enacted, and in 1934 this Act was amended. In Kanishka's time not only was debt relief to farmers announced but at the same time in addition to that 1 crore of ploughs and other agricultural implements were imported. Not only ploughs but also bullocks and ploughing oxen were imported. Seeds were got from far away places to see that the farming community would be reinstated once again free of cost so that they could engage themselves in livelihood.

During 1930s when the Great Depression was there, the late Rajgopalachari in the composite Madras State appointed one Mr. Swaminathan, the Chief Secretary of the composite Madras State to have an in-depth study about the indebtedness among the rural folk and farming community. Mr. Swaminathan mentioned in his report that the Indian farming community is born in debt, lives in debt and dies in debt warrant on his life. This was the debt warrant on his life. This was the report of late Swaminathan. So, Rajgopalachari, depending upon Mr. Swaminathan's report, in 1937 en-

acted a law called the Agriculturists' Debt Relief Act, and it was in vogue for some time in the composite Madras State including Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and parts of Kerala.

During 1930s when the Great Depression was there not only here but also elsewhere all over the world including the USA, there was disparity in the prices, in the input price as well as the output price. There was a gap in the cost of production and the cost of realisation. So, Mr. Roosevelt, the then President of the USA, enacted a law and spent a huge amount, \$70 crores on spoiling or devastating the cash crops in that country so that the prices are maintained. Likewise he spent crores of dollars to save the farming community. But in this country no Roosevelt is there, nobody is there to protect the farming community. At least I am happy that this Government came out with a proposal to give debt relief.

I would like to add that there is a mention in the Finance Minister's speech that wilful defaulters will be eliminated. Sir, as you know, if this goes, if the wilful defaulter provision is there, I don't think that it is going to give any benefit to the farming community. It gives enormous discretionary power to the lower level officials. The bank officials, as you know, in the present system are corrupt, and even for securing a loan the farming community is feeling hardship. If the discretionary power is left with the lowest level official, if enormous powers are given to him, corruption will go on and the debt relief is not going to benefit the farmers as far as banks are concerned. So, I would like to suggest to the Minister that in the final reading at least let him delete the term "wilful defaulters." Let there be a blanket debt relief to the farming community. No farmer willingly or unwillingly wants to be a defaulter

Unless the conditions are beyond his control, he cannot be a defaulter. So that "wilful defaulter" clause should be deleted.

As soon as the V. P. Singh Government took over, Mr. V. P. Singh went on the TV and the radio and announced that the National Front Government is committed to give debt relief to the farming community. Fortunately all the Governments, including those in the Congress-ruled States, announced *suo motu* just like in auction platforms. "Our is Rs. 12,000, ours is Rs. 13,000." Some other State announced Rs. 15,000. Each State Government announced, "We are going to implement debt relief." So, ultimately the election took place. But now the Governments in States like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are coming out with a slogan, "it is the responsibility of the Union Government. We are not going to implement it even for the co-operative sector. If the Central Government wants to waive it, let it waive it. We are not here to support you." That is the statement the Congress people are making in the Congress-ruled States like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. What I would suggest to the Congress people in the Congress-ruled States is that they should not quarrel on who should bear the burden, whether it is to be borne by the Union Government alone or has to be shared by the State Government. Let them join the national mainstream and share some burden. As far as the natural calamities and happenings in Guntur and Prakasam—where more than 40 cotton growers had committed suicide—are concerned, I would suggest that irrespective of Rs. 10,000 limit, the Government should take courage in their hands and see that complete relief is given to the cotton growers in those two districts.

डा० अब्दुल्लाह अहमद खान (राजस्थान):
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनता दल की सरकार आने के बाद यह पहला बजट

इस सरकार का था। लोगों को बड़ी उम्मीदें थीं इस बजट से, बड़ी आशाएँ थीं इस बजट से। लेकिन अब उन्होंने बजट देखा तो उन्हें बड़ी निराशा हुई। यह बजट लोगों की आशाओं के प्रतिकूल है और इस में खासतौर से जो मध्यम वर्ग और गरीब वर्ग का तबका है, हमारे भाई कमल मोरार। जैसे बड़े प्रसन्न हैं, क्योंकि इस बजट में खासतौर से जो फायदा मिला है वह उद्योगपतियों को मिला है। लेकिन जो मध्यम वर्ग है

(व्यवधान) जो गरीब तबके के लोग हैं, इस बजट से उन पर जो भार पड़ा है और इससे सि प्रचार की उनको निराशा हुई है वह वास्तव में एक विचारणीय प्रश्न है। इस बजट पर खासतौर से जो सबसे ज्यादा उम्मीद लगाये बैठे थे, वे बेतन-भोगी कर्मचारी थे, जो मध्यम वर्ग में आते हैं, उनको इस बजट से काफी उम्मीदें थीं। सबसे ज्यादा निराशा उनको आयकर में जो छूट दी गई उसको देखकर हुई। महोदय, मैं स्वयं भी यहाँ आने के पहले यूनिवर्सिटी में प्रोफेसर था। यह विचार मैं मस्तिष्क में हमेशा उठा करता था कि विरोधी भी बेतन-भोगी कर्मचारी को महंगाई भत्ते के रूप में जो राशि दी जाती है, तो वास्तव में वह महंगाई के रूप में दी गई राशि प्राइस इंडेक्स के बढ़ जाने के कारण उसकी क्रय शक्ति को यथावत रखने के लिये दी जाती है। इससे वास्तविक रूप में उसकी परवर्जिता पावर, उसकी क्रय शक्ति नहीं बढ़ती है। इसमें वास्तव में उसकी आय नहीं बढ़ती है बल्कि उसकी क्रय शक्ति को बनाये रखने के लिये एक तरह से उसकी पूँति की जाती है। महंगाई बढ़ने के कारण महंगाई भत्ते के रूप में जो राशि दी जाती है और उसको कर योग्य आय में जो शामिल किया जाता है, इस नई सरकार में लोग यह उम्मीद लगा बैठे थे कि यह सरकार महंगाई भत्ते की राशि को कर मुक्त करेगी। लेकिन इस सरकार द्वारा ऐसा नहीं किया गया। ऐसा न करने के साथ साथ जो आय कर में छूट दी गई तो कर मुक्त न्यूनतम राशि जो पहले 18000 थी उसको बढ़ाकर मात्र 22000 किया गया जो कि बहुत

[डा० अबरार अहमद खान]

कम है। महोदय, आज अगर आप सर्वे करें या रिपोर्ट उठाकर देखें तो फ़ोर्थ क्लास के बहुत से कर्मचारी भी आपको आय कर देने वाले मिल जायेंगे। मैं इस संबंध में माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी में आग्रह करूंगा कि वे इस पर पुनर्विचार करें और इस सीमा को बढ़ाकर कम से कम 30,000 करें तथा मंहगाई भत्ते की जो राशि है उसको कर मुक्त करें। बल्कि मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि सरकार अपने कर्मचारियों को जो वेतन देती है, वह काम के बदले उनकी आजीविका के लिये यह राशि देती है। इसलिए उनके वेतन को विल्कुल ही कर मुक्त रखा जाय और उनके पे स्कूल को इस नज़रिये की सामने रखते हुए रिवाज किया जाय और उनसे आय कर नहीं लिया जाय। उनको जो इंकीमेंट दिया जाय वह भी इसी दृष्टिकोण को मानने रखते हुए दिया जाय और उस पर भी आय कर न लिया जाय। क्योंकि वे सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं और सरकार उनको पैसा देती है... और सरकार दूसरे हाथ से वापिस ले ले, यह तो उचित नहीं है। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि कर्मचारियों को अगर कर-मुक्त वेतन दिया जाय तो उस में भी कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। इस तरह से इस संबंध में विचार किया जाना चाहिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, 10 हजार रुपये के ऋण के बारे में काफ़ी दिनों से बड़ी चर्चाएं थीं। चुनाव के समय बड़े लम्बे-लम्बे आश्वासन दिये गये। कृषक और गरीब वर्ग के लोग बड़े प्रसन्न थे कि 10 हजार रुपये तक का उनका ऋण माफ़ किया जाएगा। जब चुनाव के समय 10 हजार रुपये ऋण माफ़ करने के बारे में आश्वासन दिये गये तब किसी कंडीशन की कोई बात नहीं थी। तब किसी भी प्रकार की उसके अन्दर शर्त की बात नहीं थी। लेकिन आज जब 10 हजार रुपये के ऋण को माफ़ करने की बात आई है तो उस में कई शर्तें लगा दी गई हैं। खास तौर से इस 10 हजार रुपये के ऋण को माफ़ करने के लिए सिर्फ़ एक हजार करोड़ रुपये का

प्रावधान किया गया है। यह बहुत ही कम है। इसके लिए लगभग 14 हजार करोड़ रुपये की आवश्यकता है लेकिन एक हजार करोड़ रुपये का ही प्रावधान है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि किस प्रकार से और किस का ऋण माफ़ किया जाएगा और किस का नहीं किया जाएगा। महोदय, ज्यादातर लोगों ने जो ऋण लिये हैं वह राज्य सरकारों के सहकारी बैंकों से लिये हैं जिनके बारे में किसी भी प्रकार का कोई उल्लेख नहीं किया गया है। खास तौर पर सब से बड़ी शर्त यह लगाई गई है कि जो डिफ़ाल्टर है उनको यह सुविधा नहीं दी जाएगी। माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जब कोई गरीब आदमी अपने सीमित साधनों के कारण या गरीबी के कारण ऋण लेने के बाद चुका नहीं पाता उसे तो यह सुविधा मिलनी चाहिये, वास्तव में वही ऋण की माफ़ी का हकदार है। आपने उसी आदमी को इस सुविधा से वंचित कर दिया है और यह कहा है कि जो व्यक्ति डिफ़ाल्टर है, जिसने ऋण लिया था और किश्त जमा नहीं करा पाया है, उसको यह सुविधा नहीं दी जाएगी। मैं नहीं समझता कि वास्तव में जिसे कोई सुविधा देनी है, उसके लिए यह बात की जा रही है बल्कि यह तो शब्द जाल में फंसाया जा रहा है, आंकड़ों के जाल में फंसाया जा रहा है। कहने के लिए हम यह कह सकते कि हमने 10 हजार रुपये तक ऋण माफ़ कर दिया है, वास्तव में हम चाहते हैं कि उनको लाभ न पहुंचे। इस प्रकार 10 हजार रुपये के ऋण का द्विदोरा पीठा गया, वास्तव में जो लाभ की बात है वह नाम-मात्र है बल्कि नगण्य है। यह सब कंडीशंस इस में से हटाई जानी चाहिये और बिना किसी शर्त के जिस गरीब आदमी का 10 हजार रुपये का ऋण माफ़ किये जाने का वायदा किया गया है, वह पूरा किया जाना चाहिये।

बजट आने के बाद उसी रात में पेट्रोल, डीजल और टायर इत्यादि मर्दों के भाव बढ़ गये। यह तीनों मर्दे ऐसी हैं जो सीधे आवागमन की साधनों की लागत को बढ़ाती हैं। रेल भाड़े में पहले ही वृद्धि की घोषणा की जा चुकी थी जिसके कारण रेल के माध्यम से

जितना सामान और आवश्यक उपभोग की वस्तुएं हैं सभी चीजों की कीमतों में वृद्धि होना निश्चित है। डीलर की कीमत बढ़ने से सड़क मार्ग द्वारा जो चीजें आती हैं उनकी कीमत बढ़ना निश्चित है। इन कीमतों के बढ़ने का सीधा असर दैनिक उपभोग की वस्तुओं पर पड़ गया है और पड़ेगा। वैसे तो 100 दिन के अन्दर की बात कही जा रही थी कि महंगाई नहीं बढ़ी है, महंगाई कम हुई है, चीजों के मूल्य घटे हैं। मैंने एक अतारोंकित प्रश्न संख्या 493, 16 मार्च, 1990 को पूछा था। मैंने यह जानना चाहा था कि नवम्बर मास के जो मूल्य सूचकांक हैं और मार्च के पहले जो सूचकांक हैं उनमें जो आवश्यक वस्तुएं हैं उनके मूल्यों में कितना अन्तर है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि इन 100 दिनों के अन्दर जिन आवश्यक वस्तुओं के भाव बढ़े। यह भाव 100 दिन में आवश्यक वस्तुओं के बढ़ चुके थे और इस बजट से जो और प्रभाव पड़ेगा उससे गरीब आदमी पर बड़ा प्रतिकूल असर पड़ेगा। बाजरा जिसका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 124.7 था नवम्बर, 1989 में वह फरवरी, 1990 के अन्दर बढ़ कर 135.9 हो गया यानी 9.4 की वृद्धि हुई। चाय जिसका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक नवम्बर, 1989 में 298.7 था वह बढ़ कर के 309.5 हो गया यानी 10.8 की वृद्धि हुई। यह डाटा माननीय खाद्य आपूर्ति मंत्री जी का किमा हुआ है। मैं अपनी तरफ से कुछ भी नहीं बोल रहा हूं। लम्बे जिसको गरीब से गरीब आदमी को आवश्यकता पड़ती है उसका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 154.3 था जो बढ़ कर के 158.2 हो गया यानी 3.9 की वृद्धि हुई। सरसों का तेल है 141.1 जिसका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक था बढ़कर 142.5 हो गया, यानी 1.4 की वृद्धि हुई। नारियल का तेल है 172.3 जिसका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक था बढ़कर 182.2 हो गया यानी 9.9 की वृद्धि हुई। मूंगफली का तेल है जो हर एक के घर में खाने के काम में आता है जिसका 166.7 थोक मूल्य सूचकांक था बढ़कर 174.0 हो गया यानी 7.3 की वृद्धि हो गयी। जिंजली का तेल है जिसका थोक मूल्य

सूचकांक 164.7 था बढ़कर 204.0 हो गया यानी 39.3 की वृद्धि हो गयी। मटर जिसका 204.4 थोक मूल्य सूचकांक था 207.3 हो गया यानी आवश्यक उपभोग की जो वस्तुएं हैं इनका थोक मूल्य सूचकांक किस प्रकार से बढ़ा है यह इस सारिणी के माध्यम से और जो सरकार के माननीय खाद्य और आपूर्ति मंत्री ने जो उत्तर दिये हैं उनसे स्वयं पता चलता है कि सी दिन में भी भाव काफी बढ़ गये हैं और इसी प्रश्न के अन्दर मैंने पूछा था कि खुदरा भावों के अन्दर कितनी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। बहुत सी वस्तुएं ऐसी हैं जो दैनिक उपभोग की वस्तुएं हैं। खुदरा मूल्य काफी हद तक बढ़ चुके हैं। गेहूं का औसत खुदरा मूल्य इन सी दिनों के अन्दर .3 प्रतिशत बढ़ा, बाजरा जिसके थोक मूल्य सूचकांक का मैंने अभी जिक्र किया, इसका 7.4 परसेंट बढ़ा। मूंग का खुदरा भाव 4.2 परसेंट बढ़ा, मठुर्ला का खुदरा भाव 1.2 परसेंट बढ़ा, चाय का थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 3.6 प्रतिशत बढ़ा और खुदरा मूल्य सूचकांक 2.4 प्रतिशत बढ़ा। नमक के बारे में मैंने अभी जिक्र किया कि उसका खुदरा मूल्य सूचकांक 9.6 प्रतिशत बढ़ा। सरसों के तेल का .9 प्रतिशत खुदरा मूल्य सूचकांक बढ़ा और थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 1 प्रतिशत बढ़ा, नारियल के तेल का थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 5.7 प्रतिशत बढ़ा और मूंगफली के तेल का खुदरा मूल्य सूचकांक 4.4 प्रतिशत बढ़ा माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इससे आप अंदाजा लगाएं कि सी दिन में जिन चीजों का डिंदोरा पीटा गया कि यह रोजमर्रा की काम आने वाली चीजें सस्ती होंगी और ये माननीय मंत्री जी खुद बता रहे हैं कि इनके भाव इतने प्रतिशत बढ़े हैं और यह बजट उन भावों को उसी दिन से प्रभावित कर रहा है तो 15 दिन के बाद जब हम आंकड़े देखेंगे तो लगता है इन वस्तुओं के भाव आसमान छूने लगेंगे। इसलिए मैं यह आग्रह करूंगा कि जो बढ़ोत्तरी डीजल, पेट्रोल, टायर आदि पर की गयी है जिनसे आवागमन के साधनों की कीमतें एकदम बढ़ जायेंगी, इनको भी कम किया जाये, सीमित किया जाये।

[डॉ० अबरार अहमद खान]

दूसरी बढोत्तरी बड़ी आश्चर्य वाली है जो खास तौर से डाक खर्चों के बारे में की गयी है। कोई भी गरीब से गरीब आदमी या जो मजदूर वर्ग से है जो अपने घर से कोशों दूर जाकर मेहनत मजदूरी करता है वह भी कम से कम अपने बाँकी खर्चों को लिखता है, पोस्ट कार्ड का उपयोग करता है। लेकिन उस पोस्ट कार्ड की कीमत को भी 40 पैसे से बढ़ाकर 60 पैसे पर दिया जाना 50 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि का दं है। मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है कि किस प्रकार का लाजिक है। जो अंतर्देशीय पत्र भेजना चाहे आम आदमी हो, चाहे मध्यम वर्ग का कहें चाहे गरीब आदमी हो प्रत्येक इसका उपयोग करता है उसकी कीमतें बढ़ा दी हैं। इसी प्रकार के जो अंतर नैचल पर पोस्टल एक्सपेंसेन हैं उन पर बढ़ाया जाये तो वह उचित लगता है लेकिन जो पोस्ट कार्ड हैं, अंतर्देशीय पत्र हैं, गरीब से गरीब आदमी झुग्गी झोपड़ी वाला आदमी, हर श्रेणी का आदमी जिसका यूज करता है उनकी कीमतें बढ़ा देना, मुझे नहीं लगता कि जनता दल की सरकार जनता दल के मैनीफेस्टो को पूरा कर रही है।

इसके साथ ही साथ एक अरमी की मिनिमम रिस्वायरमेंट रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान की है। उन्होंने न रोटी को छोड़ा, न कपड़े को छोड़ा और न मकान को छोड़ा। अमी में जो पाइस इंडेक्स है वह आपको बता रहा था। उसके माध्यम से जो भी दैनिक उपभोग की चीजें हैं उनकी कीमतें अपने आप बढ़ गयी हैं कपड़े के लिए आपने आगे को नहीं बढ़ाया, उसकी कीमतें बढ़ा दी और मकान के लिए आयरन, स्टील और सॉफिट दोनों के भाव इन्होंने बढ़ा दिये। तो रोटी कपड़ा और मकान की जो मिनिमम रिस्वायरमेंट थी उसकी कीमतें बढ़ाने में भी कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ा है। जो मध्यम वर्ग का आदमी है उस पर इनके बहुत अधिक भार पड़ा है।

महोदय, एक चीज की बड़ी प्रशंसा की जा रही है कि स्वर्ण नियंत्रण कानून को हटा दिया गया है महोदय, यहां

रोजाना नये कानून बनते हैं। समय बदलता है परिस्थितियां बदलती हैं तो उनके अनुसार नये कानूनों की आवश्यकता महसूस होती है। परिस्थितियों के बदलने से पुराने कानून अपने आप बेकार हो जाते हैं। यह जो कानून आज हटाया है, यह परिस्थिति और समय के अनुसार ही था। यह 1963 के अंदर मोरारजीभाई ने इस कानून को बनाया था। लेकिन उस समय इन कानून की आवश्यकता थी। आज परिस्थिति और समय के अनुसार इस कानून की आवश्यकता नहीं रही थी, लगभग अप्रासंगिक हो गया था, तो इन कानून को हटा दिया गया। इसमें कोई बहुत बड़ा तौर मारने वाली बात नहीं है। और आज भी अगर तीर मारने वाली बात थी, जो आज के जो प्रधान मंत्री हैं, उन्होंने आज ने तीन साल पहले कई बजट पेज लिए हैं, तभी हटा दिया होगा। लेकिन उसमें कोई ऐसी महत्वपूर्ण बात नहीं थी। इसके अंदर समय और परिस्थितियों के अनुसार जो आवश्यकता है, उसके मुताबिक नए कानून बनाते हैं, पुराने कानूनों को रद्द कर दिया जाता है। तो उसके मुताबिक यह स्वर्ण नियंत्रण कानून हटाया है।

खास तौर से इस बजट में जो सब से खराब बात मुझको महसूस हुई, वह बात यह थी कि इसमें शहर और गांवों वालों के बीच में खाई डालने की कोशिश की गई है। ऐसा नहीं कि जो बजट इस दृष्टि से बनाया है, जैसे शहर वालों के प्रति वायसड होकर बनाया हो, शहर वालों के प्रति कोई दुर्भावना रखकर बनाया हो या अगर वालों को प्रेरित किया जा रहा हो कि 42 साल वाले पुराने गांवों में जाकर रहो। अगर यहां रहेंगे तो आपको हर चीज के लिए यह भोगना ही पड़ेगा, हर चीज की कीमत आपको बढ़ी हुई महसूस करनी पड़ेगी।

यह सब मैं आपको इसलिए अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ने से शहर में रहने वाला हर आदमी जो दोपट्टिया, चाहे वह लुना, स्कूटर या मोटर-साइकिल रखता हो, पेट्रोल की कीमत बढ़ने से उसके घर का तो सौ रुपए महीने का खर्चा कम से कम बढ़ हो गया है।

दैनिक उपभोग की चीजें जो बाजार में आती हैं, उसकी कीमत बढ़ ही गई है, कपड़ा जो पहना है, उसकी कीमत बढ़ ही गई है, मकान अगर उसको बनाना है, तो उसमें आयरन और स्टील की कीमत और दुनिया भर की चीजों की कीमत बढ़ने से उसकी कीमत बढ़ ही गई है। उसके अलावा जो मध्यम वर्ग का आदमी है, जिनके लिए किसी जमाने में विलासिता की चीजें समझी जाती थीं, लेकिन आज शहर में रहने वाले उस व्यक्ति की वह आवश्यकता है। उन आवश्यक वस्तुओं की कोई चीज बाकी नहीं छोड़ी है, जिस पर कि उन्होंने टैक्स नहीं लगाया हो, चाहे उन वस्तुओं के अंदर किसी भी प्रकार की वस्तु हो, चाहे वाणिज्य मशीन हो या रेफ्रिजरेटर हो, या इलेक्ट्रॉनिक मासूम हो, रंग-रोगन हो, जैम हो, मुखड़ा हो, टेलीफोन हो, स्कूटर हो, मोटर-साइकिल हो या एल्यूमीनम हो, यानी शहर में रहने वाले आदमी की यह नैसिद्दी है, लकजरी नहीं है। यह विलासिता नहीं है, यह उसकी आवश्यकता है। लेकिन इस प्रकार से उसके गले को दबोचा है कि आज शहर में रहने वाला आदमी या कस्बे में रहने वाला आदमी तड़प रहा है।

महोदय, आज जो छात्र हैं, जिनको इस सरकार से बड़ी आशाएँ थीं, वह भी इस बजट को देख कर बड़े निराश हुए हैं। आज मूल्य सूचकांक इस बजट के कारण बढ़ेंगे और बढ़ रहे हैं। उससे छात्र भी किसी भी भावे में अछूते नहीं रहे। आज पढ़ने वाला छात्र जो छात्रावास में रहता है, अगर महीने भर के बाद वह मैस का भुगतान करेगा, तो निश्चित रूप से 25 से 30 रुपए का भोजन में का से कम उसे ज्यादा भुगतान करना पड़ेगा। मैस में मिलने वाला खाना उसको मंहगा मिलेगा।

वह छात्र अगर कहीं रोजगार के लिए चिट्ठी डालेगा या रोजगार के लिए फार्म भरेगा, तो जहाँ उसको तीन रुपए का टिकट लगाना पड़ता था, आज उस बेरोजगार छात्र को पाँच रुपए का डाक टिकट लगाना पड़ेगा।

जो किसी आवागमन के साधन से, एल्यूमीनम से या स्कूटर से पढ़ने जाता था, जहाँ उसका सौ रुपए के पेट्रोल से काम चल जाता था, आज उसे 150 रुपए का पेट्रोल डालना पड़ेगा। यानी कि जो छात्र महसूस कर रहे थे कि सरकार हमें रिलीफ देगी, इससे हमें मदद मिलेगी, तो उनकी इसमें बड़ी परेशानी हो गई है और उनका काफी भ्रंश इसमें बढ़ा है।

महोदय, शिक्षा पर जो कुल 865 करोड़ रुपए खर्च करने का प्रावधान रखा है, शिक्षा के महत्व को देखते हुए यह अत्यंत ही कम है, क्योंकि आज हमारा सारा ढाँचा, चाहे प्रशासनिक ढाँचा हो, चाहे आर्थिक ढाँचा हो, उसकी अगर कोई नींव है, तो वह शिक्षा है। उसके महत्व को हम नकार नहीं सकते अगर इस देश की बुनियाद है, तो वह शिक्षा है और उस शिक्षा पर मात्र 865 करोड़ रुपए का जो प्रावधान है, उसके महत्व को देखते हुए नगण्य के बराबर है। उसको बढ़ाना चाहिए। उससे भी जो सामान्य शिक्षा के लिए रखा है, वह सिर्फ 290 करोड़ रुपए हैं, जब कि गत वर्ष यह 329 करोड़ रुपए था।

एक बात और माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने कही है कि जब वह छह महीने बाद घाटे की समीक्षा संसद के अंदर करेंगे। मुझे तो उनकी नीयत पर शक हो रहा है कि समीक्षा के नाम पर या बजट घाटे की स्थिति संसद में बताने के नाम पर छह मास बाद वह कोई दूसरा बजट नहीं ले आये और फिर दुबारा इस गरीब और मध्यम वर्ग पर कर न लगा दें।

तो यह बात प्रशंसा की नहीं है, मुझे तो बड़े आश्चर्य की यह बात लगती है कि कहीं इस छह महीने के नाटक के जाल में दुबारा फिर छह महीने के बाद कोई कर आरोपन तो करने नहीं जा रहे हैं।

महोदय, इसमें भुगतान संतुलन की बात भी कही गयी है महोदय, भुगतान संतुलन का जो घाटा है वह एक चिंता का विषय है। उसके लिए पूर्व सरकार ने लगातार प्रयास किया था कि किसी प्रकार से हमारे निर्यातों में वृद्धि हो और आयातों में कमी हो। उसी के परिणामस्वरूप

[ड० अब्दुल रहमान खान]

1987-88 में जो 26.4 प्रतिशत का हमारा निर्यात था वह 1988-89 में 28.9 प्रतिशत हुआ और अप्रैल, 89 के दौरान 38.3 प्रतिशत हुआ। यह हमारी सरकार ने लगातार बढ़ाने का प्रयास किया और आयात जोकि 1988-89 में 25.09 प्रतिशत हो गया था, 89-90 के 9 महीने में अप्रैल से सितम्बर तक 20.7 प्रतिशत किया। तो इन तरह उस सरकार ने बराबर निर्यात को बढ़ाने और आयात को घटाने का प्रयास किया जिससे भुगतान संतुलन का घाटा ठीक हो सके।

महोदय, इस बजट के अंदर जो राहत दी गयी है, उनमें से अधिकांश राहत ऐसी हैं जिससे कि उद्योगपति या पूंजीपति को फायदा मिलता है। उससे गरीब का कोई लेन-देन नहीं है। मान्यवर, एक राहत तो ऐसी है जिसके तहत फीचर फिल्म के उत्पादन कर को कर मुक्त किया गया। महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि फीचर फिल्म बनाने वाला आदमी करोड़पति से कम नहीं होता। तो उसके उत्पादन कर को करमुक्त किया गया है जिसके कारण 8 करोड़ का रेवेन्यू हमें कम मिलेगा। इससे फीचर फिल्म देखने वालों को कोई फायदा नहीं मिलेगा क्योंकि उसमें पिक्चर हाल का जो एंटरटेनमेंट टैक्स देना पड़ता है, वह तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट का होता है और आर्टिस्ट काम करने वाले नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार इसमें पूंजीपति को फायदा पहुंचाया गया है ताकि गरीब जनता को। इसके अलावा बहुत-से ऐसी चीजों को फायदा दिया गया है जिससे कि आम आदमी को कोई फायदा नहीं है। महोदय, कितने लोग काफी पीने वाले होते हैं, कितने लोग अवार खाने वाले होते हैं? इस तरह इसमें हमने को तो कहा गया है कि फायदा दिया गया है, लेकिन उस फायदे का आम आदमी से कोई मतलब नहीं होता है और अगर मतलब होता है तो उसका लाभ छोड़े पूंजीपति को पहुंचता है।

महोदय, प्रतिरक्षा व्यय इस वर्ष बढ़ाकर 15,750 करोड़ रुपए कर दिया गया है और गत वर्ष से इस वर्ष में 8.6 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि की गयी है। पहले प्रतिरक्षा व्यय पर 14500 करोड़ रुपया का प्रावधान था, उसको अब 15,750 करोड़ किया गया है। हमें यह प्रतिरक्षा व्यय बढ़ाना पड़ता है, इसका क्या कारण है? महोदय, कुछ इस तरह की परिस्थितियां जो सरकार की नीति-रीति पर निर्भर होती हैं, फिरतार, की योजना पर निर्भर होती है, सरकार के काम करने के ढंग पर निर्भर रहती है जिस कारण हमें इस वर्ष को बढ़ाना या घटाना पड़ता है। अगर सरकार इस प्रकार की रीति-नीति अपनाये जिससे कि किसी प्रकार का टेंशन नहीं तब मैं समझता हूँ कि इस खर्च को बढ़ाने की जरूरत नहीं है लेकिन आज ये 15,750 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान रखना पड़ा जिसके लिए हमें इधर-उधर से कर लगाने पड़े। ये प्रावधान करना पड़ा क्योंकि आश्मीर के अंदर आज एक गंभीर समस्या खड़ी हो गयी है। आज पंजाब जल रहा है, उसके कारण हमें यह प्रावधान रखना पड़ा। आज तब हमने से आश्मीर और पंजाब में आग लगी है। सारे देश इससे चिंता में हैं। यह बहुत ही विचारणीय प्रश्न है। महोदय, वह पंजाब जिसमें कि अब आतंकवाद शुरू हुआ तब उसे खत्म करने के लिए हमारे राजनीतिज्ञ और गैर-राजनीतिज्ञ लोगों ने अपनी बलि दी, कुर्बानी दी, वह पंजाब जिससे आतंकवाद मिटाने के लिए हमारे पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने अपना जान की कुर्बानी दी। वे खुद टूटें, लेकिन देश की नहीं टूटने दिया। वह पंजाब जिससे आतंकवाद खत्म करने के लिए हमारे पूर्व प्रधान मंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी ने लाल किले पर खड़े होकर कहा कि, "यदि पंजाब के लिए बलिदान चाहिए, कुर्बानी चाहिए तो मैं देने के लिए तैयार हूँ।" तब जाकर नवम्बर, 89 के अंदर यह आतंकवाद कुछ सिमट पाया था। नवम्बर, 89 में हमने उस पर उतना नियंत्रण कर लिया था कि पंजाब के 240 थानों में से 66 थाने ऐसे थे जहां आतंकवाद को कुछ छुट्टापुट घटनाय होती

थी। महोदय, जो 12 जिले पंजाब के है उसमें से मात्र 3 जिले ऐसे थे जहाँ को आतंकवाद की छूटपुट घटनाये होती थी। लेकिन ज्योंही दिसम्बर, में यह सरकार बनी और जिस प्रकार के वक्तव्य इन्होंने दिए, जिस प्रकार से पुलिस को डिमोरलाइज किया, जिस प्रकार से आतंकवादी को बढ़ावा दिया उससे पंजाब की हालत बिगड़ी है। महोदय, मैं पंजाब का एक एंडोर्सियल पढ़ रहा था कि किस प्रकार से वहाँ पंजाब में दिन दहाड़े पुलिस वालों की हत्याये हो रही है, किस प्रकार से यहाँ आगजनी हो रही है, किस प्रकार के वहाँ के लोगों को उठाकर ले जाया जाता है, किस प्रकार से हिन्दी के राष्ट्रीय गीत और हिंदी की पढ़ाई को बंद कराया गया, किस प्रकार से यह घटनाये बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं अभी 7 मार्च को किस तरह से अशोहर के अंदर गोल/कांड हुआ, किस तरह से खून खराबा हुआ, जिसमें तीस आदमियों को मौके पर मार दिया गया, तीस आदमी को घायल किया गया, जिनमें एक आदमी कल मरा और किस तरह से बम विस्फोट हुआ। यह जो कुछ भी पंजाब में हुआ, सरकार की गलत नीतियों के कारण हुआ है।

महोदय, इसी तरह से कश्मीर के अंदर हुआ। जब कश्मीर के मुख्यमंत्री ने साफ लफ्जों में कहा था कि जगमोहन को हमारे यहाँ मत भेजिए तो क्या 81 करोड़ की आबादी में कोई दूसरा आदमी राज्यपाल बनाकर वहाँ भेजने के लिए नहीं था, एकमात्र जगमोहन ही था, जो उन्हें भिजवा दिया। उस दिन गृहमंत्री जी ने अपने वक्तव्य में कहा जब उ से पूछा गया कि क्यों आपने जगमोहन को भेजा तो वह बोले कि अगर हम दूसरे आदमी को भेज देते तो तीन महीने उसको कश्मीर को समझने में ही लग जाते। बाह मंत्री जी, आपने खूब कहा और तीन महीने में जाकर कश्मीर में क्या पूरे देश में आग लगा दी। अगर दूसरा आदमी जाता, चाहे तीन महीने उसे कश्मीर को समझने में लगते, लेकिन यह हालत तो कश्मीर की न होती, यह हालत तो देश की न होती, हमारे जो पड़ोसी देश हैं, उनकी इतनी हिंमत तो न बढ़ती,

इस सबके कारण आज बजट की हर भद पर गरीब जनता को भुगतना पड़ रहा है। यह हमारे जो सीमावर्ती इलाके हैं, वहाँ जिस प्रकार से दूसरे देशों के हॉसले बढ़ रहे हैं, जिस प्रकार से आतंकवादी कार्यवाहियाँ बढ़ रही हैं, उसकी वजह से यह कर लगाने पड़ रहे हैं, बजट के प्रावधानों को बढ़ाना पड़ रहा है। यह सब किस कारण से; यह सब सरकार की गलत नीतियों के कारण से, सरकार के गलत फैसलों के कारण से और इन गलत फैसलों को भुगतनी देश की जनता, गरीब आदमी। यह पास्टकार्ड पर कीमत बढ़ाकर, लिफाफों पर कीमत बढ़ाकर, पेट्रोल पर कीमत बढ़ाकर, डीजल पर कीमत बढ़ाकर, आम आदमी का जीवन दूबर कर दिया है। फैसले गलत करें आप, देश में आग लगायें आप, पंजाब में आग लगायें, कश्मीर के अंदर जगमोहन को आप भेजें और कर लें देश की जनता पर। यह कैसा न्याय है।

महोदय, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को अपनी नीति सुधारनी चाहिए अपना रवैया सुधारना चाहिए, जिससे कि कर के प्रावधान कम किए जा सकें, खर्च घटाये जा सकें। अगर कोई भी ऐसा काम होगा, जिससे खर्च बढेगा तो कर ता लगेगा ही। इसलिए कर के पीछे जो रहती है, वह सरकार की नीति रहती है, और आज जो कुछ भी हो रहा है, उसकी दोषी सरकार है, उसकी जिम्मेदार यह सरकार है, जिसे भुगत रही है गरीब जनता।

महोदय, मैं बहुत जल्दी अपनी बात खतम करना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन खासतौर से एक बात जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ राजस्थान के बारे में, क्योंकि मैं राजस्थान से आता हूँ। राजस्थान में खास दो समस्याएँ हैं, एक तो वहाँ का रेगिस्तान, और दूसरा वहाँ पाने के पानी की समस्या बेरोजगारी और भुखमरी तो है ही। मैं जबसे संसद में आया हूँ, हमेशा मैंने आग्रह किया है कि राजस्थान में हर साल दो साल में अकाल पड़ता है। आज से दो साल पहले जिस तरह का अकाल पड़ा था, वह आप लोगों से छिपा नहीं है अगर उस समय के प्रधान मंत्री राजीव जी राजस्थान न जाते, तो नौसौ करोड़ रुपया राजस्थान पर खर्च न करते, गांव

[डा० अबरार अहमद खान]

गांव, झोपड़पट्टो जाकर उनकी मदद न करते, रेलों और टैंकों के जरिए पानी न भेजते तो शायद राजस्थान के कितने ही आदमी और मवेशी प्रभावित हुए बिना न रहते !। तो जिस राजस्थान में साल, दो साल तीन साल में कभी 400 करोड़ कभी 500 करोड़, कभी 700 करोड़ खर्च करना पड़ता है अकाल की अवस्था में, उस अकाल से निपटने के लिए कोई स्थाई समाधान निकाला जाना चाहिए था । मुझे दुख है कि इस बजट में उस राजस्थान के अकाल से निपटने के लिए किसी स्थाई समाधान का उल्लेख नहीं है । इसलिए मैं आपसे यह आग्रह करूंगा कि उस अकाल से निपटने के लिए पानी के पानी के स्थाई समाधान के लिए कुछ प्रावधान इस बजट में अदृश्य रखें, जिससे इस भयंकर समस्या का समाधान हो सके ।

महोदय, अंत में मैं यहाँ बहूँगा कि यह जो बजट है, इससे महंगाई बढ़ेगी क्या, बढ़ चुकी है और निरंतर बढ़ेगी । इस बजट से कोई उम्मीद नहीं है कि इससे कोई रोजगार के साधन उपलब्ध होंगे । यह बजट गरीब और मध्यम वर्ग के आदमी का गला काटने वाला बजट है । यह बजट शहर में रहने वाले, कारों में रहने वाले आदमी का जीवन दुभर करने वाला बजट है । मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से यह कहूँगा कि जो उन्होंने प्रस्ताव बजट के संबंध में रखे हैं, उन पर पुनर्विचार करें और ऐसी बजट बनायें, जिससे गरीब आदमी, मध्यम आय वर्ग का आदमी जो सके, पूँजीपति जो सके, शहर का, गांव का और कस्बे का आदमी जो सके । अगर आपने एक गला काटकर दूसरे को दिया तो क्या दिया ! अगर आपने एक को रोटी छीनकर दूसरे को दी तो क्या दी ! जो इस तरह का बजट हो, जिसमें हर आदमी संतुष्ट हो, चाहे वह वतनमोर्गी हो, कर्मचारी हो, चाहे वह काम करने वाला कर्मचारी हो, चाहे वह व्यवसायी हो, चाहे वह व्यापारी हो, हर आदमी को उससे संतुष्ट मिले, हर आदमी को संतोष मिले तो वह तो वास्तव में बजट है, लेकिन अगर आपने एक का गला काटकर दूसरे को दिया, एक शर कर लगाकर दूसरे को राहत देने की

कोशिश की तो वह मैं बजट नहीं मानता । तो मैं इसी आग्रह के साथ कि वे इस बजट पर पुनर्विचार करें और राहत के कार्यों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा प्रावधान करें, अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ । धन्यवाद ।

श्री आनंद प्रसाद गौतम (उत्तर प्रदेश):
आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत वर्ष 1990-91 के लिए प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ ।

मान्यवर, वर्तमान सरकार जनता की इच्छाओं के अनुरूप चुनी गई सरकार है । निश्चित ही इस सरकार के सामने कुछ चुनौतियाँ हैं । देश की जर्जर अर्थ-व्यवस्था इस सरकार का, जो विरासत में मिली है वह इसके सामने एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है । मान्यवर, मैं कह सकता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा जो बजट प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत हुए हैं, इस चुनौती का सामना करने के लिए एक पहला मजबूत कदम है । प्रस्तुत बजट प्रस्तावों में कीमतों में वृद्धि को रोकने के लिए सरकार की प्राथमिकता और प्रतिबद्धता का जिक्र महंगाई की मार से पीड़ित सामान्य और मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों के लिए एक राहत की सांस है, किन्तु कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी आज भी चिन्ता का विषय बनी हुई है । आम आदमी के उपयोग के लिए डीजल, पेट्रोल की कीमतें बढ़ने से खाद्य और अन्य उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं के दाम बढ़ने शुरू हो गए हैं । इसके अतिरिक्त तिपहिया वाहनों और टैक्सी के किराए में जो वृद्धि हुई है उससे साधारण आदमी बहुत प्रभावित हुआ है । वित्त मंत्री जी से मेरा अनुरोध है, यदि संभव हो तो पेट्रोल, डीजल और टायर के फुटकर भाव की बढ़ोतरी के प्रस्ताव पर पुनर्विचार करने की कृपा करें ।

मान्यवर, आर्थिक विकास को ग्रामोन्मुखी बनाने के लिए बजट का 50 प्रतिशत कृषि विकास और ग्रामीण विकास के लिए लगाए जाने का प्रस्ताव सरकार का सराहनीय कदम है । वर्ष 1990-91 में बजटीय सहाया में ग्रामीण क्षेत्र का हिस्सा 49 प्रतिशत किया गया है, इससे सरकार की नीयत साफ लगती है कि वह निश्चित ही ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के उपेक्षित किसानों और खेतीद्वर मजदूरों के

प्रति काफी जागरूक है। इसी दिशा में कृषि पर आधारित बड़े उद्योग ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में लगाए जाने, लघु उद्योगों और छोटे-छोटे गृह उद्योगों के विकास के लिए भी सरकार को अपनी स्पष्ट नीति बनानी होगी। इस दिशा में भी एक नए विभाग का सृजन सरकार ने जो किया है, वह उस इसके प्रति कटिबद्धता का प्रमाण है।

मान्यवर, भूमि सुधार के कानून को संविधान की 9वीं अनुसूची में शामिल करना, काम के अधिकार को संविधान में मूल अधिकार के रूप में सम्मिलित करना गरीबों और बेरोजगारी की समस्या के निदान में एक अच्छी पहल कही जा सकती है। इस घोषणा को सार्थक करने के लिए एक व्यक्ति को एक समय में एक व्यवसाय, खेत जोतने वाले को खेत का मालिक बनाना होगा और सम्पत्ति की सीमा भी बांधनी पड़ेगी तथा भूमि की सीलिंग को और मजबूती के साथ लागू करना होगा। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी इस दिशा में ठोस एवं सख्त कदम अवश्य उठाने का की कृपा करेंगे।

वर्तमान सरकार के सुयोग्य वित्त मंत्री जी ने राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे के चुनाव घोषणापत्र के अनुसार किसानों, खेतिहर मजदूरों, कारीगरों एवं बुनकरों के जो 10 हजार तक के कर्ज की माफी का प्रावधान बजट प्रस्तावों में करके एक आंतिकारी कदम उठाया है, इसके लिए मैं उन्हें बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। मान्यवर, यह ऋण राहत केवल उन लोगों तक ही सीमित है जिन्होंने सरकारी और क्षेत्रीय ग्रामीण बैंकों से 10,000 रुपये तक के ऋण ले रखे हैं। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि सहकारी और भूमि विकास बैंक के ऋण इस योजना में शामिल नहीं हैं। मैं आपसे अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि इन बैंकों से लिए गए ऋणों को भी ऋण राहत योजना में शामिल किया जाना चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा कि यह राज्यों पर छोड़ दिया गया है कि वह चाहें तो उन पर विचार करके उनको भी अपनी ऋण राहत योजना में शामिल करें। मान्यवर, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि राज्यों के ऊपर इसको विचार करने के लिए नहीं

छोड़ा जाना चाहिए। एक बात मैं आपके और कहना चाहता हूँ कि अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोगों के नाम पर बहुत सारे कर्ज कर्जे लिए गए हैं और इस तथ्य को नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जाना चाहिए क्योंकि इस प्रकार के कर्ज लेने वाले ए. भी किस्त की वापसी जान-बूझकर नहीं करते हैं। वे जानते हैं कि किसी भी अनुसूचित जाति के व्यक्ति के नाम पर जो कर्ज लिया गया है यदि वह उसका भरपाई नहीं करेगा तो उसी व्यक्ति को भूमि की नीलामी होगी। इसलिए खिन्दी आदि का लाभ उठाने के लिए उन लोगों ने अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों के नाम पर कर्ज ले लिए हैं। मान्यवर, उन लोगों को इस ऋण राहत योजना का लाभ पहुंचाने के लिए मैं मायनोय वित्त मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों के बारे में जो यह किस्त वापसी का शर्त है उसे नहीं लगाया जाना चाहिए अन्यथा कोई भी अनुसूचित जाति का व्यक्ति जिसने कर्ज नहीं लिया है, उसके खेतों की नालायगी हो जाएगी और वह बेचारा भुखमरी के कगार पर पहुंच जाएगा। महोदय मैं आपका बहुत अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता। मान्यवर आज हमारे देश में 50 प्रतिशत अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के लोग रहते हैं। उनके प्रति वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट प्रस्तावों में बड़ी उदारता का प्रदर्शन किया है, मैं इसके लिए आभार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ। सही मायनों में इनके दिल में अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों के प्रति एक अच्छी भावना है, उनकी आगे उठाने की इच्छा है और देश के विकास की मुख्य धारा में उन्हें लाने के लिए मंत्री जी ने प्रयास किया है।

अभी-अभी माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने घोषणा की है कि डा० अम्बेडकर को अगुवाई में 1956 में जो अनुसूचित जाति और जनजाति के लोग बंटे हो गए थे, उन तमाम नये बुद्धिस्ट लोगों को अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के सभान सुविधायें दी जायेंगी। यह एक बहुत अच्छा कदम है और उन लोगों के प्रति मंत्री जी की सहानुभूति का द्योतक है।

[डा अब्दुल अहमद खान]

महोदय, हमारे देश में बहुत सी राजनीतिक पार्टियाँ हैं। कुछ आज सत्ता में हैं, कुछ पहले सत्ता में थीं या आज सत्ता में नहीं हैं, इन सब राजनीतिक पार्टियों को अनुसूचित जाति के बारे में एक सी मान्यता है और सभी अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के लोगों को उचित लाभ पहुँचाने के लिए कृतसंकल्प हैं। संविधान के तहत वर्तमान सरकार ने अभी-अभी इन अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों के लिए सत्ता में भागीदारी सुनिश्चित करने के लिए एक संविधान संशोधन विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया और उनके लिए राज्यों की विधानसभाओं में आरक्षण की व्यवस्था की।

मान्यवर, मैं निःसंकोच इस बात को भी कह देना चाहता हूँ कि शायद यह संवैधानिक व्यवस्था न होती तो अनुसूचित जाति के प्रति सत्ता में बैठे हुए हमारे राष्ट्रीय मोर्चे के लोगों की भावनाएँ, चाहे वे विपक्ष में हों, वह सब कोरी और निराधार ही रह गई होती। अभी-अभी नए राज्य सभा के चुनावों में देखा गया कि कम से कम 75 व्यक्ति नए चुनकर इस राज्य सभा में लाए गए लेकिन किसी पार्टी ने भी अनुसूचित जाति और अनुसूचित जनजाति के एक भी आदमी को लाने की हिम्मत नहीं की। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि इसी तरह से हमारी धारणाएँ और हमारी भावनाएँ केवल कहने के लिए होंगी, केवल कागजों में अंकित होंगी, हम मंच पर कुछ कहेंगे और करते कुछ रहेंगे तो निश्चित ही देश का एक बहुत बड़ा वर्ग, जनसंख्या का एक बहुत बड़ा भाग राजनीतिक तौर से विनाश की मुख्यधारा में आने से वंचित रह जाएगा। सरकारी पक्ष को मैं यह कहता हूँ कि उनके सामने आपा-धार्पा में किसी हरिजन का ख्याल नहीं रखा गया, अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों को भूल गए। विपक्ष में बैठे हुए लोग भी हरिजनों को भूल गए पिछली सरकार जो हरिजनों के लिए छिछोरा पीटती रहती थी, विपक्ष में जाते ही वह उनका नाम लेना भी भूल गई। अतः तमाम राजनीतिक पार्टियों से मेरा अनुरोध है कि यह वर्ग आपके सहारे पर

है, इसमें राजनीतिक चेतना और जागरूपता लाने की आवश्यकता है और इसे सत्ता में भागीदारी देना भी आपका काम है।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका बहुत समय नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं प्रस्तुत बजट प्रस्तावों का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very much grateful to you for providing me this opportunity to make my observations on the Budget presented by the National Front Government. I was a worker under the great leader, Kamraj. He was one of the architects of modern India. His profound common-sense and wisdom helped the nation on so many occasions. He used to say, "that it is not a question of who rules the country; but the question is how we are ruled." So, whenever we assess or whenever we make an assessment of certain things, we should not be carried away by emotion. We should be carried away only by reason. If we think as to who rules the country, then our observations will become biased. So, instead of assessing the persons who produce the budget or who run the Government, we should consider the budget or we should criticise the budget or we should analyse the budget on its own merits. Sir, Mr. Dandavate is a professor. The whole nation expected from him a lot. He tried to conceive and brought forth nothing. He produced this Budget, but it failed to have any objective. They said so many things about the right to work. But here it is a myth as far as job provision is concerned. The Budget has failed in its objective to provide employment. Job provision is a myth. The Budget is devoid of any radical changes in the fiscal and economic policies pursued so far. Prices would rise as a result of the Budget and there would be price-hike. They said, they posed and they gave an impression in their Manifesto and in their deliberations that they would help the poor, and they would rescue the poor Indian from poverty. And moreover they were

posing as if they were the only Champions of the cause of the poor people, specially the agriculturists. What is given to the agriculturists? The Budget provision is Rs. 1000 crores for loan waiver. Yes, now let us take the case of loan waiver. Only one thousand crores of rupees have been earmarked for this purpose. Their own estimate of the outstanding loan arrears of farmers is about Rs. 14,000 crores. When Rs. 14,000 crores is the amount of outstanding arrears and if they provide only Rs. 1,000 crores, how is it sufficient? Is it not cheating? Does it not tantamount to deception as far as the poor agriculturists are concerned? Now, let us take it in the other way also. Yes, one thousand crores of rupees have been provided for this purpose. I am sure it is not sufficient. Not only that. It is not going to reach those who are in need of it. They are putting a rider to it. The wilful defaulters will not have this benefit. Who is to decide a wilful defaulter? What is the norm given to find out the wilful defaulter? I fear, my apprehension is that the poor agriculturist, the poor farmer is at the mercy of the bureaucrats. This will give room for corruption. To get a certificate that he is not a wilful defaulter, he has to grease the palms of those who are concerned. Otherwise, he cannot get it. We know that corruption is rampant in our society. That will play a vital role here also. So, really this is not going to benefit the agriculturists much. Yes, they have provided one thousand crores of rupees for waiving the loans of the agriculturists. But there are millions of agriculturists who are not eligible to get loans in the banks or anywhere else from the Government institutions. What about them? They have never secured any loan from any of these institutions. Only because they did not borrow from the Government, are they to be deprived of the privilege which the Government wants to extend? Will the Government come forward and provide something to those good farmers who never depended upon these institutions for loans? And, there

might have been farmers who would have secured loans from Government institutions or through banks and they would have paid back regularly their instalments. Will the Government come forward to pay them something, give them some incentive by way of a reward or a prize? Unless that aspect is viewed by the Government, there is no legitimate parity in this. The agriculturists who have taken loans are alone benefited. But what about the landless poor people? What about the small land owners? They are really suffering. They are not eligible to get loans from any of these institutions. So, they are thrown at the mercy of moneylenders, unauthorised moneylenders. Do you know the rate of interest that they are being charged? When government is issuing loans to these farmers at the rate of 12 per cent or 10 per cent or 14 per cent, these farmers are getting loans from the moneylenders at 60 per cent or 120 per cent rate of interest.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think, you came from an agriculturist family, you may also be coming from a rural area. How these landless labourers and poor agriculturists are being squeezed. You know. During the time of ploughing, during the time of agricultural season, if they want money, they have to reach out to these moneylenders who are heartless. Their botheration is only money, to accumulate money. They do not have heart. They do not have sympathy. They do not have any virtue. Accumulation and accumulation of money is their only aim. With that end in view, when they are to lend Rs. 100 they give only Rs. 90, and if they lend Rs. 1000, they give only Rs. 900. Then they charge interest for the full amount of Rs. 100 or Rs. 1000, as the case may be, and not for Rs. 90 or Rs. 900 which they actually lend at the rate of 5 per cent or 10 per cent per month.

Every month the poor agriculturist has to pay this money. Otherwise at the time of harvest these moneylenders would go to the farmers to

[Shri S. K. T. Ramachandran]

the dues with accumulated burden of interest and the principal and the poor agriculturist has to put up a poor face before him. Reckless they are. Heartless they are. They would plunder the whole harvest and let the farmers starve. When I say this, our Ministers or Members from the Treasury Benches may say, oh! you ruled the country for the past 42 years. What do you say about this? You see, the Government during the past 42 years has done so much for this country. In spite of that, we are not able to eradicate all the evils from the country. Still, the successive Congress Governments, in the past forty-two years, have done immense service to the people of India.

India is the most populous democracy in the world where the people enjoy the fullest freedom and the fullest liberty. No country in the world can challenge India in regard to its democratic functioning and as to the sustenance of democracy. In this House, yesterday, I told the Prime Minister on his face 'You have no right to talk about us; we do not have to learn anything from you because you are a defector'. I have got the right to question the number one person in the country on his face. In no other country in the world, a person, a citizen, will have such a right. In this country, one has the fullest freedom to question the Prime Minister and the other Ministers. We can even question the President. This is the type of democracy we are having. We have the fullest liberty to speak and to write whatever we want. Not only that. We are having a very good judicial system. Hundreds of criminals may be let off, but not a single innocent person will be punished. Most of the criminals, taking advantage of the loopholes in the law, escape. But as I said, not a single innocent person will be punished.

Sir, in the last forty-two years, tremendous progress has been made. China's per capita income is now 340

dollars. We have also caught up with China and our per capita income is now on par with that of China. Some years ago, the position was different. We were very much below, compared with China. We are now on par with China.

The friends on the other side as well as the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister were shouting at the house-tops. I think, euphoria had gone into their heads. They saw two suns in the sky. They did not realise what they were saying. They did not understand the implications of their words. They were shouting. They were saying that the coffers were empty, and India was in a debt burden, etc. You say that you have inherited many legacies from the erstwhile Government. You say you have inherited inflation. You say you have inherited price rise. You have inherited Kashmir. You have inherited Punjab. You have inherited this and that. My dear gentlemen, when you say all these things, do you also, at the same time, think of the other inheritances which you have from the erstwhile Government? Please think about that also, what all you have inherited. You have inherited a great democracy of which you should feel proud. We have conducted many fair elections. No other country in the world can boast of so many such fair elections. Not only that. We are a multi-racial and a multi-lingual society and we have the fullest freedom. We have taken India to great heights. I want to pose this question. You say you have inherited the debt burden. You say you have inherited this and that. But you have failed to find the truth, or, you have failed to tell the truth. Please allow your conscience to speak. It will tell the truth. But if you give freedom to your tongue, it will say something else.

Gentlemen, have you not inherited an annual production of 172 million tonnes of foodgrains in India? What was the annual production of foodgrains in 1947? It was below 50 million tonnes and three-fold we have

increased it. What have we inherited from the British, when we got independence? We had no technology, no knowhow, no means to tap resources. For everything we had to depend upon foreign countries. With such an inheritance, with such a handicap we were able to develop the country and today our country is not only rated as a developing country but it is reaching a stage of developed countries. How many industries, how many irrigation dams did you inherit in 1947? Was there any big industry in India? How many large industries have you now? Are you not proud of our steel industries which are considered to be one of the largest steel industries in the whole world? Bhilai, Durgapur, Rourkela, so many steel plants are there. Are you not proud of our fertilizer industries? In 1947 could you point out any fertilizer industry existing in India? Now how many fertilizer industries do we have? But for these fertilizer industries we had to import every grain of fertilizer from outside. Now only a fraction of it we import. Everything is produced indigenously. Do you know that we produce urea not only from naphtha, not only from other chemicals but from coal also. How many of you know about this? We produce urea from coal. In Ramagundam and in Talcher from black diamond we are producing white fertilizer. Not only that, no where in the world we are having such a big fertilizer industry. We are producing fertilizer from gas also. For the past five years fertilizer industries were coming up like anything. Are you a real lover of agriculturists, are you going to help the agriculturists? This is a mere eye-wash. You are shedding crocodile tears. In your budget or in the Eighth Five Year Plan you have not put even a single fertilizer industry. If you do not have a new fertilizer industry now, there is going to be a shortage of fertilizer in another three or four years and then you will have to import it. You do not have any long-term mission. You want short-cut results, short-term results. It only proves that you do not have any

imagination. Then you are boasting that you have waived off loans to the extent of Rs. 1000 crores. Through left hand you give and through right hand you take. My friends Tindivanam Venkatraman and Viduthalai Virumbi can understand what I say. If you give through right hand it is a virtue, but this Government gives through left hand. When you use your right hand, your punch will be much stronger, but when you use your left hand your punch is not so strong.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI (Tamil Nadu): He is a left-hander.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN. Yes, for you I am a left-hander because you are my friend. I am a left-hander for you. You are a right reactionary, you are from a chauvinistic party which is doing anything to have power.

Not only that, you have come to power in Tamil Nadu by accident. By getting 30 per cent votes, you have come to power there.

SHRI TINDIVANAM G. VENKATRAMAN (Tamil Nadu): Are we discussing the Budget or assessing what is happening in Tamil Nadu. (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. G. VIJAYA MOHAN REDDY): Please confine yourself to the Budget.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN. I was going on the right track. My friends distracted me. I am very glad that at least three of my friends are here. I just wanted to inspire them. Mr. Venkatraman was talking. So to invite his attention, I said that.

Have this Government not inherited the trend of accelerated rate of growth of exports? Formerly, ten years back, we exported to the tune of about Rs. 230 crores. Now the growth has reached the level of Rs. 25,000 crores. So there has been ten to fifteen times increase. Not only that, the trade deficit is also gradually declining. If my

[Shri S. K. T. Ramachandran]

friends would kindly think of the year 1947, we could not export anything because we did not have the know-how, we did not have the technology. We did not have any industry. How could you export? How could we get into the world market because we did not have the competitive strength to compete with world powers? They were industrialised, they were advanced. They were at the top of the world. We were at the bottom. Through courage, wisdom and by the sagacity of our great leaders, the ship of India has been brought to this stage. Are you not proud of this? Should you not congratulate us for this? But we do not expect your congratulations. At least don't condemn us. When you see the dark side, you see the bright side also. You should see how in the past 42 years, from scrap India has been constructed into a big palace. Have you not inherited a faster growth in the indigenous production of petroleum products? After all, we were producing not even 8 million tonnes in 1950. Now our production of petroleum products has reached 30 million tonnes. You should see how much we have improved. Are you not proud of your ONGC? Are you not proud of your NTPC? Are you not proud of your long stretches of roads? Our railway system is one of the largest in the whole world. How much we have developed our Army! How much we have developed our Air Force! How much we have developed our Navy! Pakistan was thinking of waging its tail to attack India. But what has happened today? Now our Prime Minister, who is also the Defence Minister, says...

DR. R. K. PODDAR (West Bengal):
How is all this relevant to the Budget?

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN:
Every thing is relevant to the Budget. Now the Prime Minister, who is also the Defence Minister, is saying that India is prepared to meet any challenge. Who is responsible for this

preparedness? You say that you have inherited bad legacies, sinister legacies from us. I say that 90 per cent of the legacies are on the brighter side. But your blind vision has darkened your sight and you cannot see the truth. I am a disciple of Kamraj. I am a strong votary of that great leader. I can meet any challenge. When you come across anything, you should not be biased. You should not be carried away by parochialism, you should not be carried away by chauvinism. You should always think of the country and you should feel that you are Indian first and Indian last. If you think otherwise, you cannot find the truth. So, these people say that they have inherited inflation, that they have inherited this and that. But, at the same time, they have forgotten that they have inherited all these great things, all these great virtues and great accomplishments. How could we survive as the greatest nation in the world without them?

6.00 P.M.

My dear friends, what was the stage of your grandfathers? How did they live then and how do you live now? What is the difference that has been made in the past 42 years? It was only because of our erstwhile Government that we could reach this stage.

This Government, which poses to be a great lover of the agriculturists, are giving them something with the left hand and axing and taxing and taking away everything from them with the right hand. The only thing they pose is about the waiver of loans. But what about other items like fertilizer subsidy? During our regime the poor agriculturists were given fertilizer subsidy to the tune of Rs. 4,000 crores every year. Our friend Mr. Das Gupta is here. He is a communist. At least he should appreciate it that every year we used to provide Rs. 4,000 crores as subsidy on fertilizers. But the Congress people never made big postures and said that we have done this and that. In fact, we were providing,

every year, Rs. 3,000 crores as food subsidy for the poor people of India. Then, there was this fertilizer subsidy of Rs. 4,000 crores every year. If you calculate this, at least, you will see how many crores we used to spend for the poor every year. But now they have reduced this. The fertilizer subsidy proposed for 1990-91 is Rs. 4,160 crores whereas last year it was Rs. 4,852 crores. Now, is it not a shame on their part? Under this head alone they have saved Rs. 700 crores. At whose cost? At the cost of the poor agriculturist. They took away Rs. 700 crores from this head with the left hand. Now, how are you going to support this?

Now, with regard to water resources, water is the most important thing. We want more dams, we want more irrigation facilities. Is this not the time to increase allocation for water resources? Mr. Vice-Chairman, you come from an agricultural State. Won't you agree with me? But what happened in this budget? Last year, the allocation for water resources was Rs. 312 crores but this year they have provided only Rs. 304 crores. So, from water resources—which is an important item and by which the agriculturists get benefit—they have taken away some 10 to 15 crores of rupees.

Last year, for energy we provided Rs. 318 crores. This year they are allocating only Rs. 288 crores. This is one thing which benefits the agriculturists but here also they are giving a below to the agriculturists and, at the same time, they are saying that they are doing great things for the agriculturists. They are saying that they have provided 49 to 50 per cent of the budget for the agricultural sector. We had crossed 50 per cent during our regime. We are the saviours of the agriculturists. We are always having only the poor and the downtrodden in our mind. We will never do anything for political purposes. You are hypocrites. You say something and do something else.

You say that you are going to save the country. Now Kashmir is burning, Punjab is burning. To save Kashmir you have put a Minister thoroughly incharge of it, Mr. George Fernandes. When Rome was burning, what was Nero doing? He went to Goa to topple the Government there. Are you not ashamed of this Government? I say they are not only seeing two suns in the sky, but—they are wonderful fellows—they have two proteé speakers in a small, petty State. These DMK people who have assassinated democracy in Pondicherry with the help of the National Front Governor, come here and boast themselves as great fighters of freedom. I challenge. Only Congress can ever save India and solve any problem.

I say: Your days are numbered. History will repeat itself. You know what happened to Janata. It was there only for two-and-a-half years. You will be crushed by your own weight. This is my prophecy. A son of Kamraj will never give a false prophecy. You are going to meet your end very soon.

Thank you.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI:
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for having given me the opportunity to speak on this Budget. (*Interruptions*)

Sir, my hon. friend concluding his speech, said that the days of the National Front Government are numbered. I want to tell our colleague that actually our steps are measured. Therefore, you cannot play as you think. The Government will last till such time the people think that it is working for them.

Regarding the Budget, there is a sharp difference between the previous budgets submitted by the Congress Party and this one. I support this

[Shri S. Vidothala Virombi]

Budget. For example, I tell you the difference between the previous one and the current one. To reduce the deficit financing they used to credit oil surplus in the revenue account as if it is not to be repaid. If you go through the present Budget, you will find that it is in the capital account. From this we can find out the sharp difference with which the Budget actually has been prepared. When they put oil surplus in the revenue account, they thought that other people might not be aware of that. But in politics the trick of the trade everybody knows. Now whatever deficit is going to accrue, it has been clearly shown in the Budget itself.

Why does the deficit come? From 1980-81 to the current year the tax revenue actually increased annually by 17 per cent while the revenue expenditure increased annually by 18.4 per cent. That is, when the tax revenue increased by 17 per cent and the expenditure by 18.4 per cent, this is due to so many factors. May be non-plan expenditure has increased because money supply has been increased. When the money supply has been increased, it means inflation is going up. When inflation is going up, we have to give dearness allowance. What is the dearness allowance? It is nothing but a device to protect the real income from eroding by the price hike. When we give the dearness allowance, automatically again the money supply will increase in the market. Then inflation goes up and it becomes a vicious circle. Therefore, because of this policy the previous Government was unable to curb the revenue expenditure and the non-plan expenditure deficit has mounted to nearly Rs. 13,000 crores. Where would it go? For that we will have to wait for one year, but I hope that would not be repeated this year.

Now, where does the external value of the Rupee stand? If my memory is correct, within the three years the

external value of the Rupee has gone down severely. When we compare it in terms of the American Dollar, it has been reduced by 25 per cent. Against the British Sterling our Indian Rupee's value has been reduced by 36 per cent during the same period. When we compare it with the German Deutschmark, it is reduced by 45 per cent. Against the Japanese Yen the external value of the Rupee has been reduced by 52 per cent. This shows the management of the economy during the previous regime. Now, we have to redeem ourselves from this situation. It is not an easy job. The Finance Minister has to do his work, exert his energy from dawn to dusk. Otherwise what I feel is we may reach the gloomy days from which it may be very difficult to come out. We may be like one of the Latin American countries. Fortunately, people understood this and changed the Government. He says he is the disciple of Kamaraj. Kamaraj was a very noble man. He was respected by all irrespective of the party to which one belonged. According to me esteemed Kamaraj died because of the Emergency excesses. During his last days he felt too much those things and was unable to bear them. (Interruptions)

Now, I come to the problems of my State. Out of the excise duties, the States may get Rs. 173 crores extra by devolution. But I want to tell one thing. These Rs. 173 crores which the States will be getting out of the excise duties will be offset by reduction in the Income-tax. Therefore, as far as the State Exchequer is concerned, there would not be any benefit from this Budget. Therefore, I would request the Finance Minister that the devolution from the excise duties to the States should be increased be 5 per cent to 50 per cent from the present 45 per cent. In that case we may get some benefit. Otherwise it will be offset.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, percentage of investment on

industry by the Centre in Tamil Nadu is 4.2 percent while the all-India average, if my memory is correct is 7 per cent. What I want to emphasise is that you should invest more money in Tamil Nadu to offset this imbalance.

Regarding the Defence Budget increase, I agree with the increase considering the situation prevailing in India. As far as the Director General of Supplies and Disposals is concerned, I want to tell one thing with anguish that they purchase items from the small scale industries in South India only to the extent of 4.2 per cent or 4.5 per cent. They actually concentrate their purchases only in the North India. They totally neglect North East India and South India. I want to express my concern through the Finance Minister to the department concerned. I do not want to blame anybody. If the purchase system itself is wrong, they should see that the system is corrected and due share is given to South India particularly to Tamil Nadu.

During the regime of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, this House has passed Small Industries Development Bank of India Bill and there was a provision in that Bill "If the Industrial Development Bank of India thinks that any business institution is to be taken over in the public interest, they may take it and integrate it with the Small Industries Development Bank of India." Through this section they wanted to usurp the powers of the State Governments. I request the Government not to do so.

The last point I want to make is regarding excise duties in Tamil Nadu because you have already said that another colleague from my party would also speak on the General Budget. In Tamil Nadu, wet grinder is a good business. May be officers in North India may not be knowing about wet grinder because they have

confused wet grinder with mixie. Mixie is an electric inbuilt mechanism. But as far as wet grinder is concerned, only one motor is fixed to it and for that they are already levying excise duty on it. After having put the excise duty for the motor that has been fixed to the wet grinder, they are levying excise duty separately on the wet grinder. Due to this measure more than 5000 people will become unemployed in Tamil Nadu. Therefore, I request the hon. Finance Minister to see that the excise duty on wet grinder is waived once for all. With these words, I conclude. Thank you very much.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this maiden budget of the new Government seems to be proving right certain apprehensions regarding its capability in macro economic management and the end result of that would be that the rate and the quality of development would suffer.

Sir, my friend speaking from the other side before me as well as the other hon. Members from that side have talked highly of the Government's steps to reduce the budget deficit. Sir, sometimes statistics like faces prove to be deceptive and that is precisely what we have a glimpse of if you were to have a look at the stated figure of deficit. It has been made out by the hon. Finance Minister in his speech that he would cut down the deficit by resorting to certain austerity measures. Sir, one factor which outrightly comes to our notice is DA. We know that one instalment of DA amounts to Rs. 345 crores meaning thereby that in one year DA instalments alone would account for Rs. 690 crores. But the Minister wants us to believe that setting aside Rs. 100 crores for the purpose would be enough and the rest he would manage by avoiding wasteful expenditure, by resorting to certain savings. Sir, this, in fact, gives me some strange sort of feeling about the capacity of the Government

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

to think realistically and act accordingly. This announcement of the Minister, in my opinion, is in fact an indicator of a likely sharp increase in the deficit in the days to come. The Government have not really told us as to what measures they are going to take to cut down expenses. On the contrary, what we find is that the Central Ministers charter special planes to go to other States to topple the Congress governments. If that is the attitude, if they are on this spending spree, I wonder from which account they would save to make for a big chunk of money which has to be given in the form of dearness allowance.

Sir, the Government, we find, is flaunting its commitment to accord priority to rural investment. This must be welcomed. But again, Sir, I find that this is a mere window-dressing. The stated 49 per cent of the investment in the Central Budget for the rural sector is firstly less than what was promised. It does not come up to our expectations and secondly, I use the words "a deceptive figure" for the reasons that certain sectors which are not exclusively for the rural areas are included in this. For instance, the outlay on electricity, on communication etc. cannot go into this account. And a sum of Rs. 1,000 crores set aside for debt relief and another Rs. 4,000 crores for fertilizer subsidy is all that the Government comes with to us and this is again an indication, is an evidence of the bankruptcy in the thinking on the part of the Government on economic issues.

Sir, rambunctious in its victory of sorts, the Government has again been talking high of bringing about some sort of revolution in providing employment to the unemployed. This, in my humble opinion, Sir, is taking the poor youth, the unemployed, the deprived sections of our society, up the path of milk and honey and finally,

I think the Government would leave them high and dry. Sir, it is mere platitudes that have been used for the youth. It has been said that the Government is going to make arrangements to provide better vocational training and apprenticeship programmes. Mere promises will not suffice. In the last four months, the Government has not come forth with any scheme worth its name which could ensure better employment to the unemployed youth, both in the urban areas as well as in the rural areas. Sir, much has been tried to be made by the Government out of its promise

[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. R. K. Poddar) in the Chair]

to provide the right to work. This, I must say, is a good measure on the face of it. But again, it gives us a clear indication of the muddled thinking which is all that the Government is giving the signs of. We have been having contradictory statements from the leaders of the Government as to what they really mean by the right of work as to what benefit an unemployed would really get once this provision is incorporated in the Constitution. These are the questions which the Government must address itself to before it can even give a semblance of a Government worth its salt.

It is the middle class which is going to suffer most heavily from the ramifications, from the consequences, of the Budget. A middle class office-goer, a worker in the factory, a worker in any commercial establishment, has to travel to his place of work. But in doing so he will be paying through his nose. There has been a sharp rise in the rail fares and the hike in the petrol price is beyond what anybody expected. The inflationary effect which this rise in the administered prices would have is for all of us to see. And the Government takes some sort of solace in saying that it has raised the exemption limit for income-tax. This is a specious argument. Who is going to really

benefit, keeping in view the inflationary trends, keeping in view that the inflation is eating into the pay-packets of everybody? And then, Sir, to say that the Budget is savings-oriented is again a travesty of truth is again twisting of facts. The cushion available for tax rebate to enable a middle class man to save out of the earnings will otherwise leave him under severe economic strain, both for his day-to-day domestic budget and for the days after retirement.

Sir, the Government made much of its declaration to provide ration cards to everybody in Delhi. We all welcome that step. But that again is a half-hearted step. Discrimination has been resorted to in earmarking the various beneficiaries for the purpose of granting ration cards, ensuring in the process that the dwellers of those jhuggi-jhonpris who owe allegiance to the Congress, who have sympathy for the Congress, are excluded from the surveys for that purpose. What we really expected from the Government was that we should have had a greater outlay on account of the PDS. The Government should have announced greater subsidies to the different State Governments to enable them to strengthen the PDS. In reply to our questions, we only hear that it is for the State Governments to do so. If it is for the State Governments to do, what is really there with the Central Government to boast of having provided food at cheaper and subsidised rates to the deprived sections of our society? Sir, if we were to go through the speech of the hon. Finance Minister as well as the various declarations of the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Government, we find that there is total confusion in their ranks about what the Government propose to do in the days to come in various critical areas concerning the nation's life.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Can you conclude in a few minutes?

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SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I will finish it in a few minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): After the discussion on the Kashmir situation is over, you can speak tomorrow.

Now, the Home Minister to make a statement on the Kashmir situation.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Situation in Kashmir

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Sir, The prevailing grim situation in Kashmir Valley is the cumulative result of a mix of internal and external factors and inadequate political and administrative response, to a series of developments in the Valley which spurred public disenchantment in the efficacy of political process and administrative machinery to deliver the goods.

The activities of the militants have now acquired a momentum of its own and there has been a fresh spurt in the number of violent incidents and killings of innocent persons. During the current month, upto 23 March, 55 incidents of violence, 68 cases of armed attacks have taken place which took a toll of 61 innocent lives. Some of the prominent persons killed during the last few days include veteran State CPI leader Abdul Sattar Ranjoor, Mir Ghulam Mustafa, Ghulam Nabi Kuller, Ghulam Hassan Tabassum, a Dy. S. P. (Home Guards) and others. A few prominent members of the minority community including N. K. Ganjoo and Lasa Koul have also been killed by the terrorists. Arrangements have also been made to provide security cover to persons who are directly under threat from the terrorists. The militants are sparing no efforts to subvert the State authority by generating fear psychosis among the people in a variety of ways like, persistent threats