

[श्री सत्यपाल मलिक]

होम मिनिस्टर के आफिस का हवाला देते हुए अखबारों में छपे। खैर, रिपोर्ट आ गयी। जो माननीय अडवाणी जी चाहते हैं वह हम सब मैम्बर चाहते हैं और मैं जहाँ तक भूमिका हूँ इस पक्ष के सदस्य भी चाहते हैं कि पूरी जानकारी आये। औचित्य का सवाल मैं यह उठा रहा हूँ कि जब संसद के आगने रिपोर्ट पेश की जानी थी तो इसकी जानकारी पिछले दिनों जो दी गयी इसका आपको नोटिस देना चाहिए। अभी भी मुझे डर है कि जो हिस्सा हम मांग रहे हैं वह न आये। जिसे जैसा गूढ़ करेगा वह उस हिसाब से दोनों पक्षों के अखबारों में आता रहेगा। लिहाजा मैं चाहूँगा कि इसका नोटिस लिया जाए और जो मतों हुई हैं वह आगे न हों, इस लिए सारी जानकारी सदन के सामने रखी जाए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:

Now I will react to submissions made by Mr. Advani and other Members. You have written a letter to the Chairman. The House has heard it; I have also heard it. I will convey your message to the Chairman and we would request the Chairman to find out from the Government and reply.

Now we go back to the Budget. Let us cool down.

#### THE BUDGET (GENERAL), 1989-90 — Contd.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Madam Deputy Chairman, as we resume this discussion on the Union Budget for 1989-90, I must share with you some thoughts about what it is that we look for in the Union Budget. Firstly we look for in the Union Budget, a statement as an instrument of fiscal policy; hence a document that is presented not as a ritual, but as an obligation and as a direction, a document of the Government that is concerned with the macro-econo-

mic issues facing the country. Therefore, naturally, we look for direction and we assume that some light would be shed and direction given, in consequence, to the nation's economy and all this, Madam, within the ambit of the economic philosophy of the Government which we assume the Budget would give, would explain the form and it would indeed be a product of the economic philosophy of the Government and also, therefore, of its political persuasions and beliefs.

I am a little dejected, Madam. If this is what we are looking for in the Union Budget, how am I to consider the present effort, which is the Budget for 1989-90? I am regretfully constrained to observe that I find that this Budget is a characterless accountancy exercise. कहीं का ईट, कहीं का रोड़ा, भानुमती ने कुन्दा जोड़ा

उपसभापति: भानुमति इस हाउस की मेम्बर नहीं हैं, आप उनका नाम क्यों ले रहे हैं?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I am led to believe that this document is an example of a Government which is torn between the hard economic realities facing the country and its understandable yearning for political benefit in an election year. It is because the Government is torn between these two biud realities, the economic realities that face the nation and its own parochial concerns because of the compulsions in an election year; that we find the present Budget such a characterless and such a colourless document.

Madam, what is the overriding impression that we have about our economy. I would submit that the overriding characteristic of our economy is that despite the upswing in some sectors of the national economy and a very favourable monsoon, there are, and there exist.

some very major imbalances: In the savings rate, for example, in the pressure on prices, in the balance of payments, in debt—internal as well as external—and in the mounting Governmental and hence non-productive expenditure. These macro-economic issues remain. They confront us and they lead us to the conclusion that despite the apparent upswing, this reassuring picture that the Government paints to us is possibly monsoon-led, monsoon-related and, therefore, it is unstable. This is the principal and extremely worrisome aspect of the totality of the Indian economy.

It is necessary that we make a distinction between a discussion on the Finance Bill and a discussion on the Union Budget. The Finance Bill largely relates to the revenue-raising endeavours of the Government whereas the latter, the Union Budget which we are engaged with just now, is to give voice to our broader concerns. I would cover the following points in the time that I have, about half-an-hour. Firstly, to examine whether this Union Budget is actually a credible instrument of fiscal policy. Is it a document which puts across to us an intelligible and, indeed, an implementable philosophy, economic and political, of his Government? I will briefly touch on the issue of budgetary fudging and budget deficit, the worrisome aspect of internal debt, external debt and debt servicing. I would also like to caution the Government and share my concern on the Defence budget and I would give some proposals. Firstly, on this question of fiscal policy, I have already said so, this very Government some years ago debated and introduced in the House, what it called, the Long-Term fiscal Policy. That long-term fiscal policy has now been abandoned. It was a worthwhile effort which merited continuance. Because that long-term fiscal policy

has now been abandoned, one of the greatest lacunae in the present document, which is the Union Budget, is absence of harmony between what has preceded and what is now attempted to be done. I would share, through you, Madam, a concern with my esteemed colleague, the Union Minister of State for Finance, who is representing his Ministry here, that you cannot in terms of fiscal policy adopt as 'start and stop' procedure, you cannot manage the country's economy if you identify governmental initiative with individuals. Because you identify even laudable, worthwhile initiative with individuals who have now been politically inconvenient to you, you abandon this initiative, and therefore you are bound to fall into the present difficulties that you have fallen into.

On this question of budgetary fudging and the deficit, if my figures are not wrong, the deficit as a percentage of GDP is in the region of 3.5—and at that level it is not an alarming figure, but my difficulty arises when the GDP figures by themselves are not a satisfactory statistical exercise, when the GDP figures themselves are largely speculative. Therefore, you take recourse to saying that because the percentage of the deficit as that of the GDP is roughly 3 1/2 per cent—even though it has risen somewhat in the past is it not by itself somewhat of a specious argument. A number of other speakers have already referred to it in this House and the other place. They have referred to some aspects of budgetary fudging, like appropriating by the Union Government of the oil consolidated account. I might be faulted on the exact phraseology of it, but the sums of money received by the ONGC and appropriated by the Union Government as a budgetary ballast, as it were, is no more than budgetary fudging. Take, for instance the allocation of dividend. You cannot appropriate to the Union Budget the total

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amount of railway surpluses. You can only, as is done in commercial enterprises take the dividends out of it and appropriate that as possibly an addition to the budget. These are some aspects of the budget-making exercise which perhaps the Government would do well to explain. Why is it engaged in these innovative exercises which on the surface of it appear to be no more than budgetary fudging? The Comptroller and Auditor General in 1987 had said, and it is a worthy quotation to start with on the question of the internal debt, external debt, all the rest of it, that there is scope for rigorously pruning wasteful expenditure. This is the Comptroller and Auditor General saying so. There is also the need to take steps to make investments in public enterprises more productive. The servicing and repayments of the debt will cast an additional burden on account of the declining value of the rupee. The reason why I have quoted this before start sharing you and the Minister what :  
tion of internal debt, is b think  
this very succinctly and ably puts  
across the holistic, ;w within  
which we h: this.  
When we consider debt, we  
have to consider mue  
expenditure, we have to coi. deficit  
financing, we have to consider inflation  
and the relation between inflation and  
deficit financing and then and only  
then, out of the totality of internal debt  
come to this concern that we have: is  
the country faced with incipient  
bankruptcy?

Madam, one of the problems in any discussion on budgets and figures, with which I am not very familiar, is that such discussions lack political sex appeal.

SHRIMATI RENUKA  
CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh):  
Very well put.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: And because these lack political sex appeal, therefore we find the House so full with audience. I will share with my friend, amiable and genial Minister of State, hon'ble Eduardo Faleiro, some aspects of this total question of internal debt.

Firstly, please correct me if I am wrong because as I said, when you start discussing the Union Budget, you naturally have to get engaged with figures and there really you cannot be eloquent, as I said, because there is a total absence of political sex appeal in them. The revenue expenditure as a proportion of GDP has increased faster than revenue receipts. Is that correct or incorrect? I have some figures with me. Naturally I have to rely on figures based on the study that I have made. For instance, in 1960-61, the revenue deficit accounted for roughly 14% of the GDP. In 1987-88, the percentage had more than doubled to about 23.18%. As for revenue expenditure, the percentage has increased almost 2.5 times from the figure of 1960-61. What is more disturbing in this overall trend is that from 1980-81 onwards, the difference, is more marked and there is rise of 78.2% in revenue expenditure as against only 4.35% in revenue receipts. When you are engaged in examining the holistic concerns of the budget-making exercise, I think such figures have much relevance and therefore I would be grateful if the Minister, when he comes to reply, alleviate some of our worries.

From this, it is also evident that percentage of revenue expenditure allotted for developmental purposes has been declining steadily—that is an obvious and worrisome conclusion—since 1980-81, in which year is accounted for roughly 55.9% of the total and six years later, it has declined to about 51%. I am not able to determine what is the current year's percentage. What

is worrisome is that if out of the totality of revenue expenditure, whatever we allocate as developmental expenditure is on a declining graph. That is a matter of some concern to us and Government is bound to explain this to us (*Interruption*) Out of the total revenue expenditure, what percentage is going as developmental expenditure? You examine what I am trying to say. When I say revenue expenditure, I am not merely referring to the classification that is routine—that is Plan and non-Plan expenditure. I am talking of the total revenue expenditure. Now it is also seen that the revenue expenditure is increasing rapidly. In 1980-81, it was 17% of GDP. In 1986-87, it had gone up to 25%. The capital expenditure, the portion which goes into development, has been relatively stagnant and has actually gone down as a proportion to GDP, from nearly 10 percent in 1980-81 to 8.8 per cent in 1987-88. Now, I won't elaborate this point because too much of reliance on figures—figures can be twisted one way or the other.. It is not that I have access to figures of my own. Naturally, I can only rely on studies which are aired. Therefore, I would like the Government to explain this

J On the question of deficit financing, Madam, it worries us. Now, deficit financing has varied from year to year, between 1—3.5 per cent of GDP, and has been kept low for the obvious reason that it has an impact on inflation. Now, as against this, what has been happening in deficit financing is, simultaneously we have engaged in more and more borrowings. The borrowings have been going up steadily as a proportion of the GDP since 1980-81 and, actually, now constitute about 10 per cent of the GDP. They add to the debt burden, which also has been rising both in absolute terms as also as a report of the GDP. This year—I refer to 1988-89—it is expected to go up to roughly Rs. 224,000 crores, which is

by about Rs. 30,528 crores which is more than the expected rise in the GDP. The net result of this soaring debt is the major expenditure in the Union budget, which is in interest payment. This is a worrisome aspect, this aspect of what we have to pay out of the Union budget as interest or; our borrowings, and it is this interest aspect, because a major item of expenditure that we have in the budget related to interest, subsidies and defence. Now, I shall cover only the interest: I borrowing and, very briefly, the aspect of defence. I won't go into the question of subsidies because one has to be very clear on the political philosophy and the economic philosophy of the Government about subsidies before one can comment on it. But, even before referring to the question of internal borrowing, what I do wish to say is, let us assume for a moment that whatever the Government says is correct, and when they say, "We will manage the internal debt; it is within our ability and resources to do it; all of you who point your finger at the mounting volume of internal debt and the consequential interest payment upon it are let us take the Government at its face value and let us see that what the Government says is correct. What is the consequence then? Let us, therefore, put across a scenario and I put it across to the Government assuming that the GDP growth rate is 10 per cent which is much more than the actual because the real growth rate is roughly 4.5 per cent and inflation by the Government's own figure is roughly 5.5 per cent that all the other trends remain unchanged and the GDP growth rate is 10 per cent. ..(*Time-bell rings*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I rang the bell to say that you have exactly ten minutes. Today you are abiding by the time.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Thank you for reminding me: T

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shall cut my coat according to the cloth that I have.

These are conservative figures and I base them only on that the Government itself has given. If this be the basis Madam, then according to one calculation, the interest payment will equal the net borrowings by the year 2002. This is very worrisome because if this is the case, then, the critical year of bankruptcy and net borrowings equalling interest is when we have interest payment amounting to roughly Rs. 100,000 crores and net borrowings to roughly Rs. 98,500 crores. That year is only about 15 to 17 years away. We have taken the most conservative estimates. We have taken the GDP growth rate 10 per cent, and we have taken all the estimates that you yourself have said. If those assumptions are the assumptions on which we base ourselves then, this whole issue of interest payment will exceed internal borrowings by the year 2002. That is why it is a matter of most serious concern. I would like the Government to comment on this aspect of the country's economy.

Now, Madam, the question related to internal debt and that of external debt. Some figures I have, Madam, which suggest to me that the total foreign debt at the end of the fiscal year 1987-88 was roughly Rs. 22,684 crores. That is the statement that you made in the Union Budget. It has been stated recently that the figure should be revised to Rs. 54,817 crores reckoned at the rate of exchange prevailing on the 31st March, 1988. This is more in consonance with some international figures. If this is the external debt that we have, then, the debt-servising ratio with which we are contending today is between 27 to 28 per cent. The Government again comes forward and says to us that this debt-servising ratio of

27, 28 per cent is not a worrisome ratio, that it is within control and that we will manage it very adequately. Yet, because of the worry of the debt-servising ratio, the Government is obliged to start knocking on the doors of the IMF. The hon. Minister is declining that it is not because of the debt-servising ratio that we are knocking at the doors of the IMF.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO): We are not knocking at the doors of the IMF. That is what I am saying.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
For any reason, they are not knocking.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: They are banging.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would be in some disagreement with my hon. friend because we may not be knocking on the doors, but we are approaching the IMF. Why are we approaching the IMF? Only because this debt-servising ratio and the totality of our external debt is a worrisome aspect of the Indian economy.

I don't see why the Government is immediately on the defensive when we say that you are knocking at the IMF. If you are knocking at the IMF, then, have the courage of your conviction to say that we are going because we want the Fund to be available so that the debt-servising ratio is controllable, so that the external debt is controllable. Then you must also have the courage of conviction to say that the conditionalities which are inbuilt in the IMF loans are the following and that this is what we are doing to meet the conditionalities. Instead, the Government, whenever the name of the IMF comes up, behaves as if the

name itself is dirty, but we want your healthy dollars. This is a matter in which the Government should shed its inhibitions and come cleaner.

Just one more word about this aspect of linkage between internal and external debts. A country's external debt borrowed from abroad must, as a matter of accounting arithmetic, be equal to the gap between its domestic investment and domestic saving. There is a very good reason to believe that internal and foreign accounts run in tandem. Would the Government, therefore, explain to us and enlighten us on the subject as to what the linkage is between the internal debt and the external debt and how these two run in tandem? Time would not permit me to elaborate on this point at any great length.

I would now briefly speak on defence budget. In covering the defence budget, I am mindful of the fact that we are not discussing the demands for grants. We are discussing only the broad expenditures within the Union Budget. And in the three major expenditures interest payments, subsidies and de-fence^interest payment I just covered. I cannot cover the subsidies unless I am clear about what the Government's philosophy is on the subject. On defence, I would share some views with the government.

My greatest difficulty in examining the defence budget is that we examine it, the defence budget, in the abstract. We are examining the defence budget when actually there is no articulable or articulated or indeed intelligible defence policy as such. What we do have are our tasks allocated to the three Services. Quite often the tasks are virtually self-adopted tasks of the armed forces. That does not suffice. That is not defence policy. If the Government were to stand up and say that the defence policy of the country is to keep the territorial integrity of the nation inviolate, that is stating the obvious.

That cannot constitute a defence policy. It is just a task which is incumbent upon any Government and cannot, therefore, be said to be a defence policy. Unless, therefore, there is an intelligible defence policy, we cannot examine how the Government has reduced its defence budget from Rs. 13,200 crores to Rs. 1,300 crores. Unless there is a defence policy you cannot have a proper manpower utilization programme the whole concept of what force level you require to subserve a stated defence policy and those force levels in themselves must emerge from an overall manpower policy. Therefore, when the government says that we have reduced the defence budget from Rs. 13,200 crores to Rs. 1,300 crores, it is something which we have been saying you must examine. We are not, however, reassured as to at what cost have these Rs. 200 crores in absolute terms been reduced. When you take away the concept of absolute terms and when

you relate it to the fact that there will be a decline in the rupee value by around by 10 per cent there will then be a corresponding inflation of 10 per cent in a year, and if decline in the rupee value is 10 per cent, then Rs. 1,300 crores from the current Budget of Rs. 13,000 crores is taken away on account of decline in the rupee value. Another 10 per cent, due to inflation takes away another Rs. 1,300 crores. That comes to around Rs. 2,600 crores. Plus 200 crores that you have taken out in absolute terms. This is not an empty worry. And I am not engaged in empty arithmetical exercise, because in the absence of an overall defence policy, if you have reduced the defence budget, when

the force levels have not been reduced and they cannot be reduced — then the conclusion that is drawn is that you have done all this at the cost of modernisation, you have done it at the cost of putting aside for a year or for two years the whole aspect of capital expenditure on the armed forces. It does mean

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that—whether it is a tank or a frigate or a new aircraft—somewhere the armed forces will have to pay. If that is so, either the Government must come forward and explain to us its rationality, that the whole security environment facing the country has changed and in the concept of defence policy that we have, we are going to reduce the force level and that we are going to postpone our capital expenditure programme. Otherwise you come across anomalies like the present one. I will give you just two examples. I mentioned capital expenditure, which means modernisation and I mentioned about the force level.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
Your time is up.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH:  
My time for speech is perhaps up,  
but my . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
No, no. Time of your life is there. I wish you . . .

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I will just give you two examples. For instance the capital expenditure. The figure for 1988-89 was Rs., 3,872 crores and the revised figure was Rs. 3,726 crores which means that even in the year which is to end on the 31st March this year, the capital expenditure on Armed Forces was lower by almost Rs. 150 crores. The inflation and falling rupee value, etc. etc., have not been taken into account. In the current year against the Budget Estimates of 1988-89 you have merely gone up by Rs. 28 crores or Rs. 35 crores in capital expenditure of the Defence Services. Now that Rs. 35 crores is all that you have done so far as capital expenditure on the Armed Forces is concerned, it is not a reassuring figure. Take force levels, Madam, and one of the indices of force levels is defence pensions. In 1988-89 defence pensions was allocated Rs.

1100 crores or actually the revised figures for 1988-89 were Rs. 1597 crores or virtually Rs. 1600 crores. In the current year's Budget 89-90, Madam, under pension, you have Rs. 1350 crores. The number of pensioners and the amount on pension that you incur is actually and constantly going up. Therefore, how have you arrived at this figure by reducing the pensionary amount virtually by Rs. 250 crores? Has the number of pensioners gone down? Are you eliminating any whole class of pensioners? Are you reducing the pension? If I do not receive satisfactory answers on this, Madam, I am led to the conclusion that there is something extremely troublesome about the totality of the Defence Budget, hence about the totality of the Union Budget. We can start by saying that there are aspects of the Union Budget which lead us to believe that it is a fudging exercise.

Just four recommendations, Madam. Firstly please have a defence policy, an articulated, stated and an intelligible defence policy, not tasks for the three Services.

Secondly, cut down your administrative costs. If you will not do that, the soaring revenue expenditure on internal borrowing etc., will continue.

Thirdly, please make the Reserve Bank of India an autonomous body, not an extension... *(Interruptions)*... The hon. Minister says, in theory it is but in practice what it amounts to is that the Office of the Reserve Bank of India inclusive of the Governor becomes an extension of Governmental grant or denial of privilege. Please make it a real autonomous body answerable to the Parliament as the Comptroller and Auditor General is.

Finally, Madam, I would utilise this opportunity to make an appeal to all of us. If we want to fight against this incipient bankruptcy, against these mounting

debts, both internal and external, and against the spectre of inflation that haunts us, there is really only one option that is available to us, I mean all of us including my friend, the present Minister and that is to work for a political change here inside the Parliament, because unless you do not politically change the present system, if you do not politically change this Government, we will not have a sensible Budget. Thank you.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): Madam, Deputy Chairman, the hon. Finance Minister has made an effort to tax those who can bear it and has tried his best to give solace and relief to those who deserve. The Budget is an instrument whereby the Government in power indicates its philosophy regarding finance. This is an instrument by which a direction is given where tending to what extent the Government is going to

reduce the disparities between the rich and the poor. Madam, in this Budget the Finance Minister has made efforts to tax those who are above the middle-income group and the rich by taxing various luxury items of consumption. I am not going to give the details because they are already there in the Budget proposals. Madam, here, an attempt was made by some hon. Members to paint a picture as if our economy is completely shattered and we are going towards bankruptcy. I would like to give my views on this aspect.

This year, as far as production of foodgrains is concerned, it is estimated that it will go up to 166 to 170 million tonnes. As regards industrial production, it will go up to 8.5 per cent as compared to the earlier year. In spite of the worst drought last year and three bad monsoons, this Government, by managing economic affairs well, has come out successfully. The price level is kept under control. Madam, I would like to draw the at-

tention of Mr. Gujipadaswamy to certain facts and figures in this respect. Unfortunately, he is not here. Yesterday he said that we were not able to make any improvement in our economic progress. I will give some figures for his consumption. He knows them. But he deliberately wants to avoid them. In the year 1979-80, the Gross National Product, on 1980-81 basis, was minus 4.7 per cent. But in spite of the severe drought of 1987-88 it was plus 3.6 per cent. In the current year, it is expected that it will go up to nine per cent. In 1979-80, agricultural production was minus 15.2 per cent. But last year, even though there was a severe drought, it was only marginally minus by 2.1 per cent. This year it will go up by 17 to 20 per cent. This is because the Government has launched several schemes for giving impetus to agricultural production. As regards food grains production, it was minus 16.8 per cent in 1979-80 but only marginally, by 0.35 per cent it was less in 1987-88. This year it will go up by 20 to 23 per cent. This is because of the several actions taken by the Government in this direction. As for wholesale prices, they talk about the rise in prices. But what had happened in 1979-80? It had gone up by 21 per cent whereas in 1987-88 it has gone up by only 7.5 per cent because the Government took severe actions, monetary, fiscal. That is why the Government was able to control the prices. Madam, yesterday, he talked about money supply. I made a comment from the Chair that as far as I remembered, money supply had gone down. But Mr. Gurupadaswamy was not agreeing with me. I said I would check up my figures. I have seen the figures. It is like this. It is like this, Madam. The money supply in 1978-79 when the Janata Government was in power, had gone up by 21.5 per cent. But when this Government came into power every year they tried to reduce it, and when we see the figures for the year 1987-88 it has come down to 15.9 per cent.

In the current year it is 15 per cent.



[Shri Jage.,h Desai]

Madam, as I told the Janata Government, because several shades of opinion were there, were not able to have that economic policy which would have been beneficial to the country and they had completely ruined the economy of the country. And now because of the efforts made by the present Government it has become a Duoyant economy. Industrial production has gone up. Coal production has gone up. Cement production has gone up. Fertilizer production has gone up by 36 per cent. Saleable steel production has gone up by 10 per cent. Madam, in this way this Government has tried its best to see that the production of infrastructure, industries goes up.

Then, Madam, I would like to refer to what Mr. Dipen Ghosh said about the allocation of Rs. 500 crores in the rural areas in 120 districts to give employment to at least one member of the family below the poverty line. He made a calculation, and according to him it will be Rs. 240 per year per family. His calculation may be right; I do not challenge him. But what I want to stress is that this Rs. 240 is not dole. This is going to be given to them by way of wages for employment. I give one small example. Suppose houses are being built. Houses will be sold. Money will be received. And that money can be again be utilized for the purpose of building more houses. I do not know what is the policy of the Government about brick-kilns. But probably that also is one of the programmes, to have brick-kilns. They will be given wages. When bricks are sold, he will get the money. And as far as I understand, this will be a revolving fund, and with that fund generation of employment will be there. And if the Government has this scheme for 4, 5 or 6 years and every year they contribute Rs. 500 crores or Rs.

1000 crores, I think within the next ten years or so we shall be able to give employment to one person from every family throughout the country. We have selected 120 districts. Government is going to select those where the people below the poverty line are the maximum, most backward areas. To begin with, we have started with 120 districts. But every year other districts will be taken up. Within 4 or 5 years I think the whole country will be covered. I thought that Mr. Dipen Ghosh would support this thing. On the contrary, he has ridiculed it. In Maharashtra, Madam, you know, we have got what you call Employment Guarantee Scheme. Mr. Basu, I would like the West Bengal Government to start this kind of scheme where any able-bodied man must get employment as we have done in Maharashtra.

Madam, as far as the borrowings are concerned, if you have credit-worthiness, if the people have faith in the Government, only then they are going to give by way of loans, by way of deposits, otherwise nobody is going to give. Sir, the Government has always honoured all its commitments, whether they are national or international. I would stress again one thing which I said last year also. Borrowings must be for the purpose of development. Borrowings are not to be utilised for the purpose of meeting the revenue deficit. They must be utilised only for production assets and for the purpose of generation of employment by having new industries and for having new methods of research in agriculture, etc.' Only for such purposes you can again raise your resources.

Madam, as regards the public sector, from the very beginning our Prime Minister has been trying to help the public sector. I am very firm in my view that no other Prime Minister has given so much help to the public sector as the present Prime Minister, both by giv-

ing it more resources and by giving fiscal and monetary help. Madam, what we wanted was a very strong and healthy public sector where there should be efficiency and where there should be no mistakes. During the last three years, our Prime Minister met the Managing Directors, Chairmen and Managers of the Public Sector and had meetings with them. Now the fruits of his efforts are coming out. Madam, I will give some figures for that purpose. The turnover of the public sector industries in 1986-87 was 69,000 crores of rupees. In the year 1987-88, it has gone up to 81,367 crores of rupees representing an increase of 16 per cent. Capital employed, which was 51,835 crores of rupees in 1986-87, has gone up to 58,125 crores of rupees representing an increase of 14 per cent. Though the capital increase is only by 14 per cent, the turnover has gone up by 16 per cent. That shows the efficiency and health of the public sector. Before interest, the profit of the public sector in 1986-87 was 6521 crores of rupees. It has gone up to 7113 crores of rupees in 1987-88. That means that it has gone up by more than 20 per cent. Madam, profit before tax was 3101 crores in 1986-87. Now it has gone up to 3521 crores of rupees. After tax, the profit was 1771 crores of rupees in 1986-87. Now it has gone up to 2183 crores of rupees. It means that there is a rise of 412 crores of rupees. As compared to the year 1986-87, this profit has gone up by 23 per cent in 1987-88. Madam, we are told that the public sector is running in losses. But the result is quite different. It has to make further improvements. You will see that on a capital employment of 58,125 crores of rupees in the public sector, the interest and profit are 7000 crores of rupees. This is more than 11 per cent. Therefore, always to denigrate the public sector and to help the private sector I think is not the policy of this Government. This Government is trying its best to see that the public sector is strengthened. This year also in this Budget, they want to help the public sector.

There is a provision in the Income-tax Act that the Trusts, Sports Associations and Research Centres have to spend the money for the purpose for which they have earned the revenue in the same year. If they cannot do it, then they have to invest in Government securities. And this year in this Budget, Madam, investment in public sector by way of bonds and by way of deposits will also be allowed for the purpose of income-tax, and they will not be taxed if they put the deposits in the public sector undertakings. That is why, Madam, a new avenue has been given to the public sector by this Government. And this shows the commitment of the Government that they want to see that the public sector rises to the commanding heights of the economy.

Madam, there are two or three points to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister. These are red signals and the Government must act on them. One is, as far as savings are concerned, the picture is not good. The savings which were 21.6 per cent of gross domestic savings in 1986-87 have gone down to 20.2 per cent. That means, savings are less. And specially the savings on the Government account which were 5.2 per cent in 1976-77 have gone down to 1.9 per cent. That means, the Government is spending much more than it should spend. They are not saving. That is why the Government must look into it and see that all the wasteful expenditure is curbed, and you have to give more concessions for purposes of saving to the household sector. And, Madam, what have seen in the Budget? National Savings Certificates Series VI and VII are discontinued, and a new series called Series VIII has been introduced. The interest rate of 12 per cent earlier in 1986 was brought down to 11 per cent. Now, to increase the rate of interest to 12 per cent because everybody was telling that this is not a correct policy, what the Government has done? 80L, which means interest allowed as deduction from income, has been

abolished. Now, they have abolished it. By this, who are going to be affected? Madam, not you, but whoever has deposits of over Rs. 50,000, whether in the banks or in the National Savings Certificates, those new assesseees will not get that money in the small savings because they are not going to get the advantage of the interest rebate. That is why Madam, I requested the hon. Finance Minister that this concession of 80% should also be given to the National Savings Certificates Series VIII. Otherwise, you will not be able to achieve the object of generating more saving. Secondly, Madam, what wrong Mr. V. P. Singh has done in 1986 should have been corrected by the Minister. Since last two years, I am making this point in this House, I think, still the Minister is not convinced. Earlier, Madam, the amount from the special savings deposit could have been deposited in the small savings account also. But now, from the non-Government Provident Fund 85 per cent is to be invested in this Special Savings Deposit account. And on that deposit, the State Government is not getting its share. For small savings, the State Government gets 75 per cent by way of loan, but from this, they are not getting it. That is why most of the States are deprived of their legitimate resources from the small savings. That is why I request the Government that they should start now at least giving 50 per cent as loan to the State Governments from this Special Savings Deposits. Otherwise, States like Maharashtra and others have been put to a great loss, and only in the 7th Plan itself Maharashtra alone will get Rs. 1600 crores less by way of loans from the Government. Madam, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. House to another aspect, the total amount received from small savings from all the sources. Whether it is the National Savings Scheme or the Public Provident Fund, they are less than what the Government is

now getting under the Special Savings Deposits. That means, the Central Government is retaining much more money than what they would have done if earlier scheme was not there. That is why I said that the wrong done by Mr V. P. Singh should be corrected by the Government so that the State Governments can benefit.

As regards the price-rise, as I said, in March 1988, it was 10 per cent, but in December 1988, it came down to 8.8 per cent, and I find every week more or less, it is going down. With regard to wholesale prices, in March 1988, it was 10 per cent and now in January this year, it has come down to 5 per cent. So, the Government has been keen to see that the price-rise is checked to the extent that a common man will not feel the strain.

The other aspect is about exports and imports. The picture is not good. According to me, it is not rosy. As regards imports, in the first nine months of this year, imports have gone up by 27.4 per cent compared to earlier period. As on 30th September, 1987, the imports amounted to Rs. 10398 crores, whereas in September 1988, the figure has gone up to Rs. 13164 crores. That means, there have been more imports to the extent of Rs. 2760 crores in the first nine months of this year compared to last year. As regards exports, by September 1987, the exports had gone up by

24.7 per cent but in the current nine months, it has gone up by only 24.4 per cent. That means, exports have not been as much as last year and that is why the Government has to make efforts to see that imports are curbed. We are told that imports are because of a crisis in edible oils but we see in some reports that edible oils imports have

gone down by 50 per cent. I am not able to understand, if import of edible oils has gone down by 50 per cent, how our import bill has gone up compared to last year. The Minister must explain it. As regards imports, there is one item which has been imported, and that

is precious stones and diamonds, and if I remember it correctly, the figure is about Rs. 600 crores more than what it was last year. And that is why, our import bill is more. But even here we have to see that these aspects are taken care of and our balance of payments position is strengthened and we should be able to reduce imports and increase exports otherwise we shall be in difficulty.

I hope I have 4-5-7 minutes and I will conclude. I would touch upon another important aspect and that is regarding the long-term fiscal policy. An assurance was given that exemption limit for income-tax will be raised in accordance with the rate of inflation. During the last four years, the total inflation rate comes to about 35 per cent. This has been a commitment by the Government in the long-term fiscal policy. I had thought that this point will be taken care of by the Government. Unfortunately, even in this Budget, the Finance Minister has not

thought it fit to raise the exemption limit I would request the hon. Finance Minister that this exemption limit should be increased to Rs. 25,000 so that the middle-income group people who are very much affected by the inflation would be able to get some relief.

Madam, as I said earlier, this Budget, is in the right direction. It has given relief to the common man. It has tried to tax those who can afford to pay. But there are one or two things about which I am not happy. There may be many things in this Budget about which Members from this side as well as from the other side may be happy. But I am not happy about one or two things.

For example, cement has been decontrolled at a time when we want to give a big thrust to housing. I do not know whether this is a sound policy. Secondly, there is no levy. I would request the Government that we should have at least 20 per cent levy at a price less than the prevailing average price of the earlier month,

say, Rs. 10 less per bag. This should be reserved for housing for the weaker sections. Otherwise, I feel that the common man will not get any benefit. Though we have decided to give loans from the National Housing Bank to those units which are less than 40 sq. metres, I feel that cement for these units must be given from this levy. Therefore, Government must have some kind of a levy on the cement industry.

Then, last year, production of cement went up by 15 per cent but this has not been reflected in the excise duty received from the cement industry which has only marginally increased by about Rs. 10 crores. I would request the Finance Minister to find out why the excise duty collection from the cement industry has not gone up to the extent of the increase in production which is of the order of 15 per cent last year. Or, if the duty has been reduced, let the Government explain that.

I am surprised that aluminium also has been decontrolled. What has happened? There is more excise duty on aluminium. People who are below the poverty line or those who are a little bit above the poverty line make use of utensils made of aluminium. These people will be hard hit. Similarly, last year, stainless steel utensils were taken completely out of the purview of excise duty. But this year you have increased the excise duty on stainless steel. I do not know what is the logic behind this. I hope the Finance Minister will have a fresh look at this. I read in the newspapers. The Finance Minister stated that he would give some concessions, that he would think over it at the time of the Finance Bill. I hope, at that time, whatever suggestions have been placed before the House would be taken into consideration. I also hope that the income-tax exemption limit would be increased so that the people may feel that this Budget is not only for the poor people but it also gives some solace to the middle income group -, people With these observations, I support the Budget proposals.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN :**  
As decided, we are not adjourning for lunch. We will continue with our discussion. Mr. Chaturanan Mishra.

मिश्रा जी आप कृपया अपने भाषण को समय की कमी की वजह से 10 मिनट के अंदर ही रखिये ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) :  
एक-दो मिनट घट जायेगा तो दे दीजियेगा ।

उपसभापति : आपका घटा देंगे, 8 मिनट कर देंगे ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : अगर आपको यही राय है तो यही कर लीजिये ।

उपसभापति : महोदया, अभी इस बात के बारे में हम से पूर्व जो वक्ता बोले उन्होंने कहा कि उचित दिशा में यह बजट है। लेकिन इस बजट के बारे में मेरा इससे विपरीत दृष्टिकोण है। हमारे राज्य मंत्री जी जो वित्त विभाग के हैं फ्लेरियो साहब वे पहले विदेश विभाग में मंत्री थे। इसलिये मैं विदेश से ही शुरू करता हूँ। महोदया, हमारा देश एशिया का एक प्रमुख देश है और भारत ने आजादी के बाद पिछले वर्षों में एक बहुत ही अहम भूमिका अदा की है। लेकिन हमको लग रहा है कि अगर इन तरह का बजट पेश होता रहे तो कोई हमारी बात नहीं सुनेगा क्योंकि भिखमंगों की बात कोई सुन नहीं सकता। मैं आपसे एशिया और पसिफिक रीजन की बात कहना चाहूँगा जहाँ हम लोग हैं। हम से छोटे छोटे राष्ट्र जिनको न्युलो इंडस्ट्रीयलाइज्ड कंट्रीज कहा जाता है चाहे वह साऊथ कोरिया हो, हांगकांग हो, ताईवान हो, सिंगपुर हो, इन देशों ने हम से कहीं ज्यादा प्रगति की है। एक दूसरा देश है जिसने मैं अपने देश की तुलना कर सकता हूँ वह है चीन क्योंकि यह देश तो छोटे हैं जिनकी चर्चा हमने पहले की है लेकिन चीन ऐसा देश है जो हमारी आबादी के लिहाज से भी और दूसरे लिहाज से भी बराबरी का है। इन देशों की तुलना में

आज हम कहाँ हैं मंत्री महोदय जब जवाब दें तो यह अवश्य बता दें। हम जितना कोयला पैदा करते हैं उससे साढ़े पाँच गुना ज्यादा कोयला चीन पैदा करता है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपको कौन रोके हुए हैं? क्या आपको जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने रोक दिया था या हम लोगों ने रोक दिया है क्यों आप उत्पादन बढ़ा नहीं सकते हैं? चीन हम से साढ़े चार गुना ज्यादा लोहा और इस्पात पैदा करता है, आपको कौन रोकता है इस्पात का उत्पादन बढ़ाने से? चीन आज दुनिया में सब से ज्यादा गल्ले पैदा करने वाला है। मैंने वर्ल्ड वूलेटिन युगाइटेड नेगंस का देखा है वह फस्ट कर गया है। सब से ज्यादा गल्ले का उत्पादन उसने किया, सब से ज्यादा सीमेंट का उत्पादन किया, सबसे ज्यादा मीट का उत्पादन किया, भारत ने भी सब से ज्यादा उत्पादन किया है और वह है दरिद्रों का, निरक्षरों का और बेरोजगारों का। यही हमारा बजट है, यही आप करते रहे हैं। हम को सोलिय चिन्ता है कि (व्यवधान) आप तो विद्वान आदमी हैं आप ही बताइये कि सब से ज्यादा निरक्षर कहाँ हैं। हम तो इतने पढ़े लिखे आदमी नहीं हैं

उपसभापति : निरक्षर का मतलब ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : निरक्षर का मतलब है इल्लिट्रेट। मैं आपको यह भी बता दूँ कि नेक्स्ट सेंचरी में वर्ल्ड में जितने इल्लिट्रेट होंगे उसके आधे इल्लिट्रेट भारत में होंगे। आप तो जानते होंगे आप तो प्रोफेसर हैं। हम तो साधारण आदमी हैं। आप ही बताइये कि हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं? कल हमारी बात कौन सुनेगा, भिखमंगों और निरक्षरों की बात कौन सुनेगा आज तक तो लोगों ने सुना (व्यवधान)

प्रो० चन्द्रा पी० ठाकुर (बिहार) :  
चीन में ऐसा बोलने नहीं देंगे ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हमको बोलने देंगे या नहीं बोलने देंगे वह तो आपको ले कर चलेंगे बोल कर दिखाएंगे लेकिन मैं यह पृच्छन

चाहता हूँ कि आप सच्ची बात क्यों नहीं बोलते हैं, आपको कौन रोके हुए है इसलिए मेरी सब से ज्यादा चिन्ता यह है कि इस तरह के बजट से धर्मरात को बहुत पीछ धकेला जा रहा है। यह हमारे लिए अत्यंत चिन्ता को बात है इसलिए मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकषित करना चाहता हूँ। दूसरा विषय है भारत का कर्ज में डुबाने का जिसकी ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकषित करता हूँ। वह यह प्रश्न है जिस पर बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है। इसलिए उस पर मैं ज्यादा नहीं जाऊंगा। आपकी सरकार का जो दृष्टिकोण है, जो फिलास्फी है जो परम्परा है वह है ऋणम कृत्वा, धृतम पिवेम यही आपके बजट का दृष्टिकोण है इसलिए कर्जा बढ़ता चला जा रहा है और आप मजे से फजलखर्ची करते चले जा रहे हैं (व्यवधान)

प्रो० चन्द्रश पी० ठाकुर : चीन का भी बताइये न।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : चीन का हम बता रहे हैं। चीन के ऊपर विदेशी कर्जा बहुत कम है और आपके ऊपर तो आन्तरिक कर्जा भी इतना है कि उसको जोड़ना भी कठिन है। आप तो प्रोफेसर हैं आप भी जोड़ कर के नहीं बता सकते हैं कि कितना कर्जा है क्योंकि एक आंकड़ा आप आर्थिक रिब्यू में देते हैं और दूसरा आंकड़ा देते हैं पेमेंट में। इसलिए आपकी हालत आज यह है। इसके बारे में मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो मार्केट बोरोइंग हो रही है वह इंट्रेस्ट पेमेंट करने के लायक भी नहीं हो रही है तो इसलिए हम लोग कहां जा रहे हैं आप तो प्रोफेसर हैं आप सरकार को बता सकते हैं कि क्या होने जा रहा है। अब हमारा जी० डी० पी० का बढ़ने का रेट जो है उससे कहीं ज्यादा कर्जा हमारे ऊपर लद गया है। इस स्थिति में हम पहुंच चुके हैं तो हम कहां जा रहे हैं। ऋणम कृत्वा, धृतम पिवेम की नीति से मैंने आपसे अभी चर्चा की है कि हम लोग निरक्षरों में तो सब से ज्यादा हो ही गये हैं एक नयी चिन्ता की बात है कि गांवों

से हर 10 साल में कम से कम 15 लाख आदमी भाग कर शहरों में आ रहे हैं क्या यह बजट इसको रोकेगा, यह मानेंगे? रोकेगा? रोकेगा नहीं बल्कि इस बजट से और भी यह समस्या बढ़ेगी। मैं ऐसा क्यों कहता हूँ? कृषि के क्षेत्र में कम से कम पिछले साल आपने 1250 करोड़ रुपया दिया था।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) पीठासीन हुए]

इस साल आप देते हैं 1200 करोड़ रुपया? आप क्या कृषि की उन्नति कर पायेंगे पहले से भी कम रुपया दे करके उन्नति रुपये का मूल्य घट गया है। ग्रामीण विकास में कुल आपने दिया है पिछले साल के इस्टिमेट के मुताबिक 219 करोड़ रुपया, अभी आप दे रहे हैं 2200 करोड़ रुपया। क्या 3 करोड़ बढ़ा देने से गांवों से पलायन रुक जायेगा। सिचाई और बाढ़ में आपने पिछले साल दिया था 217 करोड़ रुपया और अभी दे रहे हैं 205 करोड़ रुपया तो बाढ़ को अनियंत्रित करके या सिचाई की यहाँ स्थिति रख करके क्या हम गांवों के गरीबों की सेवा कर सकेंगे या इस देश की उन्नति कर सकेंगे। स्वास्थ्य के मद में पिछले साल आपने 228 करोड़ रुपये दिये थे और अभी आप दे रहे हैं 240 करोड़ रुपये। मेरे पास समय कम है इसी तरह से जो गांव के लोगों की चर्चे थी उनमें आपने घटा दिया है और रुपये का मूल्य घट ही गया है इसलिए हमको जो लग रहा है उसमें सबसे पहली बात है कि गांव के लोग इस बजट से और भी तबाह हो जायेंगे, और भी पलायन बढ़ेगा और गांवों से लोग शहरों की ओर भागेंगे तथा आप इनका इंतजाम नहीं कर सकेंगे। देश अराजकता की ओर जायेगा और यह बजट अराजकता का निमंत्रण पत्र है यह मैं आपसे कहने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

दूसरी बात, हमारे लिहाज से जंग पर आपको गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए, वह यह है कि आपकी बेसिक

[श्री चतुपानन मिश्र]

पालिसी क्या है इस देश को आगे बढ़ाने की? क्योंकि यह हम लोगों को समझ में नहीं आता है। मिस्ट्र इक्नामी हो यह बात समझ में आती है। लेकिन गवर्नमेंट टु माइंडस में रहे या आप दो नावों पर चढ़ें यह अत्यन्त ही खतरनाक बात है दो नावों पर जो चढ़ेगा, उसका डूबना निश्चित है और मुझको ऐसा लग रहा है कि वही दशा आप अख्तियार कर रहे हैं। पिछले दिनों आपने एक्सपोर्ट को बढ़ाने का नारा देकर यह सोचा कि इसके जरिये हम इस देश का निर्माण करेंगे। हम लोगों ने उस वक्त भी कहा था कि ये जो एशिया के कुछ देश हैं जिनको हमने न्यूली इंडस्ट्रियलाइज्ड कंट्री कहा, उन्होंने जो प्रगति की है वह भारत के लिए लागू नहीं होगी और इस दिशा में आप नहीं बढ़ें। आपने हमारी बातें नहीं मानी और आपने जापान से बहुत समझौते किये। अभी क्या हाल हुआ कि येन का प्राइस, जापान के सिक्के का प्राइस 60 परसेंट बढ़ गया और नतीजा यह हुआ कि भारत के जो कम्पनियां जापान से समझौता करके व्यापार कर रही थीं, सब की सब घाटे में चली जा रही हैं। वेस्टर्न ओनीडा जो टी०वी० बनाता था, उसको 400 रुपया एक्सट्रा टी०वी० पिक्चर ट्यूब का पेमेंट देना पड़ रहा है, एस्कॉर्ड को 55 करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा पेमेंट करना पड़ रहा है, मासुति ने तो इसी चेन प्राइस के चलते कार के दाम 200 रुपये बढ़ा दिये, आइशर ने भी अपने पर एच०टी०वी० का दाम 24 हजार रुपये बढ़ा दिया। ये हमको कहां ले जा रहे हैं। आप कहते तो कि हमारे देश की क्यों यह हालत हो गयी है, आप छिपाने की कोशिश करते हैं। मैं मंत्री महोदय से अनुरोध करूंगा कि कुछ चीजें जो दुनिया में हो रही हैं उनको गम्भीरतापूर्वक लिया जाये। योरोप में 92 आने से, सारे योरोप का एक बाजार हो जायेगा। योरोप का एक ऐसा बाजार था जहां हमारा वन थर्ड एक्सपोर्ट जाता था और 50 परसेंट से ज्यादा हमारा बैलस आफ ट्रेड जो घाटा है

वह वहीं से था। अब ये जो किलाबर्दी कर रहे हैं उसका क्या परिणाम होगा। हमारे ऊपर, इसकी चर्चा आपकी पूरी आर्थिक समीक्षा में कहीं नहीं है। यह अत्यन्त ही दुखद बात है जिसको आप समझिए। मैंने चीन की बात की, चीन को अगले कुछ वर्षों में हांगकांग मिल जायेगा, उसको ताइवान मिल जायेगा, वह सारा उन्नत इलाका उसको मिल जायेगा और हमको क्या मिलेगा? तो आप इसको गम्भीरता से लीजिए और इसलिए मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूंगा कि पहला काम कीजिए, अगर आप इन बातों को, अपने देश की समस्याओं को समझना चाहते हैं तो जो हाई कास्ट इक्नामी है आप उस पर एक स्टाइट पेपर निकालिए कि यह हाई कास्ट इक्नामी क्यों है। कितनी जिम्मेवार इसके लिए सरकार की टैक्सेशन पालिसी है, कितने जिम्मेवार इसके लिए हमारे उद्योगपति हैं, हम जो इम्पोर्ट करते हैं वह कितना जिम्मेवार है या उत्पादन के मद में क्या क्या खर्चा कहां कहां ज्यादा है। जब तक आप यह सब लोकेट नहीं करेंगे, इस हाई कास्ट इक्नामी से जब तक आप लड़ेगे नहीं... (व्यवधान) ब्लैक मनी सेपरेट है हम उसकी चर्चा अलग से करेंगे। लेकिन इस हाई कास्ट इक्नामी के चलते आप क्या करते हैं कि 1200 करोड़, यानि 18 परसेंट आप फिगर दे रहे हैं... आप सिर्फ निर्यात के लिए सब्सिडी देते हैं, अगरचें वह 18 प्रतिशत नहीं है। वह 25 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा हो जाएगी जब आप ई० पी० जी० का हिसाब कीजिएगा कि कितना हमको टैक्स में लस होता है। अगर सारा जोड़ कर आप दीजिए, तो हमारा खयाल है कि लगभग दो हजार करोड़ का हमको घाटा होगा। यदि हम निर्यात को इस तरह सब्सिडाईज करेंगे, तब हम कब तक दुनिया में चल सकेंगे? हम तो अपने देश के लोगों को मजदूरी बहुत कम देते हैं।

वही हमारी बागनिंग की सब से बड़ी पोजीशन है और इसको लेकर के दानया

में हमारा सौदा, हमारा सामान सस्ता हो सकता था, लेकिन आपने इतना कास्टली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन बनाया है कि उसने इसे नाकामयाब कर दिया। पब्लिक सेक्टर की आप चर्चा कर रहे हैं, उसको इतना कास्टली बनाया है और सब से ज्यादा बुरी बात है कि इतना बैडली गवर्नमेंट रन करती है कि कैपिटल इनवैस्टमेंट जो है, वह अत्यंत ज्यादा है। हाल के बरसों में 124 बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स का अध्ययन किया गया, तो साढ़े चौदह हजार करोड़ कैपिटल कास्ट ज्यादा हो गया क्योंकि टाइम पर आपने काम पूरा नहीं किया।

मैं आपसे जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपकी सरकार है, टाइम पर निर्माण काम क्यों नहीं होता है और जब समय पर नहीं होता है तो ज्यादा कैपिटल इनवैस्ट हो जाता है, फिर उसका उत्पादन भी कास्टली हो जाता है। इस पर कई बार चर्चा हुई है अनेक कमेटियों ने इसकी चर्चा की, लेकिन आप इसको सुनते ही नहीं हैं। वहाँ के सामने कोई दूसरा इलाज नहीं है। जो इलाज है, उसके लिए देशव्यापी तैयार हो रहे हैं।

मैं आप से कह रहा था कि यह एक्सपोर्ट-ओरिएंटेड पालिसी जो आप बना रहे हैं, वह अब वैलिड नहीं है। मैं अभी एक लेख, जो अमरीका के विद्वान लोगों का लिखा हुआ है और जो फार ईस्टर्न एकनामिक रेव्यू में छपा है— वह अमरीका की ट्रेजरी के राबिन ब्राड और जान क्वेन्ना के लेख को मैं उद्धृत करता हूँ। वह कहते हैं कि जो पहले हालत थी सिक्सटीज और सेवेंटीज में, वह अब हालत नहीं है, वह बदल गई है। दुनिया में वह डेड कांजो विकास हो रहा था, वह अब आधे से भी कम हो गया है। इसलिए वह अब लागू नहीं है। मैं उनको उद्धृत करता हूँ :

"That they cannot be replicated in the 1980s is an indication of how much things have changed.

Rather than increasing their reliance on a hostile world environ-

ment, developing countries must now look to diversify and to reduce this dependence. This implies a restructuring of trade and financial linkages in order to establish a development logic that is internally driven, not one that caters to the whims of the world market. In short, developing countries should not assume that exports can launch them into "NIC-dom."

यह अमरीकी विद्वानों का कहना है, कोई कम्युनिस्ट लेखक का नहीं है, कि उसको देख कर आप भड़क उठिएगा। यह अमरीका के विद्वानों का आपके सामने सुझाव है। इसलिए हमारा ख्याल है कि आपको बेसिकली अपनी नीति में परिवर्तन करना होगा। यह इससे नहीं होगा कि इस साल इन्फ्लेशन फिर देख लिया, तो पूँजीपतियों पर टैक्स लगा दो और चार वर्ष जो रहे, तो उस में फिर पूँजीपतियों के साथ दिया। यह अजब बात है कि इस देश में चार वर्ष तक माननीय सदस्य सभी सेक्यूलर हो जाते हैं। अब पाँचवें साल इन्फ्लेशन के साल में जाकर वह सब लोग कास्ट और धर्म की अपील करने लगते हैं कि हमको वोट दीजिए, तो चार साल सेक्यूलर और एक साल कम्युनल। यह जैसा आप पालिटिक्स में रख रहे हैं, वैसा ही आप इकनामिक्स में रख रहे हैं। इकनामिक्स और पालिटिक्स में एक फर्क है। यहाँ पर आप ठक्कर कमीशन रिपोर्ट रखें या नहीं रखें, एक हफ्ता बाद रखें, इससे बहुत बड़ा आसमान नहीं गिर जाता।

आप डेफेशन विल लावें, नहीं लावें एक बार लावें, दो बार लावें या पीछे हट जाए, यह आपकी खुशी है, लेकिन आर्थिक क्षेत्र में जो आप इनडिसेसिवनेस दिखला रहे हैं, वह जो अदूरदर्शिता का आप परिचय दे रहे हैं, वह इस देश के लिए अत्यंत ही घातक हो रही है। और आप उस इनडिसेसिवनेस, अकर्मण्यता और अदूरदर्शिता के कैदी, बन गए हैं। इसलिए इस देश को आगे नहीं बढ़ा पा रहे हैं।



## [ श्री चतुरानन मिश्र ]

अब पब्लिक सेक्टर की बात आई थी। मैं उसको चर्चा करना चाहूंगा। अब हमसे पूर्व एक माननीय सदस्य, ने उसी चर्चा को है। हम उसमें बहुत ज्यादा कैपिटल लगाए हुए हैं और हम जानते हैं कि जब तक उसके विकास का उचित ढंग नहीं होगा, हम देश को नरोबो से संघर्ष भी नहीं किया जा सकता। लेकिन सरकार क्या करती है एम० एम० टी० सी० और एस० टी० सी० एक उदाहरण के लिए मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ, गत आठ वर्षों में चैयरमैन और एम० डी० का जो ट्रांसफर और पोस्टिंग हुआ, उसमें मोटे-मोटे आठ से बारह महीने ही कोई कर पाया। अब आप बताइये कि कौन इस देश को सम्भाल सकता है और यह एम० एम० टी० सी० कौन है और एम० टी० सी० कौन है, जो 15 परसेंट हमारा फारेन एक्सचेंज यही अर्न करके देता है, आप फिती को काम करने ही नहीं देते हैं जिसके चलते हमारे देश की बर्बादी हो रही है। अब जो बड़े-बड़े पूंजीगति हैं, जो बड़े घराने हैं उनका एक्सपोर्ट चीज को इस देश को जरूरत है उस एक्सपोर्ट में उनको भूमिका नगण्य हो गई है और उसके लिए आप कुछ करते नहीं हैं। आप कहते हैं कि 1977 में जनता पार्टी को सरकार हो गई थी इसलिए वह इतना बहुत गए हैं कि हम ने यह पकड़ा ही नहीं जा रहा। अगर नहीं पकड़ा जा रहा तो आप हट जाइये और कोई दूसरा आये। रिजर्व बैंक ने इस बात की जांच की और देश के 1867 सिनेक्टेट विंग हाउसेट विंग कंपनियों का उसने लेखा-जोखा किया कि 1983 से लेकर के 1985-86 तक में उन्होंने कितना काम किया, कितना उत्पादन किया और उन्होंने कितना एक्सपोर्ट किया। वह अपने उत्पादन का 4.1 परसेंट ही एक्सपोर्ट में देते हैं बाकी सारा उत्पादन में इसी देश में खर्चा करते हैं और यही मुनाफा करते हैं और यही, चर्चा आई थी ब्लैक मनी की और वह ब्लैक मनी सृजन करते हैं और आप कहते हैं कि ब्लैक-मनी को हम पकड़ ही

नहीं सकते हैं। तो आप ब्लैक-मनी को पकड़ नहीं सकते हैं और हम लोगों को पकड़ कर जेल में रख देते हैं जब चाहते हैं। अगर इसी बात के लिए आप हैं तो कितने मर्ज की दवा है, यह तो आप बताइये? कितना कमीशन बैठते हैं कि ब्लैक-मनी को पकड़ेंगे लेकिन आपसे हो नहीं पाता है। तो कोई ऐसी नीति निर्धारित कीजिए जिसको ले करके हम लोग यह कर सकें। उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में एक और बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा वह विषय है मजदूर पालिशो, श्रम नीति जिसके चलते इतना घाटा और बर्बादी हो रही है। मैंने कई बार इस सदन में कहा है कि अगर सारा देश इस देश के बालिग मताधिकार के आधार पर आपको चुने व्यक्तियों को हैडक्वार्टर किया गया तो मजदूरों में से अगर सेक्रेट विलेट करके कोई यूनियन का प्रतिनिधि हो जायेगा तो क्या आसमान गिर जायेगा? लेकिन आपको पार्टी मानती नहीं है, जबदेस्ती मजदूरों की नामसन्द यूनियनों को लादे हुए हैं। नतीजा यह होता है कि उसके चलते तरह-तरह का भ्रष्टाचार होता है। मजदूरों में उत्साह नहीं रहता है। जब मजदूरों लेने की बात आती है तब तो हम लोग सभी मिल करके आपसे लड़ लेते हैं और अपनी मजदूरी बढ़ा लेते हैं लेकिन जब कारखाने की तरक्की की बात हो तो उसके लिए आप तैयार नहीं होते हैं और पक्षपात करते हैं। इसीलिए आजकल पब्लिक सेक्टर की अधोगति होती चली जा रही है।

श्री जगेश देसाई : अधोगति हो रही है ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हो ही रही है। अगर आप यह कहते हैं कि इस साल मुनाफा हो गया तो इसको मैं भी जानता हूँ कि यह अच्छा मुनाफा हुआ, लेकिन यह मुनाफा क्या जितनी पूंजी हमने लगाई थी क्या उसके अनुकूल है ?

श्री जगेश देसाई : 11 परसेंट है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: नहीं-नहीं, 11 परसेंट एक साल के अंदर में आप 11 परसेंट इन्फ्लेशन से उबर दिखलाते हैं हम टोटलिटो में दोगे जितना हमने उसमें पूजा लगाई है उससे ज्यादा धन पैदा करके हम इस देश को सेवा कर सकते थे और गरीबी से संवर्ध करने में उसका इस्तेमाल हम कर सकते थे। हम चाहते हैं कि ऐसा ही लेकिन गवर्नमेंट नहीं होने देती है। यह गलत अर्थ नीति के चलते, एक गलत गवर्नमेंट को फंक्शनिंग के चलते, एक रांग एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सिस्टम के चलते हो रहा है। इसी सिलसिले में मैं एक और विषय में कहना चाहूंगा और वह इंडस्ट्रियल सिस्तेम है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बार-बार हम लोग इस और सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करते हैं, मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहूंगा कि इन्होंने तो बहुत आर्थिक समाधान के आंकड़े दिए हैं, जरा यह आंकड़ा दीजिए कि आरने ज्यादा कारखाने खोले हैं या ज्यादा बंद किए हैं? हमारा खयाल है कि जितने आरने कारखाने खोले हैं उससे ज्यादा कारखाने आपने बंद किए हैं। इसलिए इसके लिए आरको कोई प्राइस मिलना चाहिए। कोई ऐसी कमेटी है नहीं, नहीं तो हम अनुरोध करते कि आरको कोई प्राइस देती क्योंकि आरने अपने चार साल के शासन में सकलतापूर्वक ज्यादा कारखाने बंद किए हैं।

प्रो० चम्रेश पी० ठाकुर: वैंस्ट बंगाल में कितने बंद हैं?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र: देखिए वैंस्ट बंगाल में यही तो आप लोगों का कण्ठज्वर है और आप समझते हैं कि वैंस्ट बंगाल इज ए स्टेट, कोई कंट्री है, जो कंट्री है उससे तुलना कीजिए और वैंस्ट बंगाल में तो आप लोग हैं जो कि उसकी बार-बार बंगाल की खाड़ी में डुबोना चाहते हैं। आपकी घोषित नीति है कि जब तक वामपंथी सरकार रहेगी तब तक उसे बंगाल की खाड़ी में डुबोना है। नहीं डूब पाती है तो आप डूब मरिए, वह अलग बात है।

लेकिन आप डूबा नहीं पा रहे हैं। यह अलग समस्या है। मैं कहना चाहता था कि इंडस्ट्रियल सिस्तेम हर जगह है, पूरे राष्ट्र में है और वह हमारी नीति के चलते है, जिस पर गंभीरता से विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

टैक्स को पालिसी के बारे में झा कमेटी बैठी थी। उसने कहा कि पर केपिटल इनकम जिनकी ह्यूड्रेड रुपए से कम है, उन्हीं से 45 परसेंट इनट्रामरिक्ट टैक्स का हम लोगों के पास आता है। अब आप समझ लीजिए, समाज के सबसे गरीब हिस्से से अगर इतना बड़ा हिस्सा आप टैक्स में लेते हैं और तब भी आप कहते हैं कि यह बजट अच्छा है, सही दिशा में है और देश को आगे ले जा रहा है तो फिर इसका क्या जवाब दिया जा सकता है? इसका जवाब लाठी से ही दिया जा सकता है, तर्क से तो नहीं दिया जा सकता। नहीं तो आप तर्क का जवाब दीजिए कि टैक्स का बोझ सबसे ज्यादा यह चुका रहा है और आंकड़े लेकर आप आइए, तभी इस बात को हम लोग समझ सकेंगे कि आप किस हालत में हमको कर रहे हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कई माननीय सदस्यों ने मूल्यवृद्धि की गंभीर चर्चा की है कि अत्यधिक हालत खराब है। जब इस बजट से रेल-भाड़ा बढ़ा है, दूसरी प्राइसेज बढ़ी हैं कोयले, इस्पात की, तो साफ है कि अगर कोयले का दाम बढ़ जायगा तो सब चीज का दाम बढ़ जाएगा। सरकार को छोड़कर सभी लोग इस बात को समझते हैं, सरकार इस बात को नहीं समझती। इसी तरह अगर इस्पात का दाम बढ़ेगा तो सभी चीजों का दाम बढ़ जाएगा। इस बात को क्या समझने की जरूरत है? अब रेल का भाड़ा बढ़ेगा चीजों को लाने-ले जाने में तो उसके चलते तो मूल्य-वृद्धि होगी ही और अगर मूल्य-वृद्धि होगी तो जो समाज का सबसे गरीब हिस्सा है, उसके लिए यह दखदानी होगी।

## [श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

एक और पहलू जिस पर आपने चर्चा की है नेहरू रोजगार योजना बगैरह, वैसे में इस तरह की स्कीम के पक्ष में है, आपने यह कहा है इलेक्शन ईयर देखकर आप 50 करोड़ रुपए की साड़ी बगैरह खरीदकर वोट जमा कोजिएगा। यह जो आपने करता है, आपको हम रोकने थोड़े हो जा रहे हैं। लेकिन जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या है, वह शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की है और उनको थोड़ी-साड़ी देने में काम नहीं चलेगा। हम आपसे यह पूछना चाहते हैं कि आप यह मिट्टी खोदने का काम गांव गांव में खोलने जा रहे हैं, जो शिक्षित बेरोजगार हैं, मैट्रिक पास हैं, वो०ए० हैं बारह-बारह साल से, चौदह-चौदह साल से बंटे हुए हैं, कौन हिम्मत करके उनको जाकर यह कहेगा कि आप मिट्टी काटो, यही हमारी सरकार की प्रगतिशील नीति है? आप में है हिम्मत जाकर ऐसा कहने की? ... (व्यवधान) ...

सेल्फ एम्प्लॉयमेंट कितना हो रहा है? तो यह जो बेरोजगारी की समस्या है, यह बहुत ज्यादा खतरनाक है हमारे देश के लिए। हमारे देश में जहाँ तक यह जो सांप्रदायिकता की आग धरक रही है या ताहिस्तान जैसी चीजों की आग हो रही है, उसमें भी यह बेरोजगारी का सवाल जुड़ा हुआ है। जहाँ तक हमारे देश के उत्तर-पूर्व में जो आन्दोलन उठ पाता है, वहाँ भी बेरोजगारी का सवाल जुड़ा हुआ है; इसलिए हम यह कहेंगे कि यह जो आप कह रहे हैं, पत्तों को झाड़ रहे हैं, उससे कुछ नहीं होगा, आप जड़ को देखिए, जहाँ से यह समस्या उत्पन्न हो रही है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश में दो तरह का कारखाना है, एक—छोटा और दूसरा—बड़ा। जो सबसे बड़ा कारखाना है, वह रोजाना गरीब पैदा करता है, गरीबी को पैदा करता है जो महंगाई के जरिए, जो टैक्स के जरिए, जो बेरोजगारी के जरिए, यह मिलियन्स एण्ड मिलियन्स को, जो गरीब किसान थे उनको खेत-मजदूर में धकेल दिया है, जो मध्यम किसान थे, वे गरीब किसान हो रहे

हैं। एक तो यह कारखाना खुला हुआ है और दूसरी तरफ यह छोटा सा कारखाना गरीबों से लड़ने का खुला हुआ है आप अपना फैसला अपने पर ही लागू नहीं कर पाते। वह भी आप नहीं कर पाते हैं। ए०आई०सी०सी० का अपना रिजोल्यूशन है, पता नहीं यह सरकार ए०आई०सी०सी० को मानती है या नहीं, ए०आई०सी०सी० ने कहा कि सारे देश के अंदर मिड डे मिल्क देना चाहिए, छात्रों को, बच्चों के खाने के लिए स्कूल में व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। यह ए०आई०सी०सी० रिकमण्डेशन है। लेकिन ए०आई०सी०सी० बड़ा या गवर्नमेंट बड़ी और फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री सबसे बड़ी, नहीं कर पाए। सरकार को कौन चला रहा है? आप लोग तो बोलिया की तरह कहते हैं—ठीक है, ठीक है बजड़। जब पूछते हैं—अरे, कौन बड़ा है—ए०आई०सी०सी० बड़ा है मिनिस्ट्री बड़ी है? इस बात का हम क्या जवाब दें, आप बोलिए? आप अगर कहिए कि हम अपना पैसा कुल्हाड़ी से नापेंगे तो हम आपको क्या कहेंगे? आप कुल्हाड़ी से ही नाप रहे हैं अपने भस ८।

आखिरी बात कह कर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय। अब देश में जो एक सबसे बड़ा हंगामा मचा हुआ है, वह स्टेट और सेंटर के संबंधों को लेकर मचा हुआ है। जो राज्य सरकार है, उसी को जनता के लिए सबसे आवश्यक कामों को करना पड़ता है। शिक्षा किसके हाथ में है? राज्य सरकार के पास है अस्पताल किस के हाथ में है? रोड किसके हाथ में है? बिजली किसके हाथ में है? सिंचाई किसके हाथ में है? राज्य सरकार के पास है। लेकिन इनकंप, दिल्ली की सरकार के हाथ में है। नोट कौन छापेगा। दिल्ली की सरकार छापेगी। महोदय, हम यहाँ बजट पर विचार कर रहे हैं। आप चाहते हैं कि कोई राज्य सरकार फालतू खर्चा न करें, ठीक है राज्य सरकारें न करें। तो आप केन्द्र में क्यों करते हो? आप कहते हैं कि हमारी तो नोट छापने की नासिक में प्रेश है। तो राज्यों को भी छोटी-छोटी नासिक प्रेश दे दीजिए।

दूसरी बात, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, महाभारत की कहानी आप जानते होंगे। महाभारत में एक चीज कही गई है कि खाता था भीष और पाखाना करता था शकुनि तो यह सरकार भीम है। आपने कैसे कोयले का दाम बढ़ा दिया, गैट्रोल का दाम बढ़ा दिया। इस्पात का दाम बढ़ा दिया और आप चाहते हैं कि सब की भरपाई राज्य सरकारें करें। इस तरह उनका बजट डेफिसिट में चला जाता है। इसलिए यह असंभवता तो आप ही पैदा करते हैं जो भीम हैं।

श्री० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर : राज्यों का ओवरड्राफ्ट ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : ओवरड्राफ्ट आपके लिए नहीं है ? आपने भी यह तेल के रिटेंशन प्राइस का 2300 करोड़ रुपया आमद दिखाकर बजट को जाली बनाकर, फर्जी बनाकर घाटा कम कर के रखा है। आप एक नोमेटिक चीज तय कर दीजिए कि सब कोई उतना ही खर्चा करे जितना वह वसूल करे। जितना रेवेन्यू आता है उतना टोटल एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव खर्च हो और जितना गैर-ईक्स वसूल हो वह सारा देश के निर्माण कार्यों में जाए, तरक्की के कामों में जाए। ऐसा केन्द्र सरकार भी करे और स्टेट्स भी करे।

श्री० चन्द्रेश पी० ठाकुर : स्टेट्स के आर्ट्स इन एड्स ?

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : स्टेट्स को आर्ट्स क्या करेंगी ? मैं आपको बतलाना चाहूंगा। आप तो बिहार के रहने वाले हैं। नेपाल से नदियां आती हैं और बिहार में बर्बादी लाती हैं। यह सच है कि नहीं है ? अब नेपाल से यह सामंता कौन सेंट्रल करेगा ? यह तो केन्द्र सरकार की करना है। बिहार सरकार क्या कर सकती है। आसाम में बाढ़ आती है ब्रह्मपुत्र से, जोकि चीन के किनारे लगा हुआ है। उसमें आसाम के लोग क्या कर सकेंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी) : मिश्र जी, आप को उन्हें जवाब देने की जरूरत नहीं है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : महोदय, बाढ़ उधर से आती है, इसलिए मैं उधर हाथ दिखा रहा हूं। वे लोग ही बाढ़ लाते वाले हैं।

They are representatives of the calamities coming to the country Therefore, I am asking them.

ये ही लोग विपत्ति का सृजन करने वाले हैं, इसलिए मैं उनको कह रहा हूं कि स्टेट सेंट्रल रिलेंशंस को नए सिरे से देखिए। इसे राज्य मंत्रीजी तो नहीं कर सकेंगे और प्रधान मंत्रीजी सुनने वाले नहीं हैं। उनको रिशफलिंग से ही फर्सन नहीं हैं। उन्होंने 27 बार अपना कैबिनेट को रिशफल किया है और इस देश में उनकी पार्टी के मुख्यमंत्रियों की हालत तो कैंग्रुअल लेबर्स से भी खराब है। कैंग्रुअल लेबर को भी नोटिस दिया जाता है कि कल से मत आना। लेकिन ये तो रातों रात बदल दिए जाते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि यह आज का सत्य है और तथ्य है कि राज्यों में दूसरी पार्टी को सरकार बनेगी और केन्द्र में दूसरी पार्टी को सरकार बन सकती है। यह इतिहास हम से नांग करता है। हमारा पीढ़ी के सामने यह सवाल आया है। नेहरू जी के सामने नहीं आया, दूसरों के सामने नहीं आया। उनके वक्त यह केरल में एक बार शुरू हुआ था। वे चाहते हैं कि केन्द्र द्वारा टकराव को नहीं कंसालिएशन की पालीसी हो आमूल परिवर्तन किए जाएं नहीं तो जैसाकि मैंने कहा इस देश की प्रतिष्ठा आपके रहते खतरे में है। हमने चर्चा की थी कि आज एशिया में आज बहुत से देश हमसे ज्यादा तेजी से तरक्की कर रहे हैं। चीन हमसे बहुत ज्यादा आगे बढ़ रहा है। चीन को हांगकांग मिलने जा रहा है। ताइवान भी मिलने जा रहा है। वह एक विशाल राष्ट्र होगा लेकिन भारत वहीं दबि रहेगा।

महोदय, हम इस देश की आजादी के लिए जेल गए हैं। हमने लाठियां खायीं

## [श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

हैं। इसलिए हम ६६वरी जुबान से कहते हैं कि आमूल परिवर्तन कीजिए। नए रास्ते का अवलम्बन कीजिए जिससे कि पूरे देश का विकास हो सके। भारत एक महान राष्ट्र बनकर आगे आए नहीं तो 21वीं शताब्दी में यह भिन्नमंगों का देश होगा।

The largest number of beggars will be in India which will be highly painful.

इसलिए मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूँगा कि आमूल परिवर्तन कीजिए। इस बजट को वापिस लीजिए, नया बजट सही ढंग से बनाकर लाइये ताकि हम अच्छे ढंग से आगे बढ़ सकें।

धन्यवाद।

2.00 P.M.

श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बजट का समर्थन करती हूँ। इस बार विशेष रूप से गांवों के विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया गया है और इसके लिए मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को विशेष धन्यवाद देती हूँ। गांवों में किस प्रकार बेरोजगारी दूर हो, इसका चिन्तन, मनन करके एक निष्कर्ष निकाला गया है कि एन०आर०ई०पी० और आर० एल० ई० जी० पी०—राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना और ग्रामीण भूमिहीन गारंटी योजना—का समीकरण करके राशनडाइजेशन किया जाए, डी-सैंट्रलाइजेशन किया जाए और दोनों प्रोग्रामों को मिलाकर नेहरू रोजगार योजना बनाई जाए।

उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, नेहरू जी का स्वप्न था “मेरा भारत महान” और हमें तभी साकार हो सकता है जब ८0 प्रतिशत हमारे लोग, जो गांवों में बसते हैं उनका बहुमुखी विकास हो। इस योजना के अन्तर्गत वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने देश के 450 जिलों में से 120 जिले चुने हैं। यहां पर मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय का कुछ प्रश्नों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ।

पहला, जिलों के चुनाव का आधार क्या होगा? बिहार में कितने जिले इस प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत चुने जाएंगे? क्या एक कामन प्रोग्राम 120 जिलों का होगा या प्रदेश और जिलों की जरूरतों को मद्देनजर रखकर प्रोग्राम और प्रायोजन बनाई जाएंगे? क्योंकि इसका अभी पूरा खाका तैयार नहीं है, इसलिए मैं यह प्रश्न इस वक्त सामने रखती हूँ। उदाहरण के लिए बिहार के जिलों की जरूरत और होती है, आंध्र की और होती है, महाराष्ट्र की और होती है और पहाड़ी प्रदेश में बिल्कुल ही फर्क होता है। तो मेरे विचार में तो इन प्रश्नों को ध्यान में रखते हुए यदि प्रोग्राम बनाए जाए तो बेहतर होगा। अतः मैं यह निवेदन करूँगी कि 450 जिलों में तो यह प्रोग्राम पहुंचाना आवश्यक होगा भले ही इसको फंड प्रोग्राम के रूप में आगे बढ़ा दें। इस प्रोग्राम के मुताबिक, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, गरीबी रेखा के नीचे के परिवारों में से प्रत्येक परिवार के एक व्यक्ति को रोजगार मिलेगा। तो इसमें मुझे उम्मीद है कि जो गरीबी रेखा के नीचे के लोग हैं उनमें जरूर उत्साह आएगा।

दूसरी बात, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने भाषण में आई०आर०डी०पी० के द्वारा 250 लाख परिवारों को गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर उठाया गया है, ऐसा जिक्र किया है और वह भी जिक्र किया है कि छठी योजना से लेकर आज तक इस हजार करोड़ रुपए खर्च हो चुके हैं। यहां पर भी मेरा एक प्रश्न होगा कि कहीं पर इसकी मॉनिटरिंग हुई है, उसके मुताबिक ग्रामीण विलास की जो हमारी आशा थी, वह उपलब्धि हुई है या नहीं? अगर उपलब्धि नहीं हुई है तो कौन-कौन सी खामियां थीं, कहां-कहां पर लूपहोल्स थे, कहां-कहां पर दिक्कतें आईं, कहां-कहां पर कौन-कौन सी बाधाएं आईं जिसके कारण यह उपलब्धि नहीं हो सकी? एक तो मेरा यहां पर कहना है कि ज्यादातर प्रोग्राम शुरू करके आधे में छोड़ देते हैं, वे

पूरे नहीं हो पाते। अगर पूरे नहीं होंगे तो जो खर्च किया है, अगर दो साल भी उसे हम छोड़ दें तो उसका खर्च इतना बढ़ जाता है कि वह पूरा होना मुश्किल हो जाता है। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि इसकी मॉनिटरिंग जरूर होनी चाहिए।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने एन०आर०ई०पी० के विषय में कहा है कि प्रोग्राम में हमें काफी सफलता मिली है क्योंकि हम आशा करते थे कि 50 करोड़ मैन डेज जेनरेट होंगे और 67 करोड़ मैन डेज का उपलब्धि हुई है। तो यह बहुत उत्साह का बात है। इसी तरह से दूसरे प्रोग्रामों में भी अगर उपलब्धि को देखा जाए तो बेहतर होगा। जा नई नेहरू रोजगार योजना है, उसका 75 प्रतिशत केन्द्र देगा। इस किस प्रकार में राज्यों में कार्यान्वित किया जाएगा, इसको जानकारी में चाहती हूँ। इसके लिए केन्द्र में हो सेल होगा या राज्यों में भी अलग सेल होंगे क्योंकि इसकी सफलता या असफलता का मूल्यांकन किसके जिम्मे होगा, इसका कौन इम्प्लेमेंट करेगा, कंस्ट्रैक्ट अफमर करेंगे या राज्यों के अफमर करेंगे, इसको भी जानकारी में चाहती हूँ।

महोदय, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा है कि गरीबी और बेरोजगारी कुछ क्षेत्रों में अधिक है। इस संदर्भ में मैं बिहार का जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ और प्रदेशों में गरीबी रेखा से घटने वालों की संख्या 1990 तक 10 परसेंट हो जाएगी, वहाँ बिहार में 1990 तक गरीबी रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले 25 से 30 परसेंट तक होंगे, इसका अर्थ यह है कि बिहार में दूसरे प्रदेशों के मुकाबले में तीन गुनी संख्या गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले लोगों का अधिक होगी। इसके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं। 1980 में बिहार में 50 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे थे, वहाँ की जनसंख्या के हिसाब से केन्द्रीय सहायता बिहार को मिलनी आवश्यक है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने भी अपने अभिभाषण में इस वर्ष कहा है कि बिहार में

कंस्ट्रैशन है और हिस्सा बढ़ता जा रही है। अगर वहाँ का विकास आगे बढ़े हुए दूसरे प्रदेशों के बराबर नहीं हुआ तो जनसंख्या वहाँ बहुत होने से हिस्सा की प्रवृत्ति को आप रोक नहीं सकते हैं। ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रोजगार बढ़ाने के लिए नेहरू रोजगार योजना के अंतर्गत 500 करोड़ रुपये की राशि 1989-90 के लिए आपने अलग रखी है जो कि स्वागत योग्य बात है। इस राशि को आपने 1711 करोड़ रुपये की राशि में से अलग किया है जो कि आर०एन०जी०पी०, एन०आर० ई०पी० और आई०आर०डी०पी० में रखा है। यह ठीक है कि आपने योजना का खाका अभी तैयार नहीं किया है, लेकिन खाका तैयार करते समय यह ध्यान में रखना आवश्यक है कि जैसे बहुत सी योजनाओं में आपने राशि डाली लेकिन बाद में यह पता चला कि उसका सही उपयोग नहीं हुआ पैसा पानी में बह गया। इसलिए इसका सही उपयोग हो, इसका ध्यान रखना चाहिए। आपके पास मूलझे हुए अनुभवी लोग हैं, आपके पास मास्टर कंप्यूटर हैं, आप पूरी तरह ध्यान रखें कि यदि योजना जनता को गरीबी रेखा से ऊपर के लिए बनी है, उसका विकास करने के लिए बनी है तो जब योजना का परिणाम सामने आएगा तभी लोगों का उस पर विश्वास बढ़ेगा।

महोदय, महिलाओं और बच्चों के विकास के लिए बहुत सी योजनाएँ चलाई गई हैं। डेस्टीट्यूट वीमेन को 12 करोड़ रुपये की साड़ियाँ बांटने की योजना है जो की अच्छी बात है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि महिलाओं का विकास अच्छी तरह से तभी होगा जब कि वे अपने पैरों पर खड़ी हो सकें, जब कि उनको सभी सुविधाएँ मिलें, उनको आर्थिक अधिकार मिलें, उनको कमजोर वर्ग न समझा जाए और ऐसी परिस्थितियों पैदा हों कि देश में उनको बराबर समझा जाए। हालांकि थोड़ी सी शहरी औरतों को आर्थिक अधिकार मिले हुए हैं, इसके लिए आपने कानून में बहुत से संशोधन किये रखे हैं, लेकिन फिर भी समाज में परिस्थितियाँ नहीं बदली हैं। इसलिए जो 50 प्रति

### [श्रीमति प्रतिभा सिंह]

आवादी महिलाओं को है, विशेषकर जो ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रहती हैं, उनको आर्थिक अधिकार जब तक नहीं मिलेंगे, उनको अपने अधिकारों के बारे में पुरो जानकारी नहीं होगी, तब तक महिलाओं का विकास नहीं हो सकता। इसलिए इसको व्यवस्था भी आपको करनी होगी।

बच्चों के लिए चाइल्ड इंटोग्रेटेड डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम जो 1700 ब्लॉकों में पहुंचा चुका है, उसमें आप 500 नए ब्लॉक जोड़ रहे हैं, यह अच्छी बात है। बच्चों के लिए स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा, भोजन की व्यवस्था आप कर रहे हैं। इन योजनाओं के अंतर्गत, यह भी स्वागत योग्य कदम है। इस संबंध में मैं शनिवार के हिन्दू के एक अखबार में प्रकाशित समाचार को और आपका ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहती हूँ जिसमें राजस्थान के एक जिले का कैप्शन निकला था "बालवाड़ी कागजों में हो सिमटकर रह गई" इन पर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है ताकि इन योजनाओं का इम्प्लोमेंटेशन हो सके। जो भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में था सब्सिडीजनों में अफसर हैं जो प्रावर इम्प्लोमेंटेशन कर सकें, उनको प्रोत्साहित आप दें। तब यह प्रोग्राम सफल हो सकेगा। जब आप 9,374 करोड़ रुपये ग्रामीण विकास, समाज सेवा, भोजन, वस्त्र पर खर्च करेंगे तो विशेष ध्यान रखें कि जिन क्षेत्रों और लोगों के लिए राशि मुद्दिया को गयी है उन तक पहुंच सकें। क्योंकि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जो ने ठीक ही कहा कि अगर केन्द्र में 6 हजार ग्रामीण योजना के लिए चलती हैं तो गांव में पहुंचने-पहुंचने सिर्फ एक रुपया पहुंचता है बाकी राह में खर्च हो जाता है। विकेंद्रीकरण का, डीसेन्ट्रलाइजेशन का रास्ता खोजें और सही रास्ता खोजें। 56 हजार से ऊपर की आमदनी वालों पर आपने 8 परसेंट सरचार्ज लगाया है। यह सरचार्ज नेहरू रोजगार के लिए लगाया गया है। इससे प्राप्त धनराशि इस योजना में खर्च होगी। लेकिन एक ही सन्देश है जो आपके द्वारा सरकार तक पहुंचाना चाहती हूँ वह यह कि इस प्रकार के चार्व टेम्पोरेरी मैजर्स होते हैं जो किपी कमिटी के समय, बाढ़ या

सुखाड़ आदि परिस्थितियों का सामना करने के लिए लगाये जाते हैं। लेकिन रोजगार से संबंधित समस्या तो साल-व-साल चलेगी। यह घटने वाली समस्या तो है नहीं। तो क्या यह सरचार्ज परमानेंट फॉरर तो नहीं बन जाएगा? ऐसी परिस्थिति में कहीं ऐसा न हो कि बाद में क्रिटिसिज्म हो, फाइनेंस कमिशन को बाईपास करने का आरोप कोई लगा दे। इसीलिए इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि सेवा निवृत्त सरकारी कर्मचारियों को रिटायर्ड बेंनीफिट्स के इन्वेस्टमेंट को इनकम टैक्स और वेलथ टैक्स से आपने छूट दी है। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि यह छूट पब्लिक सेक्टर और प्राइवेट सेक्टर के एम्पलाइज को भी आप दें। क्योंकि नौकरी में रिटायर होने पर सभी अफसरों को एक ही प्रकार की पारिवारिक परिस्थिति होती है और अगर सिर्फ सरकारी नौकरी में ही यह सारी सुविधाएं मिलेंगी तो क्या यह संभव नहीं है कि दूसरी नौकरी की तरफ लोगों का आकर्षण नहीं होगा और तब सरकार पर नौकरी वालों का इतना अधिक बोझ हो जायेगा कि सरकार के लिए यह संभव नहीं होगा कि वह उन सब को नौकरी उपलब्ध कराये। इसलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि इस सुविधा को आप दूसरी नौकरी पेशा लोगों के लिए भी उपलब्ध करायें।

किसानों को आपने 15 से 25 हजार तक क्राफ्ट लोन के लिए दो परसेंट इंटरेस्ट थटाया है। उनको 14 परसेंट न देकर 12 परसेंट इंटरेस्ट देना होगा। इससे वे नये किस्म के बोझ, आधुनिक तरीके अपना सकेंगे।

गृह निर्माण को प्रोत्साहित करने के लिए आपने "ग्रामीण निवास योजना" राष्ट्रीय आवास बैंक और एक नई योजना "गृह ऋण आता स्कीम" को आपने सेविंग के साथ जोड़ा है ताकि लोगों में अपना मकान बनाने की यदि आशा होगी तो वह सेविंग करेगा। इससे एक तरफ आपको सेविंग होगी और दूसरी तरफ आप मकान बनाने के लिए



उत्साहित करेंगे। इस पर सरकार दस परसेंट व्याज भी दे रही है।

आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में, हरिजन क्षेत्रों में और कम आय वालों को मकान बनाने के लिए आप सुविधा देंगे। बहुत कम जमीन पर मकान बनाने वालों को सुविधा दे रहे हैं लेकिन यह सुविधा एक तरफ तो ठीक है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ यदि सीमेंट और लोहे जो मकान बनाने के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुएँ हैं उन पर दाम का कंट्रोल नहीं रहा तो कम आय वाले मकान नहीं बना सकेंगे। इसलिए सीमेंट पर नियंत्रण समाप्त कर रहे हैं यह तो प्रशंसा की बात है लेकिन यहां पर सरकार को ध्यान रखना होगा कि उद्योग-पति उत्पादक प्राइसेज को मैनुअर करके दाम न बढ़ा सके। एक सीमा के अंदर दाम रखें, नहीं तो साधारण लोगों को सभी सुविधायें के होते हुए भी मकान बनाना कठिन हो जाएगा। सीमेंट का उत्पादन अधिक हुआ है। इसे एक्सपोर्ट करके आप फोरन एक्सचेंज अर्न कर सकेंगे लेकिन देश की जरूरतें खुले बाजार में सही दाम पूरी होनी चाहिए और पूरे तीर पर मिलना चाहिए। गृह निर्माण को प्रोत्साहित करने से तीन समस्याओं को हल करने में सुविधा होगी।

इससे एक तो रोजगार, इम्प्लाइमेंट की सुविधा होगी, दूसरा आवास की सुविधा होगा तीसरा लोगों में बचत करने की आदत पड़ेगी। इसी तरह से एक बात का जिक्र आपने अपने भाषण में किया है। आपने स्वर्ण नियंत्रण अधिनियम में संशोधन करने का जिक्र किया है। आज इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि विदेशों में भारत के बने सोने चांदी के जेवरों की बहुत मांग है, क्योंकि हाथ को कारीगरों पर अच्छे दाम मिलते हैं, जैसे डाइमण्ड कार्पोरेशन आज इस देश में बहुत बड़ा फारन एक्सचेंज अरनर है। वैसे ही गोल्ड ज्वेलरी भी बहुत बड़ा फारन एक्सचेंज अरनर बन सकता है। एक तरफ तो फारन एक्सचेंज अर्न होगा, दूसरी ओर सोने के आयात में जो स्मगलिंग और

चोर बाजारी थी, वह घटेगी। सोना और ड्रग्स दो स्मगलिंग के बड़े क्षेत्र हैं। इन दोनों पर कंट्रोल हो जाय, तो काले धन में भी राक लगेगी।

यहां पर एक दूसरी बात की तरफ भी ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। मंत्री महोदय ने महिलाओं की आर्थिक मजबूती के पक्ष में कहा है। यदि महिलाओं के लिये एक सीमा के अंदर सोना-चांदी पर कर की छूट दें, तो उनकी आर्थिक मजबूती बढ़ेगी, क्योंकि इस देश में औरतों को बच्चों के साथ पति निकाल देता है। तो बच्चों की पढ़ाई दवा दारू सब यही सोना चांदी बेच कर करती है। यही उनका सहारा है। विदेशों में यह परिस्थिति इसलिये पैदा नहीं होती है कि वहां आम-तौर पर महिलाएं दूसरी शादी कर लेती हैं और उनको कोई परेशानी नहीं होती है। लेकिन यहां तो ऐसा नहीं करते हैं। मैं बहुत सी महिलाओं को जानती हूँ। जो उनकी अपनी चीज होती है यानि जेवर उसे ही बेच कर उन्होंने अपने बच्चों को आई० ए० एस० और आई० पी० एस० तक पहुंचाया है। विदेशी मुद्रा फारन एक्सचेंज अरनिंग को बढ़ाने के लिए सरकार ने बहुत सारे कंसेशन और सुविधायें एक्सपोर्टर्स को दी हैं। यहां पर मेरा एक सुझाव है कि एक्सपोर्टर्स के साथ एक्सपोर्ट प्रमोटर्स को भी कुछ इन्सैटिव और टैक्स कंसेशनस दिए जायें तो एक्सपोर्ट बढ़ेंगे क्योंकि बड़े बड़े एक्सपोर्टर्स के पास तो विदेश में आफिसेज हैं किन्तु मिडियम और छोटे एक्सपोर्टर्स को तो प्रमोटर्स की जरूरत है जो विदेशों में जाकर सैम्पल दिखा कर आर्डर्स मंगा सकते हैं। इस पर विचार करने के लिए कुछ सदस्यों ने मंत्री महोदय के पास पत्र भी लिखा था। मैं निवेदन करूंगी कि मंत्री महोदय प्रमोटर्स को भी कर में रियायत देने पर भी विचार करें।

सरकार को अपने बाहरी और अंदर के कर्ज का सालाना व्याज 35 हजार करोड़ देना पड़ता है। इस कर्ज का व्याज देने के लिए 28 हजार करोड़ का नया



[श्रीमती प्रतिभा सिंह]

कृष्ण लेने का प्रस्ताव है। सात हजार करोड़ का गैप है। इसका अलग ब्याज देना होगा। इस तरीके में स्लो बोलिंग इफेक्ट होगा और भविष्य में इसका फल डिफाइट से भी हो सकता है। दूसरी तरफ किसी भी डेवलपिंग कंट्री में कर्ज न ले तो डेवलपमेंट कैसे हो। खाद्य पर सब्सिडी, फर्टिलाइजर पर सब्सिडी एक्सपोर्ट पर सब्सिडी के लिए लेना पड़ता है। यहाँ पर मैं एक सुझाव सरकार को देना चाहूँगी। कुछ देशों ने जोर और टोर (विल्ड अपरेट एण्ड ट्राफर) को योजना बनाई है। जापान, फ्रांस और ब्रिटेन ने अपने कुछ एक्सपेंसिव कैपिटल पोस्चर जैसा विंग बनाया। लैन्गे लाइव बनाना आदि में यह एक्सपेरिमेंट किया है। लन्दन और फ्रांस के बीच जा टनल बन रहा है उस भाँ इसी तरीके से बाधा का रहा है। तो भारत में भी इसका एक्सपेरिमेंट करके देखा जा सकता है। कुछ उद्योगधंधों से इसका बात को आ सकता है। वित्त मंत्री महोदय इसकी सफाया और अक्षमता के विषय में देख सकते हैं। खादों और ग्रामीण उद्योग विकास के लिए खादों और ग्राम उद्योग इन्सट्रुमेंट कोमोशान अपने कार्यक्रम को बढ़ाने जा रहे हैं। इस साल 33 नए उद्योग चलाए जायेंगे और 41 उद्योग को योजना है। यह एक क्षेत्र है जिसमें ग्रामीण युवकों और महिलाओं को सैल्फ इम्प्लाइमेंट मिलेगा। यहाँ पर सिर्फ यह ध्यान रहे कि जो कुछ उत्पादन हो, प्रोड्यूस हो उसके मार्केटिंग को भी योजना बनाते समय प्रबन्ध हो वरना उत्पादन हो और उन्हें घाटा हो जाय तो उन्हें निराशा हो जाती है। और पूरा परिणाम सामने नहीं आ सकता है। आपने इस साल फर्नीचर और चीनी के बर्तन को रियायत दी है।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने धनी वर्ग पर कर लगाकर और साधारण तथा रोजमर्रा के जीवन में काम आने वाली वस्तुओं पर कोई कर न लगाकर समाजवादी लक्ष्य को पूरा किया है। साथ ही उन्होंने दो महों पर अधिक ध्यान दिया है। उन्होंने चतुर्दिक ग्रामीण विकास योजना

और रोजगार पर अधिक ध्यान दिया है इसको प्राथमिकता दी है। स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की पेंशन 500 रुपये से बढ़ाकर 750 रुपये कर दी है जो कि स्वागत योग्य है। लेकिन इसके डिस्पोजल में जो देरा होता है उसको भी मंत्री महोदय देखें ताकि गांवों से बार बार आने पर इन लोगों का जो खर्चा होता है वह न होने पाये ताकि इससे उन लोगों में अर्थोत्थन बढ़ता है उसमें कमी आये। इन सारे सुझावों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करती हूँ।

SHRI KARMA TOPDEN (Sikkim):

Thank you, Mr Vice-Chairman I rise to support the Budget. Through you, I would like to congratulate the hon Finance Minister on the Budget for 1989-90. It is a socialist-oriented, well-thought out and correctly reflecting the country's priorities. It is only fair that the fortunate should contribute more towards upliftment of their less fortunate brothers. But while I am sure that none would grudge being taxed for the poorer sections of our society, all taxpayers will be concerned to see that their money is properly utilised to give genuine and meaningful relief to the poor for whom it is meant.

The Finance Minister has included a scheme on employment for which Rs. 500 crores have been earmarked, which needs to be looked at carefully. Already, the existing schemes of NREP and RLEGP have been criticised on the ground that the cost of these programmes is escalating while the benefits do not flow to the really deserving. I hope that this new scheme does not also quickly degenerate through a lack of effectiveness in the actual implementation.

I would not like to comment on the other aspects of the Budget which have been dealt with so competently by other speakers and will, no doubt, be further commented upon. However, as the Finance Minister's speech contained a specific reference to Sikkim, concerning the extension of the Income Tax Act from 1st April 1989 to Sikkim, I would like to speak, at some length on this issue It has

can sed a lot of consternation and a feeling of grievance among the people of the State. There was a total but peaceful bandh throughout Sikkim for two days. The Chief Minister has already written to the Finance Minister conveying the State Government's unhappiness over this extension. Unfortunately, the Union Finance Minister has given no relief but has replied saying that Sikkim should be happy that she is joining the stream of various other taxpayers in the country and thereby contributing to India's socio-economic development. I would like to emphasise that Sikkim has no desire to profit at the cost of the nation nor has Sikkim had any hesitation in joining the mainstream of national life and contributing her mite towards promoting national integration and nation-building. In fact, when critics accused India, in 1975 of colonization of Sikkim, India was able to refute these allegations boldly by pointing out that Sikkim merged with India through popular demand of the people expressed through a referendum. Aside from this political integration, tolerance for all communities has always been strong and non-Sikkimese are happily settle in Sikkim without harassment. Nevertheless, Sikkim is reluctant to forego the special privileges accorded to her under the Constitution in 1975 when she became a part of India and when these provisions governed the spirit of merger. On 7th November, 1988, the Direct tax Laws of India were suddenly imposed on Sikkim without prior discussion with Sikkim and without consideration for Sikkim's own laws then in Clause (k) of article 371 F i.says down-T quote:

All laws in force immediately before the appointed day in the territories comprised in the State of Sikkim or any part thereof shall continue to be in force therein until amended or repealed by a competent legislature or other competent authority."

These laws included the Sikkim Income-tax Manual, 1948, under

which Sikkim has been collecting an increasing sum each year building up from Rs 12 lakh in 1975 to a sum of nearly Rs. 4 crores last year. However, under the Indian Income-tax Act, 1961, the devolution of funds on the basis of sharing of income-tax would give Sikkim only about Rs 80 lakh. Though the Finance Minister has offered compensation to make up the shortfall between last year's collection and the State's share of Central taxes amounting to Rs 80 lakhs, no allowance has been made for the fact that Sikkim's taxes have been increasing each year and would continue to do so. Moreover, there is no guarantee that this concession would continue. The State Government's annual expenditure on establishment or collection of these taxes is Rs 7-38 lakhs. It is calculated that the Central Government would have to spend much more than this amount on establishment hardly justifying the collection of Rs. One crore estimated to be collectable through the Central taxes.

Because of the hilly terrain and non-availability of markets, Sikkim is not able to attract investment from outside to help the State develop economically and raise resources. A few small industries have been set up with difficulty. The extension of the Income-tax Act and other Direct Tax Laws to Sikkim would not only discourage further investment but would also drive away the existing small industries. Furthermore, the Direct Tax Laws have been extended without giving any relief to the tribal people of the State who form a significant minority of the population of the State. At least, the tribals should be exempted.

It is understood that the Direct Tax Laws have been extended to Sikkim because the special tax situation existing there was being exploited. I would like to point out that any exploitation, if it had been there, was by outside parties and not by the local people. While w

[Shri Karma Tcpcden]

support the Centre's action in seeing that the special tax situation is not exploited by unscrupulous persons at the cost of the nation, we are unable to understand why the innocent people of Sikkim should be made to suffer for the sins of others. Surely, a method could have been evolved by consultation between the Centre and the State whereby such loopholes could be closed and the culprits brought to book without diluting the State's privileges.

Sikkim was given special facilities under the Constitution less than fourteen years ago. Yet, a lot of erosion is already being made into these facilities when the same type of advantages given to the North-Eastern States many years before are still intact. These States have been a part of the planning process a great deal longer than Sikkim. Yet, the Direct Tax Laws are not applicable there or only in a modified form. I would request the Government of India through you, Sir, to consider withdrawing the Direct Tax Laws altogether from Sikkim. So that the people of Sikkim may develop to their fullest abilities. At least the same privileges and facilities that are accorded to some of the North-Eastern States should be accorded to Sikkim.

While our social status is being eroded gradually, States such as Jammu and Kashmir, Nagaland and Mizoram etc. continue to enjoy their special privileges.

We pride ourselves in Sikkim on our peacefulness. While Darjee-ling district was in uproar we put up with all the inconvenience of their long bunds and numerous refugees and with the continuous closure of our only outlet to the rest of the world throughout North Bengal. We have no communal disharmony

nor physical agitation, yet it seems that the meek voice of this well behaved child fails to be heard. Must we have endless strikes and riots to enable us to keep what is rightfully ours? If we do not raise our voice, must we sit and watch the promises made to us being broken each time?

As it is, Sikkim is facing serious problems this financial year due to gross over-estimation by the Finance Commission of our revenue generation capacities for 1989-90. This has resulted in a large gap between the revenue and the expenditure which cannot be closed even by rigorous economics. The matter has been taken up by the State Government with both the Chairman of the Finance Commission and the Union Finance Minister himself and I hope that Sikkim's voice will be heard this time.

In conclusion, I must mention another issue concerning the special facilities Sikkim received under article 371F of the Constitution. The tribals, who are the indigenous people of the land, are a minority population in Sikkim and require permanent and meaningful safeguards for promotion of their economic and political welfare. Towards these ends, various representations have been made by tribal leaders over the years to the Government of India but so far none of their requests have been heeded. One of the demands consistently voiced by the tribals has been for the delimitation of constituencies under clause (f) of article 371F of the Constitution so as to ensure more genuine representations for them in the State Assembly from the reserved constituencies delimited for the tribals. This demand for delimitation of constituencies has been supported by the State Government. I appeal to the Government of India to undertake this delimitation forthwith so that the aspirations of the tribals can be fulfilled.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget for various reasons, not because our dear leader Mr. Shankarraoji is heading the Finance Minister's portfolio but because of the intrinsic value of the document presented to this House. Before I enter upon the budgetary and fiscal proposals, I may make a mention that all through the budgetary debate, for almost half, my right side was vacant and silent. Time has come when we should ask a question to ourselves, when important business documented in the budget or important proposals like the budget are presented to the House, should we stand on agitational formalities of leaving this House so as to further any issues? I personally feel that it does not do good to (he idea of democracy, keeping away from the House when fiscal policies are being discussed, debated and presented to the House. This situation has to be considered seriously. With some relief I found the Opposition returning to the House after the Holi vacation I would request earnestly to both the sides whether it behoves us in parliamentary practices not to carry on disciplined and orderly proceedings, particularly when we are amidst fiscal proposals of the kind presented by the Finance Minister. It is not to run down any of the Party tactics. With respect and in my humble way I am appealing to every one who is a part of this House so as to restore the decorum, discipline and the respect in public mind for the highest constitutional institution of this country.

ST, whatever it is, I begin with this because after returning, the Opposition leaders including my very dear friends, Mr. Gurupada-swamy, Prof. Lakshman and now Mr. Chaturanan Mishra, have devoted a lot of time and given their critical appreciation of the budget proposals. I am sure the

hon. Finance Minister would deal in detail with the objections raised by them, but I must say that a very kind Gurupadaswamy was very unkind to the budget proposals. He had been using very harsh, strong language against the proposals of the Government. That was followed by Prof. Lakshman a....

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: No, Mr. Dipen Ghosh.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR: I was also listening to Chaturananji Mishra. But in none of the speeches, Sir, permit me to say, there had been any constructive suggestion to the Finance Minister. None of the speeches said that instead of 'A' figure, 'B' figure could have or would have solved the problem. Why I am mentioning this particular aspect of the Opposition attack and Opposition criticism is for the reason that I find that we are indulging in a modality of opposing for the sake of opposition. Any document presented to this House can be critically analysed and a hundred faults can be found out. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you may be aware of the very famous story of the mathematician who discovered zero. As you know, zero is an assumption; zero does not exist. And that mathematician was an Indian Vedic mathematician who invented zero. But the debate went on, "Why zero? Why not a triangle? Why not quadrangle? Why are you insisting on zero?" The answer given was that zero contains triangle as well as all angles. The answer to the queries raised by Opposition leaders is this that within the resources and realities available to the Finance Minister this is the appropriation. Probably Prof. Lakshman would not admit this.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh) : I gave examples and said what to do.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MASODKAR : One or two exceptions may be there. But making a budget, Prof. Lakshimanna will agree, has two aspects of the matter and both are very vital aspects. One is resource orientation. Another is the fiscal policy concerning the expenditure. Now as far as India is concerned, you know what is the resource crunch. And within that crunch, within that resource orientation, the Finance Minister has to play what you call, "the fiscal jugglery". He has to give and allot and every arithmetical allotment, let us be clear, there is bound to be some sense of arbitrariness. What may appear to me fair allotment of five hundred may appear to Mr. Gurupadaswamy that it should have been one thousand. It is a matter of total balancing. Ultimately managing affairs is the picture. My point is that within the resource availability, within the resource crunch, as I said, the present budget is one of the balanced document. Hardly, Sir, I try to give this sort of encomium to a document presented to this House. But I am going to say that this is an appreciable exercise. That is the admitted position.

ar- very much thankful, particular to Gurupadaswamy reported speech. He says, "It is true, in spite of drought GNP grew at 3.6 per cent. It is expected to grow by nine per cent in the current year." He himself envisaged by the fiscal policy presented to the House, the growth would be almost three—3 times higher from the one he has mentioned and yet, as I said, he has been unkind while condemning the budget, in strong manner. Sir, I particularly feel that the attitude taken by the honourable Members is just the attitude of a nagging wife : She doesn't know what is going on but she knows that her needs must be satisfied. And that attitude sometimes leads to extreme criticism.

Now, coming to some of the details, I may point out some of the realities which all the Members are aware of. One of the greatest realities is the global inflation. Because Chaturananji was talking, I got a copy of the February issue of the *Beijing Review* from the library, and that gives a picture of a country like China. What is the rate of inflation in China? This is what is stated there :

"China's retail price index has risen annually since 1985,..."

I am quoting this for one comparison, that even in a socialistic, controlled, economy, this is the financial — global—situation.

...culminating in 1988 with a figure 18.5 per cent higher than in 1987. This has sparked severe public anxiety. To check inflation and solve other problems, China has set forth on a policy of improving the economic environment, rectifying the economic order and comprehensively deepening its reforms."

Then all sorts of things are there, but, one more quotation from this :

"Since 1979, China's money supply has grown at an average annual rate of more than 20 per cent

It is only because Prof. Lakshmanamma's comment that "You are only printing money and just bringing it," I am giving the example of a socialist country where the economy is totally controlled, this is the picture since 1979. And we are only in 1989 :

"Since 1979, China's money supply has grown at an average annual rate of more than 20 per cent, while the gross national product (GNP) has been climbing at an average of just 9.4 per cent."

This is the rattle into which the economies of the world are caught. So, we should not look to India as an isolated figure or, our public do-

cuments or fiscal documents should not be run down by this method. We must look to it realistically. So, inflation is a global phenomenon; increased money supply is also a global phenomenon; so also, the export and import policies.

Sir, I cannot but say a word with regard to the document presented to this House for its approval. Before I do that, I would request the honourable Members to look to the budget as an on-going chart of the national perspective and mapping out of national resources in a reasonable way. I would suggest : look at it as a fiscal plus and minus so as to keep the progress and the perspective of progress ongoing.

You are aware Sir, the sovereign exercise of the power of the State ought to bear upon the issues that plague the health of the given particular polity. It is the wealth of the nation that always comes as an issue when a budget is presented. Structural interactions of the socio-economic forces of which Chaturanan Mishraji was speaking. Often tend to determine the parameters of the fiscal proposals as well as have an impact on our growth and development. Much depends on the perspective as well as its Plan. Both the so-called democratically free country and also the countries governed by socialistic governments presently believe that economy, national as well as social, is a multiform multilateral quantum pulsated and energised by the fiscal interactions.

A budget not only offers the worklines of the State policies but surely it makes an attempt to make the principles work. Functional mechanism is behind all budget proposals. I would request the hon. Members to apply the test of functional mechanism to the proposals made by the Finance Minister. Sir, you are aware that these principles for wise budgeting are not in a straight jacket, and they must fluctuate from period to period, from perspec-

tive to perspective, from Minister, to Minister. You must see the underlying thrust of the Budget in this regard.

For the first time, I feel effort has been made in some fiscal planning so as to keep in control the overall deficit figures, that has been referred to even by the Opposition Members. No doubt the regulatory measures provided show a lesser deficit in the present Budget. Similarly, neglected sections of the society have been the focus of the present Budget proposals. Just to mention a few which are being mentioned by all, they are the programmes initiated in the name of Jawaharlal Nehru for employment scheme, housing deposit accounts, giving rise in the tax reliefs as well as trying to meet the needs of poor and, I should say, some of the downtrodden sections of the society.

No doubt, Sir, taxing process and taxing proposals have no limits. They say that taxation has got unlimited horizons, both subjectwise as well as objectwise. Sagacious as well as imaginative Finance Ministers can find new heads for taxation. Of course, its total effect on the economy will have to be seen, whether ultimately the consumer or the common man will be affected. But I am only suggesting that we need not follow the straight jacket taxation methods.

There are various aspects to which I would draw the attention in brief because I am finding that your finger is moving towards the bell. I would just draw the attention of the Government. Before I do that I must congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for the fact that for the first time he has touched the defence budget, though Prof. Lakshmananna has said that it remains at Rs. 1,300 crores. He does not take into account inflation and the value of the rupee.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : I will make only one point. You can take inflation into consideration. You can take other items also into consideration, but don't claim that you have raised money for other things.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI S.B. CHAVAN) : From Rs. 13,200 crores, it has been brought down to Rs. 13,000 crores.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : Last year also Rs. 13,000 crores was the budget estimate and the revised estimate was Rs 13,200. This year's budget estimate is Rs. 13,000 crores. There is no guarantee that the revised estimate will not be Rs. 13,200. Therefore, what you have done is to keep the budget at the same level, you have not brought it down.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MA-SODKAR : My point is different. For the first time a reduction has been recorded in a fiscal document concerning defence. That is symbolic. I say it for it has an echo of the Delhi Declaration between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Gandhi. It is a positive step and beginning towards the goal of peace. Let us begin symbolically. Let us not say that we must disarm ourselves or that the world should have a movement for disarmament, but let us begin. I say and I give all encomiums to the Finance Minister on this aspect, that at least symbolically we have begun

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : You have not taken into account the money that has been spent on border police, which is practically doing the work of the military men. And you have not included pensions also. You have not included the expenditure on military establishments. If it is all added, it is not Rs. 13,000 crores, it will be much more than Rs. 15,000 crores.

SHRI BHASKAR ANNAJI MA-SODKAR : I am only on the symbolic gesture of the Government in reducing it by Rs 200 crores. That should call for some satisfaction. This is what I said.

The concept of an egalitarian society, as Prof. Lakshmanna will agree, has undergone a wide change I particularly in the recent times. Now I the value system of an egalitarian society is being based on two principles. These are very important principles. One principle is rationalisation. Another is voluntarism reliefs. How much voluntary efforts can you draw from the public so as to make the society better and how much rationalisation can you introduce in matters of governance ? This will ultimately give the picture of a society, which we call a welfare society. From this angle I would only suggest that the hon. Finance Minister will do well if he can consider some of the aspects of the fiscal policy, particularly giving impetus to cooperative movement and providing for equity tax concessions in the selected cooperative sector. Similarly, I do not know whether he can consider any fillip to be given to rural based agro-industries and to provide a licensing method—I do not know whether it lies within the realm of the Finance Minister—wherein it will be incumbent on the licence taking a licence to provide for housing and also to provide for employment to a percentage as nominated by the Government. In this way both these aspects which are plaguing us—housing and employment—will be covered. The third aspect, which I feel the Finance Minister may consider, is whether the proposed levies on electronics and electronic goods are likely to affect or retard our growth of trade. Electronics is one of the fields where India is making faster progress. The hon. Minister may give his consideration to the impact of levies on electronic goods.

Lastly, Sir, one more suggestion I want to give and with that I will close. Sir, can there be any concessional considerations particularly for the tourist industry? This will earn some valuable foreign exchange for our country. With these few suggestions—though there are many suggestions, but as I said, the horizons are unlimited—But time is up. I close by saying that this is a Budget for the poor, for the progress and for the peace. Thank you very much.

**श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, भारत संसार के बहुत गरीब देशों में गिना जाता है। 7वीं योजना का यह अंतिम वर्ष है। खेद है कि योजना व्यय और जो भी खर्च हो रहा है उसमें से अधिकांश आयोजना भिन्न मदों पर खर्च किया जाता है जिसे नान प्लान एक्सपेंडिचर कहते हैं। कुल खर्च 85,295 करोड़ रुपये होगा, उनमें से 54,347 करोड़ रुपये आयोजना भिन्न मदों पर होगा और योजना पर आधे से कुछ अधिक। जितना नान प्लान एक्सपेंडिचर, आयोजना भिन्न खर्चा है योजना पर आधे से अधिक खर्च किया जा रहा है, यह मान्यवर, एक खेद का विषय है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने आदेश दिया था विभिन्न मंत्रालयों और विभागों को कि मितव्ययता बरतें, खर्च में कटौती करें, बचत करें और दूसरी उन्होंने घोषणा की थी जब उन्होंने फरवरी, 1987 में बजट पेश किया था कि जो बजट का घाटा है उसे बढने नहीं दिया जाएगा, लेकिन उनकी यह घोषणा कि घाटा बढने नहीं दिया जाएगा और यह निर्देश कि मितव्ययता बरती जाए बचत की जाए, व्यय में कटौती की जाए, यह भी मान घोषणा हो रही गई।

मान्यवर, सन 1988-89 के बजट में कुल मिलाकर 8,280 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा होगा जब कि उससे पूर्व वर्ष में 5,816 करोड़ का घाटा था। 1989-90 के बजट में 7,337 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा दर्शाया गया है जबकि

तेज समन्वय कमेटी के कोष में 2300 करोड़ रुपये का समस्कारित तरीका अपनाकर उस घाटे को कम दिखाया गया है। मैं उसे उचित नहीं मानता।

वित्त मंत्री महोदय स्वीकार करते हैं कि कृषि हमारे देश की जनसंख्या का आधार है, किन्तु निर्धनों के लिए, कृषि के लिए, सिंचाई के लिए, बाढ़ के लिए, शिक्षा के लिए, स्वास्थ्य कार्यक्रमों के लिए पहले वर्ष की तुलना में भी कटौती है, या जिस हिसाब से खर्च में बढोतरी हुई है पुरे बजट के वह 10.97 प्रतिशत की कृषि वृद्धि है और इनमें वृद्धि क्या की है वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो सामाजिक सेवाएँ हैं—शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य, ग्रामीण विकास, इनमें वृद्धि की है 5.87 प्रतिशत यानी जो कुल बजट की बढोतरी है वह उसका आधा है।

3.00 P.M.

मान्यवर, मेरे आंकड़ों के अनुसार सिंचाई और बाढ़ के कार्यक्रमों पर गत वर्ष की तुलना में सवा चार प्रतिशत राशि कम रखी गई जब कि हमारी कृषि कुदरत पर निर्भर करती है और पिछले चार सालों से सबक भी भारत सरकार ने नहीं लिया, लेकिन फिर भी सिंचाई पर और बाढ़ की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान नहीं गया। उसको राशि में कटौती की गई। इसको मैं उचित नहीं मानता हूँ, एक हजार करोड़ रुपये से अधिक प्रति वर्ष असम, बंगाल, बिहार, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश, पंजाब आदि प्रदेशों में मकान, फसल, सबकें, पशु और जनधन का नुकसान होता है। उसके लिए कोई स्थाई योजना होनी चाहिए थी। लेकिन स्थाई योजना तो क्या, जितना रुपया रखा जाना चाहिए था उतना भी नहीं रखा गया। न योजना है, न रुपये का माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने कोई व्यवस्था की है। सब स्वीकार करते हैं कि कृषि पर हमारी अर्थ व्यवस्था निर्भर करती है। फिर भी उसका ध्यान नहीं रखा गया है।



[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

मान्यवर, सन् 1951 में जब पहली योजना प्रारम्भ हुई तो उस समय तक कुल राष्ट्रीय उत्पाद में कृषि से आय का प्रतिशत 62 था, लेकिन सात योजनाओं के समाप्त होने के बाद कृषि का हिस्सा कुल उत्पाद में 34 प्रतिशत रह गया है। जो लोग सेवार्त हैं उनका प्रतिशत 16 था, वह बढ़कर 40 प्रतिशत हो गया है, जो उद्योग का अनुपात था वह 22 से बढ़कर 26 हो गया। सन् 1950 में राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन में 62 प्रतिशत वृद्धि कृषि से, 22 प्रतिशत उद्योग से और 16 प्रतिशत सेवार्त लोगों के कार्यों से आय होती थी, लेकिन अब उनका उल्टा हो गया। अब 34 प्रतिशत कृषि से, 26 प्रतिशत उद्योग से और 40 प्रतिशत सर्वसेज से होती हैं। तो इन प्रकार हमारे देश के 76 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति जो गांव में रहते हैं उनको ग्रामिणों के श्रोत घटते चले जा रहे हैं और वह गरीब और कमजोर होता जा रहा है।

मान्यवर, माननीय मंत्री जो ने बताया कि 9 फीसदी उद्योग को आप में इजाफा हुआ है। यह मुझे स्वीकार्य है। सरकार को भी उद्योग से आमदनी हुई और उद्योगपति मालामाल हो गए, वह तो मैं स्वीकार करता हूँ। लेकिन सन् 1972 में 10 हजार आश्रितों पर 86 आश्रितों को निर्माण कार्य में रोजगार मिलता था मगर अब वह गिरकर 80 हो गया है। जब कि जर्मनी और जापान में निर्माण कार्यों पर 13 प्रतिशत लोगों को रोजगार मिलता है, अगर हमारे यहाँ निर्माण कार्यों से लोगों को रोजगार कम मिलेगा तो इस देश का औद्योगिकरण कभी भी नहीं हो सकता है, वह देश कर्जा भी उन्नति नहीं कर सकता है।

मान्यवर, जहाँ तक कर्जों की बात है, सारे संसार का कोई देश ऐसा नहीं होगा जो कर्ज देने की स्थिति में है और भारत ने उससे कर्ज न लिया हो। हिन्दुस्तान का कोई बैंक या घनाडय व्यक्ति जो

कर्ज देने की स्थिति में है, उसका कर्जा भारत के नागरिकों के सिर पर न हो, ऐसा आप नहीं बता सकते। 54-55 हजार करोड़ रुपया विदेश का हमारे सर पर है। 2 लाख 60 हजार करोड़ रुपया अन्दरूनी कर्जा देशवासियों पर है। पिछले साल 14 हजार 150 करोड़ रुपया कर्ज के मुद्दे में प्रदा किया जाता था। अब की दफा आपने प्रावधान किया है कि 17 हजार करोड़ रुपया कर्ज के मुद्दे में प्रदा किया जायेगा। देश के आर्थिक विकास को दृष्टि से यह उचित प्रतीत नहीं होता।

इस प्रकार जितना हमारा निर्यात होता है उसका 27 फीसदी कर्ज के मुद्दे को प्रदायगी में चला जाता है। यह बताया गया है कि हमारे निर्यात में 25 फीसदी की वृद्धि हुई। रुपये का अवमूल्यन हुआ। रुपये की कय शक्ति गिरी है तो डालर में 25 फीसदी का इजाफा हुआ या रुपये के हिसाब से इजाफा हुआ है। किस में इजाफा हुआ यह आपको स्पष्ट करना चाहिये क्योंकि हमारे रुपये का अवमूल्यन हुआ है। इसी प्रकार हमारे आयात में निरन्तर वृद्धि होती जा रही है और माझे 27 फीसदी आयात में वृद्धि हुई है। हिन्दुस्तान तो आदी हो गया आयात करने का। गेहूँ हम बाहर से मंगते रहे, चना भी, तेल भी बाहर से मंगायेंगे जब भी आवश्यकता होगी। जितना हम विदेशों फार्मर्स को देते हैं उतना हम अपने देश के फार्मर्स को नहीं देते। इसीलिये आदत हो गयी है कि बाहर से मंगते ही रहते हैं। आयात और निर्यात का जो संतुलन है इसी कारण बिगड़ा है बाजबूद सरकार की कोशिश के।

जहाँ तक सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों की बात है वैसे तो 252 सार्वजनिक उपक्रम हैं लेकिन मेरे पास 231 सार्वजनिक उपक्रम हैं 31-3-88 तक। उनमें 71 हजार 299 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ है। 231 सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में से 116 उपक्रम मुनाफे में चल रहे हैं। 116 उपक्रमों में से जो सबसे प्रथम श्रेणी में आने वाले 10 हैं इन दस पर कुल खर्चा है 54.98 परसेंट

है। आमदनी 76.5 परसेंट उन ऊपर के दस पर है जो मुनाफे पर चल रहे हैं। और जो साढ़े 23 फीसदी मुनाफा बना है वह 106 सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में बंट जाता है। जबकि 115 के करीब रह गये उनमें 1718 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है। उनमें भी जो टाप के 10 हैं उनमें 762 करोड़ का घाटा है जो 44 परसेंट से कुछ अधिक का घाटा है। जैसा यहाँ दिल्ली की डी० टी०सी० का हाल है कि लगातार नुकसान हो नुकसान होता है। 88 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान डी०टी०सी० में हुआ है। कोयले की तीन कंपनियाँ हैं, भारत कोकिंग और इसी तरह की तीन कंपनियाँ हैं जो ऊपर की 10 कंपनियों में शामिल हैं, 251 करोड़ का नुकसान इन तीन कोयले की कंपनियों में हुआ है। हिन्दुस्तान फर्टिलाइजर्स कारपोरेशन में 115 करोड़ का नुकसान हुआ है और वह लगातार हो रहा है। गैस एक्प्लोरिटी आफ इंडिया को 73 करोड़ का नुकसान हुआ है। ऐसे उपक्रम हैं जो लगातार घाटे में चल रहे हैं। इसके कारण क्या हैं? मेरे जैसे ले मैन या कम समझ के आदमी के लिये तो ऐसा लगता है या तो इसके चेयरमैन को या मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर को छः छः महीने के बाद बदल देते हैं। अगर आप इस प्रकार से उनको बदलेंगे तो वे क्या करेंगे। वे इन उपक्रमों में सुधार लाने के बजाय अपने आदमी भरने में लगे रहते हैं। कल ही 27 मार्च को एक प्रश्न था जिसके उत्तर की तरफ मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इसमें कहा गया है कि सार्वजनिक उपक्रमों में 31 यूनिट्स हैं जिनमें 50,287 व्यक्ति फालतू हैं। वहाँ पर आवश्यकता है 50,287 कर्मचारी अधिक हैं। ये जो मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर और चेयरमैन आप बताते हैं ये उनके सुधार के लिये नहीं पहुँचते हैं, ये उन उपक्रमों को खाने के लिये और अपने आदमियों को नौकरियाँ दिलाने के लिये होते हैं और यहाँ सेवा करने के लिये वे वहाँ पहुँचते हैं। यह चिन्ता का विषय है और सरकार को इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये।

स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन को पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग कमेटी की दृष्टि से उसको जाँचने का कुछ मौका मिला। मुझे ऐसा

जानता है कि स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन भ्रष्टाचार का केन्द्र बना हुआ है और माननीय सदस्यों को सुनकर यह आश्चर्य होगा कि उसका केन्द्रीय कार्यालय भवन यहाँ बन रहा है। इसको बीस साल हो गये हैं और उस वक्त इसका इस्टीमेट 4 करोड़ 76 लाख का था और वह इस्टीमेट बढ़ते बढ़ते 32 करोड़ 80 लाख पर पहुँच गया है : हमने यह भी देखा है कि उसमें क्रेक आ गये हैं जिसकी जांच सी०वी०आई० कर रही है न जाने कितने केसेज सी०वी०आई० के पास हैं। पिछले बीस बीस साल से सी०वी०आई० जांच कर रहा है। यह बड़ी चिन्ता का विषय है। यह स्टेट ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन बहुत ही खराब स्थिति में है। इसी प्रकार से नेशनल कोआपरेटिव कंज्यूमर फेडरेशन और नाफेड, ये दोनों उपभोक्ता की भलाई के लिये और किसानों की भलाई के लिये बनाये हुये हैं। लेकिन भरोसे खा रहे हैं। इन संस्थाओं को बर्बाद कर दिया गया है। इसी प्रकार से काले धन को रोकने के लिये भी कोई चेष्टा नहीं की गई है। ब्लैक मनी को रोकने विषय में वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ भी नहीं बताया है। चालीस हजार करोड़ से भी अधिक का काला धन देश में विद्यमान है और यह प्रतिवर्ष बढ़ता जा रहा है। जब तक देश में काला धन विद्यमान रहेगा तब तक बढ़ती हुई कीमतों को नहीं रोका जा सकता है और न ही भ्रष्टाचार को रोका जा सकता है। यह तो समानांतर अर्थ व्यवस्था है और इस काले धन के जरिये जो समाज विरोधी अलसर हैं वे उस में लगे हुये हैं और सरकार उनको रोकने में नाकामयाब रही है और इसीलिये ऊँची कीमतों को भी रोकने में नाकामयाब रही है और इस क्षेत्र में बिल्कुल असफल रही है।

[उपसमापति पीठासीन हुई]

भ्रष्टाचार आसमात पर जा चुका है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में जो भ्रष्टाचार था वह नीचे से ऊपर तक चलता था। लेकिन अब भ्रष्टाचार ऊपर से नीचे को जा रहा है। जितने भी निर्माण कार्य हैं हर एक में भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ता ही चला जा रहा है। आपको कोई वस्तु ऐसी नहीं मिल सकती है जिसमें मिलावट न हो। बेरोजगारी की समस्या संभर

## [श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

है। आज 3 करोड़ आदमी बेकार और बेरोजगार हैं। हाई स्कूल, इंटरमीडिएट, डॉक्टर, इंजीनियर तीन करोड़ से अधिक बेकार हैं, बेरोजगार हैं। जितनी तेजी से आबादी बढ़ती जा रही है, पड़े लिखे आदमी बढ़ते जा रहे हैं उसके अनपात में आप लोगों को रोजगार नहीं दे पा रहे हैं और इसके कारण बड़ी तेजी से बेकार और बेरोजगार आदमी इस देश में बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। आर्थिक समीक्षा जो आपने सप्ताह की है उसको देखने से पता चलता है कि 1987 में निजी क्षेत्र में जितने लोगों को रोजगार मिला, 1986 के मुकाबले में उनकी संख्या 4 हजार कम है। 1987 के मुकाबले 1986 में 4 हजार कम व्यक्तियों को रोजगार मिला। तो ऐसी हालत में इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी को कैसे रोजगार मिलेगा? किस हिसाब से हम इस देश के लोगों को रोजगार दे सकेंगे यह बात मेरी समझ से बाहर है। मान्यवर, 105 इकाइयों सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को ऐसी हैं जिन पर 100 करोड़ रुपये से अधिक का खर्चा है। माननीय सदस्यों को यह सुनकर आश्चर्य होगा कि उनका जो रिवाइज्ड एस्टीमेट है, अनुमान फिर जो दुबारा बताया गया है वह ती फीसदी दो सौ फीसदी और तीन सौ फीसदी, ज्यादा बढ़ा है और कहीं-कहीं एक हजार फीसदी अनुमान भी बढ़ा है। क्यों ऐसी चीजें होती हैं? क्यों नियंत्रण नहीं होता? कोई कंट्रोल नहीं। अगर एक हजार फीसदी रिवाइज्ड एस्टीमेट बढ़ जाय तो यह हमारे लिये एक चैलेंज है। महीदबा, उत्तर प्रदेश के बरेली जिले में आबंला एक स्थान है। वहां पर एक खाद का कारखाना बन रहा है। 50 करोड़ रुपये के घोटाले के बावजूद इन हाउस में प्रश्न उठा था। 50 हजार नहीं, 50 लाख नहीं बल्कि 50 करोड़ का घोटाला है। इसकी तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये।

जहां तक विदेशी मुद्रा का सवाल है 1986-87 में हमारे पास 8151 करोड़ रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा थी लेकिन

1987-88 में वह घटकर 7687 करोड़ रुपये रह गई और मान्यवर 1988-89 में जनवरी तक 5667 करोड़ रुपये अर्थात् 1720 करोड़ रुपये कम हो गई। यह आपके लिये एक चैलेंज है, चुनौती है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी इस तरफ ध्यान दें।

जहां तक सिक इंडस्ट्री, खण उद्योगों का सवाल है, आज देश में 1,59,938 खण उद्योग हैं, जिनमें से लघु उद्योग की इकाइयां 1,58,226 हैं। इनमें 99 फीसदी लघु उद्योग की इकाइयां हैं और इन्होंने 5738 करोड़ रुपये बैंकों से कर्जा लिया हुआ है जो कि फंसा पड़ा है। कैसे विकास होगा इस देश का? जब रोजगार के साधन बेकार पड़े हैं तो इससे लोगों का रोजगार भी खतरे में है और उनका भविष्य भी खतरे में है। इसीलिये इस की तरफ भी मैं आपका ध्यान आकषिप्त करना चाहूंगा। साथ ही साथ हर वर्ष यह चर्चा की जाती है कि हम खाद पर इतनी सन्निधि दे रहे हैं, इतनी हम खाद्यान्न पर सन्निधि दे रहे हैं। हर साल सन्निधि बढ़ रही है। जितने भी माननीय सदस्य यहां पर बैठे हैं मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूं कि खाद्यान्न की सन्निधि से किन उपभोक्ताओं को फायदा पहुंचा है, किस प्रकार के उपभोक्ताओं को खाद्यान्न की सन्निधि का फायदा मिला है। मैंने पहले भी बताया कि जो आपका फूड कारपोरेशन है, जो खाद्य निगम है उसके कुकर्मों के कारण, उसकी शकृणुलता के कारण, उसकी इन-एफिसियेंसी के कारण वहां पर जो अनाज की चोरी होती है, जो पिलफिरेज होता है, जो अनाज वहां पर नष्ट होता है उससे ऊपर वह मारी की सारी सन्निधि, वह सारा का सारा अनाज खर्च हो जाता है। न कि उपभोक्ताओं की सहायता में वह खर्च की जाती है। इस तरह से फर्टिलाइजर का है। अगर आपको फर्टिलाइजर ऊपर के उर्वरक के ऊपर या खाद्यान्न के ऊपर उपभोक्ताओं को कोई सहायता पहुंचानी है तो मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा

कि यह सहायता या अनुदान का लाभ डायरेक्ट किसानों को पहुंचाने की व्यवस्था आप करने की कृपा करें। फसल और पशु बीमा योजना को आपने चलाया। आप जानते हैं कि किस तरह से सूखा पिछले वर्ष पड़ा था, आज भी ओला पड़ गया है। किसान की फसल खड़ी है ओला पड़ जाता है। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आप फसल के और पशुओं के बीमे की ऐसी ठोस योजना बनाएं जिससे किसानों को तबाही और बरबादी से बचाया जा सके और इस योजना का वे लाभ उठा सकें। आई० आर० डी० पी० वर्गें जो आपकी योजनाएँ हैं गरीबों की रेखा से लोगों को ऊपर उठाने की योजनाएँ हैं इन योजनाओं के अन्तर्गत लोगों को कर्जा दिया जाता है। अगर वह पैसा अनुत्पादक कार्यों के ऊपर खर्च हुआ तो इन्सान और गरीब होगा अगर वह सप्लाई उत्पादक कार्यों के ऊपर खर्च हुआ तो उसका सदुपयोग है उससे फायदा उसको पहुंचेगा। वह पैसा प्रोडक्टिव कार्यों पर लगा है या नहीं इसको कोई नहीं देखता है। वह जानकर आपको ताज्जुब होगा, कुछ किसान भाई यहां पर भी बैठे हैं, वे मुझ से सहमत होंगे कि प्रतिवर्ष सामान्य किसानों की संख्या में बहुत तेजी के साथ वृद्धि होती चली जा रही है। आप गरीबों की रेखा से आदिमियों को ऊपर तो उठा रहे हैं लेकिन जो सामान्य कृषक हो कर प्रतिवर्ष गरीब होते चले जा रहे हैं वह नये गरीब आपके बनते चले जाएंगे इसलिए आप किस प्रकार उनका ध्यान रखेंगे, किस प्रकार से उनको फायदा पहुंचाएंगे इस दृष्टि से भी आपको सोचना चाहिये। मैं कुछ सुझाव दे कर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

मेरा पहला सुझाव यह है कि आप जिस जिले को आयोगिक रूप से निछड़ा हुआ मानते हैं इसमें मेरा सुझाव यह है कि आप जिले के स्थान पर तहसील को मानिये। कई जिलों में दो तीन तहसीलें ऐसी हैं जिनमें काफी उद्योग है लेकिन कई तहसीलें ऐसी भी हैं जहाँ

पर न कोई छोटा उद्योग है न कोई बड़ा उद्योग है। इसलिए आयोगिक पिछड़ेपन की तहसील के स्तर पर देखें और इस सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार करें। दूसरा मेरा सुझाव यह है कि चीनो की मिलें स्थापित करने में 25 किलोमीटर की दूरी आप लगाएं। पहले तो हमारे प्रदेश में 6-7 किलोमीटर की दूरी पर भी चीनो मिलें स्थापित हैं लेकिन अब आप 25 किलोमीटर की सीमा लगाएं और 1800 मीट्रिक टन को क्षमता भी रखें यह मेरा दूसरा सुझाव है। तीसरा सुझाव यह है कि हम सब को मालूम है कि हमारी सेना से प्रति वर्ष 900 अधिकारी और 50-55 हजार यूनिवरसिटी के कर्मचारी सेना से रिटायर कर दिये जाते हैं उनकी आयु रिटायरमेंट के समय 33 से 40 वर्ष की होती है अब वे क्या करेंगे? आप सरकारी कर्मचारियों को तो 58 वर्ष की आयु में रिटायर करते हैं मेरा निवेदन यह है कि यह हमारे सैनिक हैं जो देश का रक्षा के लिए अपने प्राणों का बलिदान करते हैं अक्सर चिन चीन पर उनकी हड्डियां गल जाती हैं, अंगुलियां गल जाती हैं, पैर गल जाते हैं। हमारे देश की अखण्डता को रक्षा वे करने हैं इसलिए मेरा नया निवेदन माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से यह है कि भूतपूर्व सैनिकों को 33 से 40 वर्ष की आयु में अनिवार्य रूप से रिटायर करने के बाद उन्हें समुचित उद्योग दिये जाने की तरफ भी आप विचार करें। कनसाइनमेंट टेक्स सन् 1982 में तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री ने भारत के संविधान में संशोधन कराया था सारे मध्य मन्त्रियों ने चाहे कांग्रेस के हों या अपोजीशन के हों, लिख कर भेजा है और नेशनल डवलपमेंट काउंसिल में कई दफा प्रस्ताव भी पारित किया है कई दफा रिक्वेस्ट भी की है कनसाइनमेंट टेक्स के विषय में आपने आश्वासन भी दिये हैं लेकिन मालूम नहीं सात वर्ष से क्यों यह रद्दी की टोकरो में पड़ा है। राज्य सरकारों को बड़ा भारी नुकसान हो रहा है और फायदा इससे केवल बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपतियों को है। अगर आप उद्योगपतियों के फायदे में हैं तो

[ श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा ]

कई प्रार नहीं तो प्रदेशों के आर्थिक विकास के हित में कन्साइनमेंट टैक्स के मामले को जल्दी से जल्दी तय करें।

महोदया, परिवार कल्याण कार्यक्रम का गांवों में कितना असर हुआ है। देश तो गांवों का है। लोग गांवों में रहते हैं। अनपढ़ आदमियों में उसका ज्यादा फायदा पहुंचना चाहिए, मगर वहां विस्कुन नहीं पहुंच रहा है इन परिवार कल्याण योजनाओं का लाभ। इसलिए ग्रामों में परिवार कल्याण योजनाओं का लाभ पहुंचे, गरीब आदमी फायदेमंद हों इसकी तरफ आप ध्यान दें... (समय की घंटी) बस एक मिनट।

अब महोदया, पैकेजिंग मैटीरियल के संबंध में—पहाड़ों पर फल पैदा होते हैं। फलों को बाहर भेजने के लिए वृक्ष काटते हैं। इससे भारी नुकसान होता है। तारे प्रदेशों का सरकारें यह कोशिश कर रही है कि वृक्ष न कटें। इसलिए मेरा यह सुझाव है कि जो पैकेजिंग मैटीरियल है उसमें लकड़ी का प्रयोग न करके कागज का गत्ते का कार्ड बोर्ड का प्रयोग हो और उनके ऊपर एक्साइज ड्यूटी वगैरह में पूरी छूट दे जिसे इनको सस्ता बनाकर लकड़ी का उपयोग बचाया जा सके।

महोदया, रोज यह सुनते रहते हैं कि मार्च महौना आ गया है और एक लाख, दो लाख बचे हैं, सारा इस्तेमाल कर डालिएगा, फर्निचर खरीद लो, कालीन खरीद लो आदि। मंत्री महोदय, मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि 28 फरवरी के परवात जो चालू योजनाएं हैं उन पर हो वह खर्च चला रहा है लेकिन नया कोई खर्च 28 फरवरी के बाद उच्चाधिकारियों की इजाजत के बगैर न हो, एक पैसा भी न हो। इस प्रकार रुपये को बचायें।

महोदय, एक आखिरी बात नोटरी की है। सन 1956 में नोटरी का कानून बना था। तब ढाई रुपये या

पांच रुपये फीस मुकरर हुई थी। सन 1956 से आज 32-33 साल हो गये हैं लेकिन नोटरी की फीस आज तक वही ढाई रुपये या पांच रुपये है। सन 56 के मुकाबले आज रुपये की क्या कीमत रह गयी है। आज रुपये की जो परचेजिंग पावर है, उसकी जो क्रय शक्ति है वह गिरते-गिरते 12 पैसे रह गयी है सन 1960 की तुलना में, इसलिए मेरा आपसे विनम्र निवेदन है कि आप नोटरी की फीस उचित स्तर पर पहुंचायें।

आपने मैच वाक्सेज के ऊपर कुछ घटाया है। अगर आपने निर्माता के हित में घटाया है तो मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है और अगर आपने उपभोक्ता के हित में घटाया है तो यह कोशिश कीजिए कि उसका उपभोक्ता को फायदा पहुंचे, जैसे कि पिछले साल वित्त मंत्री जी ने घोषणा की थी कोटनाशक दवाओं पर एक्साइज ड्यूटी या कस्टम ड्यूटी में छूट देने की लेकिन सब निर्माताओं ने खा लिया उपभोक्ताओं के पास कुछ नहीं पहुंचा था, बंसा ही न हो। इन्हीं शब्दों और सुझावों के साथ मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से माननीय आपसे आज से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे इन सुझावों पर गौर करेंगे।

उपसमाप्ति: मैं हाउस के सामने यह कहना चाहती हूं कि साढ़े चार वजे वित्त मंत्री जी जवाब दें। अर्धः एक घंटा है और एक घंटे में जो मेरे सामने लिस्ट है। उसमें तकरीबन 7 लोग हैं, उन्हें बोलना है इसलिए कोशिश यह करेंगे कि 10 मिनट से ज्यादा समय न ले और अपने भाषण को उस लिहाज से छोटा बड़ा करने की कोशिश करें। जिनका तीन मिनट का भाषण है उनको 5 मिनट दे देंगे। श्री शिव प्रताप मिश्र।

SHRI SHIV PRATAP MISHRA (Uttar Pradesh) : Madam Deputy Chairman, I am deeply grateful to you for the honour accorded to me to speak in this august House on the Budget of India, that is, Bharat. In our Constitution, there is a provision, article 112, which

requires the laying of a statement of the receipts and expenditure of the Government before Parliament every financial year. This financial statement is the Budget document. This Budget document aims at achieving planned development consisting of growth, modernisation, self-reliance and social justice.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagesh Desai) in the Chair]

By planned development India reached the pinnacle of the year. There are certain salient features which were defined in the ancient polity by Chanakya that for a good king and the country there are eight essentials to be possessed.

वस्त्र, यात्रो, वपु, वसा, वाह, कोपः  
दुर्गा और दण्डः ।

Clothes, expression, health, home, transportation, treasury or finance or fabulous wealth. Apart from this, for the defence of the country in ancient India there was a provision for *durg*, m sans fortification. There was a provision for punishment to the evil doer, as well as reward for the good doer. In modern times also when the nation advances the dignity of the individuals also advances and it is said in our ancient scriptures :

यस्यायेतस्मिन्नाणि यस्यायेतस्मिन्नाणि  
यस्यायेतः स पुमान् लोके यस्यायेतः सहिर्दित्तः ।

This means opulence or richness, whosoever has got, has friends is considered to be full of wisdom in the world in the same sequence it is also narrated that:

तानि इन्द्रियाणि विकलानि तदेवनाम्,  
सा बुद्धिर प्रतिहता वचनं तदेव ।  
अयोध्यायाः विरहितं पुरुषः स एव,  
अन्यः क्षणेन भवतीति विचित्रमेतत् ।

If an individual is devoid of wealth, then the position of both the individual—11

dual and the nation becomes deplorable. So, economy of the country is the strength of the nation. By the national development personal and national properties grow together. The right to property, when it leads to concentration of wealth in a few hands obstructing others from having any significant share in the wealth of the society, that right tends to divide the society into 'haves' and 'have-nots'. That poses a great threat to the spirit of fraternity, the sentiment of brotherhood. This alarming situation calls for this august House and the countrymen to recall the historic Avadi Session when our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, pledged to march ahead for socialism. He gave the clarion call. That is why in the West also this revolution took place. The greatest champion of democracy, Mill, in his book 'Liberty and Representative Government' wrote that the passion of the majority is needed to conquer the self interest of the few. This was corroborated by Bentham also. The champion of American democracy, De Tocqueville, says that democracy rests with man, to make it good or an evil thing. When it becomes good, it makes the people happier.

The fundamental issue is how the right to property can be made to serve the cause of social justice instead of allowing it to remain a tool of exploitation in fewer hands. This budget which is presented by Shri S.B. Chavan, the Finance Minister of India, envisages measures to avoid exploitation.

डा० बापू कालदास (महाराष्ट्र): इसके बारे में भा एक संस्कृत श्लोक कहिए ।  
(व्यवधान) . . .

श्री एस० बी० चव्हाण : वह श्लोक आपकी कक्षा चाहिए ।

SHRI SHIV PRATAPMISHRA : I will tell, don't worry about that. This Budget has been presented in

[Shri Shiv Pratap Mishra ] the Nehru Centenary Year. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been the greatest leader of our country. In this budget there is a provision of Jawaharlal Nehru Rozgar Yojana which will be financed from the surcharge of Rs. 500 crores, above the income of Rs. 50,000, but making it less for tax-payers whose income is below Rs. 50,000.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was the author of the Five Year Plans. He not only brought freedom to India, he was not only a freedom fighter like Ranade, Bal Ganga Dhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Frontier Gandhi, Maulana Azad, Dr. Ambedkar and M.M. Malviya, but after freeing India from British servitude, he gave development plans to our country by enunciating the Plans in terms of Five Year Plans i.e. Yojna.

The performance of the Indian economy in the past few years has shown features of strength. Despite the fact that the economy was confronted with severe disruption caused by drought and floods, the latest economic performance in the drought year 1987-88 indicated that the GDP—general domestic performance—grew by 3.6 per cent which we hope will grow up to 9 per cent in future.

In this Nehru Centenary Year, the new rural employment scheme—Jawaharlal Nehru Rozgar Yojana—will give employment to the poorest in the villages. Along with this, there is provision in this Budget for employment schemes like NREP and RLEGP. These have been brought forth with Central assistance of 75%. Mr. Chavan has succeeded in paying heed to the AICC resolution. Accordingly, he has also made provision in this Budget for rural employment in the shape of Nehru Rozgar Yojna.

Government's intention, in the words of Mr. S.B. Chavan, is to set up Monitoring cells to eliminate

middlemen in the anti-poverty programmes and to wind up unproductive schemes and he has hinted on the extension of savings concessions to public sector employees and provided safeguards against exploitation of the poor.

The salient features of the present budget are the specific objectives of promoting productive employment, protecting the consumption standard of the poor, discouraging non-essential luxury consumption maintaining the tempo of industrial modernisation and growth and providing some relief to middle income tax-payers.

Besides this, there is a proposal to set up a deposit scheme for the retired Government employees in which the investment will be blocked for three years free from income tax, as well as there is also provision for its exemption from wealth tax upto Rs. 5 lakhs or more.

Apart from an allocation for employment programmes, there is a new programme for distributing saris to destitute women as well as to provide free food to children in schools, which was also in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee. With this I recall the saying of our old democrat King Ranti Deo, who had praised God not for himself, not for the empire, but for the suffering of the people that they should get rid of that. In his words:

न त्वहं कामये राज्यम् न स्वर्गम् न पुत्रमन्वाम् ।  
कामये दुःखं त प्राणाम् प्राणिनां शान्तिं  
नाशनाम् ॥

There is a provision in the present Budget for concessions for the products of Khadi and Village Industries Commission and Boards. There is a proposal to exempt raw wool to be imported by the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and the State KVT Boards from the whole of the duties. This conforms to the cherished desire of the Father of the

Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who believed so much in the spinning wheel that he put it in the centre of the Flag of the Congress Party which became the Flag of Independent India. Bapu aimed to educate the politically minded people in the cities. He made them conscious of the poor and downtrodden peasantry. This was the synthesis of Bapu between the leadership and the masses, for he knew how easily in India the splendour of the palaces and the splendours of giant industrial units might hide from view the animal poverty in her hovels. Keeping in view the plight of the poor, Bapu aimed to educate the humanity at large through his prayer :

“वैष्णव जन तो तेने कहिए, जे  
पीड पराई जाणे रे ।”

His gospel was to free humanity from the suffering as taught by Saint Tulsidas—

“परहित करिष धर्म नहीं भाई  
पर पीड़ा मम नहीं अधमाई”

—based on Puranic narrations by Vyasa like :

ऋषादस पुराणेषु वशास्यच्चन कथम् ।  
परोपकाराय पुण्ययाय प पत्र पीडनम् ॥

उपनिषद् (श्री जगेश्वर देसाई) :  
तीन-चार मिनट का टाइम आपका बाकी है ।

SHRI SHIV PRATAP MISHRA :  
Then I have to cut short my speech.

The performance of Indian economy in the past few years has shown features of strength. Agriculture is the mainstay of our population and a priority sector in our Plans. Credit is the major input for agricultural production. With the new provision in this budget, the total credit

to be made available to agriculture by different banks will increase by over 4,000 crores in 1989-90.

The great Pilgrim and historian, Fa-hien, visited India in the early fifth century. He reported that corporations of respectable persons often lived on the proceeds of large agricultural estates which were called *agraharas* and by that they enjoyed great wealth. In ancient times, for Indians agriculture was the source of livelihood and riches, both, like today.

In the Upanishads, the foodgrain is defined as the source of life.

‘अन्नं प्राणाम्, कलौन्नमताश्रयः’

In the Holy Gita, Lord Krishna said:

अन्नाद्भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नं तृणम् ।  
यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्म समुद्भवः ॥

which means that foodgrain is the cause of life, the cause of foodgrain is rain and rain is caused by *Yajna* which means committed devotion.

The Forest Conservation Act of this Government has promoted the means of *Yajna* to bring rain to earth to promote agriculture.

Housing has priority in this budget with the liberalization of loans for the National Housing Policy, with arrangements of loans by the Reserve Bank of India, the LIC has launched a new scheme known as Bima Niwas Yojana.

The overall industrial growth for the first six months of the current year was 95 per cent. Growth in the manufacturing sector touched 10.6 per cent. The small-scale sector registered a 13 per cent increase in production. The Government has undertaken many measures to improve conditions in different industries. Exports grew by 25 per



[Shri Shiv Pratap Mishra ] cent last year and 25% this year, representing a growth of over 50 per cent over the two-years period with a provision to increase it further.

Regarding defence allocation\_\_\_\_\_  
(Time-bell rings)....

डा० बाबू कालदास : "सर्वे पि सुखिनः  
सन्तु सर्वे सन्तु निरामया . . ." क्या रह  
गया है ?

SHRI SHIV PRATAP MISHRA:

Referring to the cut in defence allocation, Mr. Chavan asserted that there would be no compromise in the country's defence preparedness. Though by the visit of our Prime Minister to our neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Sri Lanka as well as China we have given a signal that we want to solve our disputes by discussion and not by confrontation. As I am again and again cautioned that my time is less, I want to conclude now. We may quarrel with each other. We may criticize each other, differ with each other not only on the budget but on every other issue. We may differ with each other but we should stand united to defend our freedom, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said. We should not forget Indiraji, the leader of India's hard-won struggle for Independence who died at the hands of an assassin on 31st October, 1984 for the unity of India. We should not forget the holy waters of the Jamuna near Delhi where millions of people waited in the sun for the funeral procession to reach the cremation ground.

At Shakti-sthal, a few hundred feet from the river, a fresh pyre had been built of bricks. Long, thin sandalwood logs were put on that. We should not forget that Martyr Indira's body for the unity of this country was laid down on the pyre with her head to the North in the position in which Lord Buddha got Nirvan.

We should not forget that her elder son, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Mi-

nister, set fire to the funeral pyre of his mother, dearest to him. The logs burst into flames. The people groaned, women wailed, men cried and children fainted and the sun could not withstand the ghastly scene and disappeared in the West leaving nocturnal darkness around. There were cries, arson, loot as well as massacre. In that nocturnal darkness, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, risking his life plunged himself to bring law and order to bring peace. Therefore, we take

a pledge here. :

अब SHRI SHIV PRATAP MISHRA:

Therefore, we take a pledge here to stand and to defend our liberty and freedom as well as to stand united irrespective of whether we are on the Treasury Benches or on the Opposition Benches. We stand fast and suffer along with Shri Rajiv Gandhi, our Prime Minister, to defend our freedom and the nation awake as emblazoned in the Veda :

"राष्ट्रे वयं यो जायमानं पुरोहिता :  
व्यचिष्टे ब्रह्माप्यमं स्वराज्ये सातामूनिः  
पुत्रोहं वृद्ध्याः ।"

Thus I support the Budget with the Upanishadic prayer :

ईशवास्यमिदं मिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्चित् जगस्यां  
जगत्,  
तेन व्यक्तेन मुञ्जिथा मागृधः  
कस्य चिद् धनम् ॥

Thank you very much.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : Mr. K.K. Birla. Ten Minutes.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan) : Slightly more, Sir.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : In ten minutes you complete.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA : Sir, I am grateful to you for permitting me to participate in the Budget discussion.

The Budget, as the Finance Minister very correctly said, is an instrument for planned development of growth, modernisation, self-reliance and social justice. Budget, Sir, is an exercise towards achieving these objectives. It is an annual exercise of achieving these objectives.

There are many good features in the present Budget. The rate of interest on export credit has been reduced. That is a good feature. The Customs duty on capital goods has been reduced from 90 per cent to 80 per cent. I wish the Finance Minister had been slightly bolder and further reduced the customs duty, which would have encouraged low-cost economy in the country. The interest rate on crop loans has been reduced from 14 per cent to 12 per cent, again a very good feature. But especially I would like to mention about the Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru Rozgar Yojana for which Rs. 500 crores have been provided in the Budget to be distributed in 120 districts with the object of providing employment to one person per family in the families living below the poverty line. I highly commended this concept.

There are several other points to which I would like to draw attention. I am very happy that the Finance Minister is here amongst us.

First of all Sir, as far as additional taxation is concerned. Rs. 1,287 crores are proposed to be raised by this Budget. This, along with other pre-Budget hikes like that on coal and steel, would yield Rs. 2,700 crores. Coal would yield Rs. 276 crores. The steel price increase will yield Rs. 250 crores. The levy imposed by the Railway Minister will give us Rs. 876 crores. So, added together this would mean that Rs. 2,700 crores

is being lifted from the market, and this is bound to have a cost-push effect on the economy.

Sir, the next point which I would like to raise is regarding the public sector. About Rs. 58,000 crores has been invested in the public sector.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA : Profit is Rs. 2,771 crores.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : How much is the investment ?

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA : I think it is Rs. 58,000 crores. This profit is mostly from the oil sector. In case we exclude the oil sector..

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : It is both by capital and loan. And on loan they are paying interest so that Rs. 2,300 crores profit is only on capital. Loan interest they are getting separately.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA : Tin's may be further checked up. This is the figure I have been able to obtain. This amount of Rs. 2,771 crores is mostly from the oil sector. And in case they exclude the oil sector, then plus and minus of the balance of the companies becomes zero. This is not a very happy thought. A parallel example which I would like to cite is concerning the State Electricity Boards. Three years back they were losing at the rate of Rs. 1,500 crores per year. Now, this loss has gone up to Rs. 3,200 crores. A question may validly be asked as to what is the use of referring to the figures of the State Electricity Board; In the Budget discussions here? But, I would like to mention that any economic distress in any part of the country will have its rumblings felt in Delhi. That is why I have been emboldened to mention this so that the Finance Minister could kindly caution the States to look after their finances.

[Shri Krishna Kumar Birla] I am very happy that some modifications have been done in the Gold Control Act. We are always thankful for small mercies, but here again I feel that the Finance Minister should have shown greater fortitude and that he should have completely done away with the Gold Control Act, which is not serving any useful purpose.

My next point is regarding the 8 per cent surcharge on taxable income above Rs. 50,000 income. This is a departure from the long-term fiscal policy which was enunciated in December, 1985. At that time words of high Philosophy were uttered. It was said that the time-honoured canon of taxation assures stability and too frequent changes in structure are a source of uncertainty. Further it was mentioned in order to provide the necessary stability the Government intends to keep the present rate schedule of taxes on personal income and wealth unchanged for a minimum period of five years. Proceeding further it was also mentioned that under certain compelling circumstances—and these were then illustrated as external emergencies—it may become necessary to mobilise additional revenue through Then it stated that this taxation will be in the form of Now. I leave it to the Government to whether there are compelling circumstances and particularly whether there was any in which Justice Minister putting this levy.

I would again repeat that as far as the Jawaharlal Nehru Rozgar Yojna is concerned, it is an excellent scheme. My only point is that there was no necessity whatsoever to link the expenditure on this with the income of surcharge. This should have become a part of our General Budget.

As far as the point regarding public debt is concerned, much has been said about it by earlier speakers. The

total amount of public debt, including liabilities against provident fund etc., comes to Rs. 2,08,000 crores. The interest on it alone comes to Rs. 17,000 crores per year. This debt is 56 per cent of the GNP. This is very high. But I would mention that this itself is not alarming. What is alarming is the reasons for which this debt has been incurred are not yielding qualitatively and quantitatively the desired results.

On the foreign exchange position of the country, I would like to make two points. Firstly, as far as foreign exchange reserves are concerned, the total amount has fallen below Rs. 6,000 crores. Side by side we should not lose sight of the fact that there is a deposit of Rs. 5,700 crores by NRI. This, in net means, whatever the reserves we have in foreign exchange, are more or less the deposits that we have received from the NRI. Then, as far as the external debts are concerned, I am only focussing on the debts on Government Account; the total of that is Rs. 36,672 crores which is equal to almost 11.3 per cent of the GNP. As a result of this debt, the debt service ratio as percentage of the current account which was about 8.50 per cent in 1979-80 has now increased to 24 per cent. This is indeed very alarming.

I would like to compliment the Finance Minister because a laudable step has been taken by him in reducing the defence expenditure. I have heard many people say that the expenditure on defence should have been further reduced. Sir, I would say that as far as the security of the country is concerned, this should always receive our first priority. I think, a very good posture has been adopted by the Finance Minister and now what we have to see is how the neighbouring countries, some of whom are unfortunately not friendly towards India, react before we consider our next step of further reducing the defence expenditure.

While talking of the foreign exchange position, let me also mention that we should have some rethinking as far as the import liberalisation is concerned.

Another item to which I would like to draw the attention is oil production. The oil import forms a major part of our import bill and amounts to Rs. 3,600 crores. Our production of oil was 29 million tonnes in 1984-85 and now there is only a marginal increase to 32 million tonnes as a result of which the import which was 12 million tonnes in 1984-85 has now increased to 22 million tonnes.

Sir for overall prosperity I would plead that there should be a low cost economy. Let there be emphasis on productivity and let there be a proper check on the inflation. My fear is that in case a check on inflation is not kept, then, within three years time the value of the dollar which is ranging around Rs. 15

will rise to Rs. 20 and the value of the dollar which is now Rs. 27 will so rise to Rs. 37 what we are facing. In this country is unfortunately a cost-push inflation. One single factor which is responsible for it is that in every Department, in every company whether it is in the private sector or the public sector or whether

LiJinf Government department we are "overmanned. The total number of employees which I have been able to show that the total number of government employees is some 180 crores excluding the large forces in states particularly most of the budget is spent on salaries and wages. I tried to collect certain figures I understand that in Rajasthan the expenditure on salaries and wages is as high as 85 per cent of its budget to raise revenue in my opinion, is not difficult, provided you play your expenditure dextrously and sagaciously towards productive items.

My urge to the Finance Minister will be : "Don't try to raise taxes

indiscriminately, but curtail the wasteful expenditure." Thank you.

#### 4.00 P. M.

**श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह ग्रहलुवाकिया (बिहार):** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारतीय संसद में जो बजट पेश किया गया है मैं उसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। साथ ही साथ कुछ मांग-पान्त मुझे है जिन को यदि सामने श्री आपके माध्यम से संसद महोदय के सामने लाना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, अभी चार दिन पहले प्रधानमंत्री महोदय ने मुक्त की सुपर कंप्यूटर लॉन्च। कल और आज की घटनाओं को देखते हुए मानना चाहता हूँ कि जो वैचर फोरकास्ट है उनके बारे में सुपर कंप्यूटर कुछ नहीं कर सका। और आज जो खोले पड़े उसमें जो फल का मुक्तपान होगा और जो जीने के टाइम के पहले बहुत बड़ा सुकेगा कि खेत में कब ट्रैक्टर चलाएँ, कब हल चलाएँ, तो उस बकत का होगा मुझे जरा घबराहट हो रही है क्योंकि मैंने इसी तरह के माध्यम से आपका ध्यान आकर्षित किया था कि हमारे मुक्त में एक माननीय जगह बनती आया है कि हर किसान खेत में जाने से पहले गाँव के पंडित से पूछा जा कर पूछता था कि हमारा नक्का कब खगरेगा था है और पंडित जो कि कब पीछे लगाऊँ, कब मैं खेतों में हल चलाऊँ। अब यह जवाब मिलता था। पिछले माननीय काला था कि वैचरफोरकास्ट के 100 साल का एफीमेरीज में आज से 26 साल पहले 1987 के सुखा पड़ने की बात कहो गयी थी। मैंने बहुत ज्यादा नहीं सोचा, मैंने घोड़ा कहा था कि कम से कम हमारे मुक्त में जितने लोग पचांग बनाने हैं उनके लिए बजट में कोई प्रोबिजन रखा जाए और उस प्रोबिजन के माध्यम से उन्हें कुछ इंसेंटिव दे कि अगर उनकी भविष्यवाणी सत्य हो तो हम उनको कुछ पैसा इनाम के रूप में दे सकें। ये बड़े-बड़े मेट्रो-लोजिकल डिपार्टमेंट में बड़े-बड़े सुपर कंप्यूटर ला रहे हैं, पर हम अपने मुक्त की जो प्राचीन

### [ श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया ]

प्रथा है, प्राचीन विज्ञान है उसको प्रिजर्व करने के लिए कुछ नहीं कर रहे हैं। मेरा आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन है कि कम से कम इसके लिए कोई रास्ता बना जाए और इसके लिए ज्यादा अनुदान दिया जाए। इनके साथ-साथ मैं आपको बताता चाहूंगा कि हमारे मुल्क में एन मैट्रोकोजिकल एस्ट्रोलोजी के एक्सपर्ट हैं श्री के० एन० राव जिन्होंने बहुत सारे अवधारणों में और बहुत से एस्ट्रोलोजिकल मैगजिन में अपना प्रेडिक्शन किया जिसको मैट्रोकोजिकल डिपार्टमेंट ने देखा और तब पाया। डा० के० एन० राव का इन्टरव्यू लेने के लिए रशिया जसा मुल्क जो कहता है भगवान नहीं है, उस की टो०वी० टोन वर्ग से आकर 40 मिनट का इन्टरव्यू लेती है जिसको वह सैकिन्ड अरेल की मास्को में टेलीकास्ट करने जा रहो है। मैं आपके माध्यम से अपने मुल्क की सरकार का ध्यान आकषिप्त करना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम ऐसे जो हमारे यहां विद्वान हैं उनकी बातों को समझ कर कुछ आगे का कदम उठाने की बात सोचा जाये।

जब मैं लंडन मूर्दों पर आता हूँ और कहता हूँ कि जेहेर बार एशियन गेम्स होते हैं, ओलम्पिक होने हैं उनके परिणाम देखकर हम बड़े निराश होते हैं। हमारे यहां से खिलाड़ी जाते हैं तो हन यहां तो उन्हें गोल्डन कुशन, सिनर कुशन, डयनल्ड कुशन कहते हैं लेकिन जब वह खेल के मैदान से हार कर आते हैं तब हन को गोल्ड मैडल तक नहीं मिलता और हन बड़े निराश होते हैं। हमें निराश अगर होना है तो आज का दिन निराश होने का है जब कि यूथ एकेडमि और स्पोर्ट्स पर जो अनुदान मिलना चाहिए था वह कम कर के 64 करोड़ कर दिया है। पहले जब इससे ज्यादा दिया तब तो गोल्ड मैडल मिला नहीं और अब कम दिया है तब तो शायद ब्रोज की बात भी भूल जानी चाहिए। हो सकता है कंसोलेशन प्राइज भी न मिले। यह भी हो सकता है कि हीट में ही वह बाहर रह जाए। एलफ ही न करें मैदान में आने के लिए तो

कम से कम जो भविष्य युवा के हाथ में है उसके बारे में तो सोचा जाए कि उन्हें क्या अनुदान देकर, कैसी ट्रेनिंग देकर, कैसा भोजन देकर इस कमी को दूर किया जा सकता है जिससे वह कम से कम स्वर्ण पदक तो ला सके।

अभी वीरेन्द्र वर्मा जी कह रहे थे कि हमारा मुल्क गरीब मुल्कों में से एक है। यह बात सच है और सभी मानते हैं। हमारे मुल्क में बेकारी बहुत ज्यादा है। पर आश्चर्य की बात है कि हमारे पास जितनी दुषि की जनन है या उद्योग में रोजगार पैदा करने के लिए जितनी शक्ति है उससे कहीं ज्यादा शक्ति हमने प्राप्त की है बिना किसी खून खराबे के, बिना किसी लड़ाई के लड़े हुए, बिना तोप के गोले चलाए हुए। हमें एक लाख 50 हजार स्क्वेयर किलोमीटर परिया एक्सक्लूसिव इकोमिक जॉन के हिसाब से समुद्र में मिला है। उस समुद्र में ई-ई-जॉड में काम करने के लिए जो मैन पावर प्लानिंग करनी है उस पर हम कितना खर्च कर रहे हैं? हम यह भी सोचें कि ओसियन डवलपमेंट के लिए हम कितना पैसा दे रहे हैं जो बल के भारत का भविष्य तैयार कर सकता है हमारे ओसियन डवलपमेंट के लिए सिक एक इंस्टीट्यूट ओसियनग्राफी का इंस्टीट्यूट गोवा में चलता है।

जब कि डेढ़ लाख स्क्वायर माइल परिया आपके पास है जिसके माध्यम से पॉली मैटालीक नोडल की माइनिंग हो नहीं आता एक्यूअकल्चर और गैरकल्चर या एलमोकल्चर करने की बात या और तरह की बातें कर सकते हैं और उसके लिए जो खर्चा करना है उसके बारे में संकोच करते हैं। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार का ध्यान आकषिप्त करने हुए यह अनुरोध करना चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह से गोवा में ओसियनग्राफी का इंस्टीट्यूट मैन पावर क्रिएट करने के लिए बनाया गया है उसी तरह से अन्वमान निकोबार और लक्षद्वीप में भी बनना चाहिए था। इसके लिए अनुदान की जरूरत है। मैं इन विभागों की बात कर रहा

हूँ जिनकी बात कोई नहीं करता है। बायो टेक्नोलॉजी के बारे में 55 करोड़ रुपयों की बात है ताकि हम कम जमीन में ज्यादा उत्पादन कर सकें। आज हमारे मुल्क में जंगल काटे जा रहे हैं। कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा कि जंगल काटने से रोकने के लिए पैकेजिंग के लिए गत्तों और कागज का प्रयोग किया जाना चाहिए। इसी तरह से मैं कहता हूँ कि पहाड़ों में जो जंगल काटे जा रहे हैं वहाँ पर बायो टेक्नोलॉजी के माध्यम से जो चीज उत्पादित होती हैं उनका उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए और इसलिए बायो टेक्नोलॉजी डिपार्टमेंट को पैसा मिलना चाहिए ताकि पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में बायो टेक्नोलॉजी के माध्यम से कम जमीन पर ज्यादा उत्पादन किया जा सके।

टूरिज्म एक ऐसा डिपार्टमेंट है कि आप सारे विश्व में देखने चले जाइये आपको कुछ नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान में टूरिज्म ऐसी चीज है कि आप सब कुछ देख सकते हैं। पेरिस में आन चले जाइये तो लूवर म्यूजियम में आपको नंगे वृत्तों, फलों और शराब के अलावा कुछ देखने को नहीं मिलेगा। लेकिन आप यहाँ पर कोणार्क मंदिर को भी देखने नहीं जा सकते हैं क्योंकि वहाँ पर एन्ट्री नहीं है। विदेशी टूरिस्ट वहाँ पर नहीं जा सकते हैं क्योंकि पुरी से भुवनेश्वर जाने के लिए कोई अच्छी सड़क नहीं है। इसी तरह से अजन्ता, एलोरा और खुजराहो में लाखों की तादाद में फारेन टूरिस्ट जा सकते हैं और हम विदेशी मुद्रा कमा सकते हैं। इसके इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर के लिए कितनी धनराशि दी गई है। हम विदेशी मुद्रा सिर्फ आयात-निर्यात से ही नहीं कमा सकते हैं, हम टूरिज्म से भी विदेशी मुद्रा कमा सकते हैं। हमारे पास दिखाने के लिए बहुत सारी चीजें हैं। इसलिए टूरिज्म के लिए इंफ्रास्ट्रक्चर तैयार करने की जरूरत है और उसके लिए धनराशि का मैं अनुरोध करना चाहूँगा।

मैं बिहार से आता हूँ, इसलिए बिहार और बंगाल की बात जरूर

करना चाहूँगा। बिहार और बंगाल में कोयला को बैल्ट में काफी पैसा खर्च किया जाता है। कोयला निकालने के लिए पैसा खर्च किया जाता है। लेकिन कोयला निकालने के बाद कोयला खदान भरने के लिए कोई पैसा खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। उसके डेवलपमेंट पर कोई पैसा खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। वहाँ पर पोल्यूशन हो रहा है। वहाँ पर कोयला निकाला जा रहा है वहाँ पर जमीन धँस रही है। झरिया शहर रातीगंज शहरों को खतरा पैदा हो गया है। उनके बारे में उनके लिए अनुदान की बात कोई नहीं करता है। क्या कोई टीन वहाँ जाती है? आज तक वहाँ पर क्या हो रहा है, इसका कुछ पता है? कोल माफिया की बात की जाती है। आप अपनी नजर से भी देखिये। यह सिर्फ कोल बिनास का काम नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री को भी देखना चाहिए कि जो पैसा वहाँ पर खर्च हो रहा है उसका क्या हो रहा है। महोदय, मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेते हुए सिर्फ एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह सातवीं योजना का अंतिम साल है और अब आठवीं योजना शुरू होने वाली है। इस साल से हमें जिस चीज को सोचने की जरूरत है वह है 1992 में यूरोपियन कम्युनिटी अपना एक सेन्ट्रलाइज मार्केट बनाने जा रही है।

जितना एफेक्ट थर्ड वर्ल्ड और खानगढ़ डेवलपिंग कंट्रीज पर पड़ेगा और उस थर्ड वर्ल्ड और डेवलपिंग कंट्रीज में भी पवने जायेंगे एफेक्ट हिन्दुस्तान पर पड़ने जा रहा है। इसके बारे में हमने कोई रीइन्फोर्समेंट तैयार की है? इससे हमारे मार्केट पर जो एफेक्ट पड़ेगा उसका जो अभाव होगा पूरा करने की बात क्या हम सोच रहे हैं? यह जो एक्सक्लूसिवली यूरोपीय कम्युनिटी बनाना एक बाजार बनाने जा रहे हैं उसको कम्पैट करने के लिए, इंटरनेशनल कम्पैटिशन में खड़ा होने के लिये हमें दो चीजों की जरूरत है। एक क्वालिटी

[श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया]

और दूसरा पैसा । इन दोनों का इंतजाम कैसे होगा इसके बारे में मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री महोदय ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ ।

महोदय, अब मैं मैं एक बात कहूँगा...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश्वर देशाई) : एक मिनट में रुक जायेंगे ।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : महोदय, हमारे भाग में बेरोजगारी की बात जब आती है... (व्यवधान) एक मिनट आप ही खा जायेंगे । मुझे बोलनी होती है । बेरोजगारी की समस्या की जब बात आती है तो आता हुआ है कि लड़कियाँ जो हैं वे स्कूल, कॉलेज और यूनिवर्सिटी को पढ़ाई करने के पश्चात् जब तक उनका विवाह नहीं होता तो नौकरी की तलाश में रहती हैं और वे नौकरी ढूँढ़ लेती हैं । नौकरी पा जाने के बाद जब उनकी शादी हो जाती है, बच्चे हो जाते हैं और परिवार बड़ा होने लगता है तो उनकी जिम्मेदारियाँ बढ़ जाती हैं । उनके पास तो उनका मा धनपत्र के अलावा अपना कुछ धन भी होता है । परन्तु बेरोजगारी जब महती हो रही होती है तो जो परिवार के 10-15 लोग हैं वे भी... (व्यवधान) इस वक्त डिप्लोमा करने का शुल्क डिप्लोमा वर्कशिप में नहीं मिलता और उनका मासिक भुगतान 25 रुपए तक नौकरी के तहत रहता है । जब अनुसूचित हैं तो प्रत्येक महिलाओं के लिए इनको प्रत्येक 15 साल का दिया जाए तो 30 प्रतिशत महिलाओं 15 साल के बाद डिप्लोमा में लेंगी और उनका मासिक पत्र अन्य महिलाओं और बच्चों की नौकरी मिल जायेगी । मैं आपके माध्यम से अनुरोध करूँगा कि जब भी मैंने पावर्टी लाइन के बारे में पूछा है तो मुझे एक ही जवाब मिलता है 320 रुपये या 322 रुपये... (व्यवधान)... 400 रुपये हो गया क्या ? ऐसा है कि यह रुपये की गिनती किस हिसाब से

होती है । इसका माप दण्ड क्या है । इसका विश्लेषण करके लोगों को बताना जरूरी है । मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर किसी को एक हजार रुपये मासिक मिलती है और अगर उनके परिवार में पाँच सदस्य हैं तो उसकी परकीर्ण मात्रा कम है । वह परिवार उनके दो रोटी के कोई दोनो चीज नहीं खा सकता, चावल के साथ दाल नहीं खा सकता । तो उनको परकीर्ण मिलती नहीं है तो क्या वह गरीबी की रेखा में नीचे नहीं है ? अगर है तो उन लोग का क्या हो सकता है फिर वे नहीं जाँचें कि किस काम ? मैं आपके माध्यम से अनुरोध करूँगा कि किसी मासिक पर कीरे से बितरित किया जाए ।

अब मैं मैं यह कहूँगा कि एक एक पेट्रोल पम्प पर एक गाड़ी चली जाती है कि

"Every drop of oil is valuable. It will not last long for another 39 years."

तो वहाँ 39 साल के बाद हमारे नफ़े, हमारे मासिक-प्रदान का अंश में लगे । इसके बाद मैं बात करता हूँ कि... (व्यवधान) मैंने 105 करोड़ रुपये दिया था और उनका 105 करोड़ दिया है... (व्यवधान) मुझे पता है कि हमारे पास कितनी गाड़ी हैं और एक गाड़ी के बारे में हमारे पास कितना है या 5 करोड़ रुपये, 10 करोड़ रुपये बढ़ाया है कुछ नहीं है । यदि बढ़ाया जाये तो या 200 करोड़ रुपये का बायड इनका हमारे चतुर्थ विभाग के पास गाड़ी में नहीं रह सकता बिना गाड़ी के गाड़ी होते हैं और उनका ट्रांसपोर्ट का बायड प्रदाता होता है कम से कम वहाँ पर हम बिजली का उत्पादन कर सकें । धन्यवाद ।

SHRI ALADI ARUNA alias V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset

I would like to mention the positive features, right measures, concessions reliefs and the earnest efforts which are intended to achieve the basic objectives of the budget. The hon. Minister has outlined the basic objectives of the budget as promoting productive employment, protecting the consumption standard of the poor, maintaining the tempo of industrial growth and modernisation reducing the budget deficit for the year 1989-90. Normally, the objectives are considered to be in the area of non-controversy. Even the difference over their perspective of the Plan or the policy does not create much controversy among the politicians. What we need, what we trust, what we expect is the fulfilment of the basic objectives announced by the Government concerned. Sir, some of the journals have commented about this Budget that it is an election year Budget, Sir, I am not able to share the views of the press. I honestly admit that to some extent the Budget is free from narrow aims and party gains. And it has been submitted with adherence to the long-term fiscal policy. The abnormal increase in the expenditure on interest payment, defence and subsidies and declining value of rupee and widening of the resources gap and poor earning from tide-rakings necessitate Ministry to pre-empt for the last few years.

Sir, 1981-82, the deficit was only Rs. 2,519 crore. Then it increased to Rs. 9,150 crores in the year 1986. As a result it has reached the height of Rs. 11,030 crores in the year 1988-89. Sir, I am glad to say now the hon. Finance Minister with his efforts has brought down the deficit to the level of Rs. 7,011 crores in the Budget. I am quite aware that he has transferred an amount of Rs. 2,300 crores of the Oil Coordination Committee to the Revenue account. Whatever may be his device, whatever may be the methodology that he has adopted, the fact

remains that he has succeeded to some extent in arresting the growth rate of the deficit in this Budget.

Sir, the outlay of Rs. 9,374 crores for rural development, social justice and food subsidies though not sufficient to meet the present needs of the weaker sections, no doubt would help in implementing the anti-poverty programme. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the mid day meal programme which is being implemented in Tamil Nadu for the last five years with an expenditure of Rs. 200 crores per year. This must be included in the anti-poverty programmes. This year also, the present Chief Minister, Dr. Kalam has allotted nearly Rs. 200 crores. Therefore, it is a heavy burden on the State exchequer. Not only Tamil Nadu Government, the Government of Gujarat also, I have come to know, are implementing the mid-day meal scheme. It is a good scheme acknowledged even by the World Bank. Therefore, there is no reason, there is no justification on the part of the Centre to refuse this scheme to be included in the anti-poverty programme. To the best of my knowledge, the All India Congress Committee while passing a resolution last November regarding the populist programme, approved the mid-day meal scheme. But, unfortunately, nothing has been included in this Budget.

Sir, as regards the achievement in the Central sector, no doubt the Government has succeeded its target because it has established the success to the level of 115 per cent. No doubt, the Finance Minister had extended concession and relief in customs duty and excise duty to the tune of Rs. 308-5 crores. Though our Finance Minister has extended concessions and reliefs to the taxpayer, we cannot forget the fact that he has proposed to levy taxes to the



[Shri Aladi Aruna *alias* V. Arunachalam]

tune of Rs. 1,287 crores. If you examine the imposition of additional taxes in the past few years, I am very sorry to mention that our present Finance Minister has exceeded his predecessors.

Sir, in the year 1985-86, imposition of additional taxation was to the tune of Rs 431 crores; in 1986-87, it was Rs 488 crores; in 1987-88, it was Rs 514 crores; in 1988-89, it was Rs 615 crores, and now it has been increased to Rs 1259 crores. What results in greater burden on the taxpayer is the pre-Budget imposition, which amounts to Rs. 1676 crores this year. In other words, this year, the Government has proposed to levy taxes to the tune of Rs. 3000 crores. I am not against imposition of taxes. Taxation is essential for the welfare of the State. Without levying taxes, no policies or programmes will be implemented. But the Government must be serious not only on imposing taxes but also in collecting taxes. That is much more important. But the Government is not very serious about it. I can say it is showing leniency towards the big monopoly houses in the matter of collecting corporate taxes. With the permission of Chair, I would like to quote from the report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year ended 31st March, 1987 wherein it is mentioned that the arrears of uncollected tax revenue for 1982, for the period ended 31st March, 1982, were merely Rs. 1777 crore, and for the year ended 31st March, 1987, the amount increased to Rs. 5033.19 crore. I think this year the figure may exceed Rs. 6000 crore. I would like to know the reason for this. If you see the break-up of these arrears of uncollected taxes, you will find that it is only in case of corporate taxation that increase in arrears of uncollected revenue is abnormal and if you take the figures of excise duty or customs duty or income-tax, there is no alarm-

ing increase. It is only in case of corporate taxation that we find an abnormal increase in arrears of uncollected taxes. If the Government had collected all these arrears of revenue, any further levy of taxation could have been avoided and levy of taxes on certain new items at least could have been avoided. At least the amount of arrears on collection could have been helpful for payment of interest amount. Therefore, I appeal to the Minister that when he imposes any new taxes, he must take into consideration the need to collect the arrears.

For mobilisation of resources, apart from taxation, grants, loans and savings, we depend upon the earnings or profits of our public sector undertakings over which we have invested a huge amount of Rs. 71,299 crore. Our Economic Survey depicts a rosy picture about the achievements of our public sector undertakings, claiming that industrial production is at the rate of 7.5 per cent this year. But the net profits earned are not proportionate to the amount invested. According to one estimate, the profit that we get from our public undertakings is only 0.33 per cent. If we take this year's figures that are available, our net profit comes to Rs. 2183 crore, and that too, after we include our profit from the petroleum sector which alone earned Rs. 2173 crore. C 252 public sector only 116 are making profit; others are making losses. The losses are also increasing. Last year it was Rs. 1704.52 crores. It has now increased to Rs. 1,718.61 crores.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN  
(SHRI JAGESH DESAI): But in the six months of this financial year it is not so. Losses have been reduced.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: Because of our inefficiency and malad-

ministration in the public sector we have failed...

DR. BAPU KALDATE: No our inefficiency; theirs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Dr Bapu Kaldate, are you sure about that?

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: Because of the Government's inefficiency, we have failed to generate internal resources to the extent estimated. The difference, the gap, between the Budget estimate and the actual generation is widening. I would like to draw the attention of the Government..

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Be brief now.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: In the year 1980-81, the estimate in regard to generation of internal resources was Rs. 2,018 crores but the actual generation was only Rs. 1,221 crores. In the year 1984-85, the estimate was Rs. 5,931 crores but the generation was Rs. 4,251 crores. In the year 1986-87, the estimate was Rs. 8,683 crores but the actual generation was Rs. 6,907 crores. Because of these handicaps, we are not able to achieve the targets set in our plans.

The hon Minister has expressed satisfaction—he seems to be complacent—in regard to the generation of power and the plant load factor in our thermal plants. He has assured the House that there would be hundred per cent achievement of the target. Sir, we have invested huge amounts in the power sector. Though we have made progress in generation of power, we cannot forget the fact that the rate of growth in the power sector is also declining. I would like to point out that in 1985-86, the growth rate was

8.6 per cent. In 1986-87, it was 10.3 per cent. But in 1987-88, it declined to 7.6 per cent. In addition to this, I would like to remind that the possibility of achieving the target in the Seventh Five-Year Plan is remote. What has been stated by the hon. Finance Minister has also been expressed, in another form, by the Chairman of the Central Electricity Authority. At the same time, he has honestly admitted the critical position. He has said that the position about achieving hundred per cent of the target appears to be hopeful but concrete and determined efforts would have to be put in by the various generating units which, at present, appear to be slipping and critical. This has been clearly stated by the Chairman of the Central Electricity Authority. There is no hope of achieving the target in the power sector. But the hon. Minister is claiming that we are going to achieve it. The claim of the hon. Minister is nothing but deception and misleading the hon. Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please wind up now.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: We are allotted twenty minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I know but I requested you.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM: There is one thing which I would like to mention. This is regarding agriculture. It is a priority sector according to the hon. Minister and there is no difference of opinion among the Members. But the Government has not given any priority to the farmers. It seems, the hon. Minister is satisfied with announcing a reduction in the rate of interest on crop loans from 14 per cent to 12 per cent. But the demand of the farmers is different.

[Shri Aladi Aruna *alias* V. Amna chalam]

They want writing off of loans, co operative loans and loans from the banks, which were drawn for agri cultural purposes. I would like to point out here that Dr. M.G.R., when he was alive and ruling the State, had written off agricultural loans to the extent of Rs. 200 crores. I think, under Mr Sharad Pawar, the Maharashtra Government also has done its best. I am proud to say that the present Chief Minister, Dr. Kalam, day before yesterday while making his first budget speech, announced writing off of many loans and interests. Sir, the revenue of States themselves are inelastic, they are getting poor income, they are coming forward to waive off the loans to some extent, whereas the Centre is not coming forward to share the burden of the State Governments. That is why I appeal to the hon. Minister to share the burden of the State Governments. That is why I appeal to the hon. Minister to share the burden of the State Governments in waiving off the agriculture loans.

Before I conclude I would like to mention one thing regarding the income-tax ceiling. The middle-class group is very particular, about raising the exemption limit from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 25,000. They have been totally disappointed by the Minister. I think the hon. Minister will reconsider his stand.

Therefore, the budget seems to be a routine exercise. There is no radical measure, no remedial measure to redress the grievances of the poor.

SHRI T.R.BALU(Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, during the Budget speech the hon. Minister has claimed some achievements in certain areas of foodgrain production, industrial growth rate and reduction of deficit in the budget. Of course, he has done some exercise to achieve the basic objectives which he has mentioned in the Budget speech, but if you examine the factual position and the state of affairs prevail-

ing in the country, we are much disappointed and frustrated.

The wheel of progress is wobbling and the Government has totally failed to achieve the objectives and targets in every programme.

In this Budget the Minister has allotted Rs. 9374 crores for rural development, social service, food and clothes subsidies. Priority is given to this sector in every budget but the record of achievement is far from satisfactory. For example, the number of people who lived below the poverty line in 1977-78 is 30-68 crores. In 1983 it is 27-10 crores. At this rate the Government would be able to uplift the condition of downtrodden only after five decades. Even after so many years the Government could uplift only 358 lakhs of people who are downtrodden. Similarly, if you take up the problem of unemployment, it is very serious and alarming. We are going to complete the Seventh Five Year Plan. Our public sector investment increased to the extent of Rs. 60,000 crores. Every year the Ministry of Rural Development submits its report saying that there is fantastic improvement in anti-poverty programme and also in solving unemployment problem but the problem of unemployment remains even today. For instance, at the end of the Second Five Year Plan the figure of unemployed (registered) was 1.56 million; at the end of the Third Five Year Plan it was 2.47 million, at the end of the Fourth Five Year Plan it was 8.15 million, at the end of the Fifth Five Year Plan it was 13.41 million, at the end of the Sixth Five Year Plan it was 23.91 million and at the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan, we expect it would be 3 crores. This means, our objectives and achievements have been thwarted. We have not allotted enough amount that is needed. For example, for giving sarees to the poor the Central Government has allotted only Rs. 12 crores, whereas

our Chief Minister Dr. Kalam Kaiunadhi has allotted Rs. 27 crores for the poor and down-

trodden. It means, this Government has no sincerity or responsibility to solve the problem of poor. It is unfortunate that this Government refuses to understand the increasing burden on the States in the area of revenue matters. States have not been allowed to withdraw the overdraft whereas the Centre borrows money from the RBI without any discipline. I fear that financial discipline is enforced only for the States and not for the Centre.

Even the States are not permitted to avail of their legitimate shares from the corporation tax. It is a tax on income from the corporate sector. So the States have got every right to get their share as they get from the personal income tax. The total collection of income; tax is Rs. 4000 crores. If the corporate tax is brought into the divisible pool, as is income tax, the States would get more funds from the Centre. The Finance Commission has fairly recommended the case but the Centre has not come forward to bring the corporate tax into the divisible pool.

Another painful issue is pertaining to consignment tax. The Constitution was amended suitably to enable the Centre to levy this tax. Our Chief Minister, Dr. Karunanidhi, during his address to the Chief Ministers Conference and in his recent Budget speech in the Tamil Nadu Assembly mentioned about the pressing need for implementation of the consignment tax. I, therefore, request the Finance Minister to introduce the consignment tax without any further delay.

It is needless to explain that the Centre has neither allotted adequate funds nor invested any funds under the Five Year Plan for the industrial development of Tamil Nadu. Our Chief Minister has appealed to the Centre to take up the third mine cut at Neyveli to meet the acute shortage of energy in Tamil Nadu

and to give to Tamil Nadu its due share from this mine cut at Neyveli without any further delay.

Thank you very much, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESHDESAH : Thank you. You have not exceeded the time which you had promised me. I think Mr. Morarka will also not exceed his time.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA (Rajasthan) : Thank you, Sir. Since the time is short, I do not want to go over the figures and data which have been spoken about by so many Members. But at the outset, I must say that the budget being presented year after year, including this one, as an exercise itself, is only a shadow of what it used to be only ten years ago. Arithmetically, the Finance Minister has done a job. He has inherited a certain economy and based on some of the things which he is unable to change, he has tried to balance the figures. Before I criticise the particular points which I want to criticise, I do want to say a word about the effort made by the Finance Minister in trying to stop further aberration in the course of our economy. It is very clear from the various parameters that over the last 8 years, and specifically over the last three or four years, our economy is going off course. When I say this, I am saying it with full sense of responsibility. I am not trying to make a political speech, I am not trying to find fault with the Central Government or the State Governments, because the finances of the State Governments are as much off course as those of the Central Government.

Now specifically coming to the budget presented, the most gratifying fact for people is that GNP has shown a big rise. Now some figures have been given in the Budget— one lakh crores and debt running into lakhs of crores. Frankly the

[Shri Kamal Morarka] common man has lost interest in these figures because these figures are mind-boggling; they are too big. I think the correct thing would be to go by percentages. And, I for paucity of time, will concentrate only on five aspects for which I feel sorry that this Budget has not taken adequate measures either in the short-term or in the long-term. The first is the GNP itself. Now everybody is happy that the rate of growth in GNP has been achieved and for the Eighth Plan, we are targeting 6%. But a very significant fact is that the GNP consists of the agricultural sector, industrial sector and the services sector. In the period 1951-56—the First Plan period—the share of the agricultural sector in the GNP was 60%, industrial sector was 25% roughly and the services sector was 15%. In the period 1985-88,

the share of the agricultural sector has come down from 60% to 33%, industrial sector has slightly gone up from 24% to 27% and the services sector has gone up from 15% to almost 40%. Now, what is the services sector? The services sector basically consists of items like defence and public administration, transport and communications, trade and tourism, banking and insurance. With the burgeoning Government expenditure, it is not difficult to see that it is very easy to achieve a higher GNP by stepping up Government expenditure. Now this is a trap. In socialist countries, for the purposes of GNP, for GDP they count only the material production of the economy, that is, the agricultural and industrial sectors. They do not count the services sector. In western countries like America where the services sector is counted for GNP, the major difference is, as the services sector grows there is a shift in the employment from the material production to the services sector. In India, over the last 40 years, two-thirds of the population continues to be employed in agriculture. There

is no shift in that, meaning thereby that where two-thirds of the population was producing 60 per cent of the GNP, today two-thirds of the population is producing only 33 per cent of the GNP. Unfortunately, even within the services sector, the real burgeoning has been in the area of public administration. Now, if we talk of defence, it is a holy cow. Thank God, this year the Government itself has halted the increase in defence expenditure and as my friend, Mr. Dipen Ghosh, rightly said yesterday, when we were talking of cutting defence expenditure, the Treasury Bench said it was anti-national and we should not even talk about it. This year the Government is proudly claiming that they have cut the defence expenditure. I believe that no expenditure is a holy cow. In a poor country like ours, expenditure is expenditure—whether it is Plan or non-Plan, whether it is development or non-development, whether it is capital or revenue, whether it is civil or defence. Every rupee spent is from the poor man. The country must get value for money.

Now, the GNP position being as it is, assuming that we have achieved a certain level of GNP, the five points I want to raise are these: One is inflation, one is the burgeoning expenditure and deficit, one is the adverse external deficit, that is balance of trade, and then, the buoyancy of tax revenues and the performance of public sector undertakings. Now, first of all, taking inflation, every time in the House we claim that the wholesale price index has risen only by 5.4 per cent. As Disraeli said, there are three types of lies—lies, big lies and statistics. This 5.4 per cent is the biggest lie that we are facing because, if you take the Reserve Bank's own figures, what does this 5.4 consist of? This 5.4 is divided further. Primary articles, that is 61 per cent, food articles 12.9 per cent, foodgrains 16.6 per cent. And here is the crux of the

problem. We know that an average Indian is spending 70 per cent of his earnings on food. A poor man is spending 90 per cent of his earning on food. The only index that should really bother us is the index of increase in the prices of foodgrains and food articles. All other inflation is irrelevant, I may submit to a meaningful discussion. Here I may add that there was a time when the budget used to reflect the mood that you wanted to build up in the nation. It used to reflect or, it used to affect, the rich man's thinking .. a the social problems of the country. No more so. This budget does not build up any mood for austerity, this budget does not build

for the rich man to curb his consumption. The words "austerity, "ostentatious consumption" and "conspicuous consumption" I have not seen these words in the last four years of this Government's in any economic document. Coming to revenue expenditure deficit, I can do no better than to quote the Finance Commission.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Mr. Morarka, you are very clever. You have given this year's budget percentage but not earlier budget's percentage. You are very clever.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER:  
He is!

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: The Finance Commission has very rightly observed that if we succeed in persuading the Central and State Governments to work towards the objective of balancing the revenue and deficit, this would not be difficult, realizing that only till 1981-82 both the Centre and the States had surplus in their revenue accounts. So, it is only after 1981-82 . My friend, Mr. Jagesh Desai is now in the Chair. Today I did not interrupt him. He said that the Janata Government came and ruined the economy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I have given the figures.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA: I do not want. I still do not want to politicise the issue. I think the finances of the country are a much more serious matter. Governments may come and go, we may be on this side and you be on that side, it does not matter speeches or by using figures we can never make or.. . i two rupees, and we can never solve the problem of the 1981-82, there We areb ion. This is ;-pen. The I neto obsen : enue defici: an absol ute fii rtunately I do not find it in get though there is an i w that we have cur; Icit. It is obvious that by ring Rs. 2,300 crores we have brought the Budget deficit down. But that is only a book entry. The fact is, between our expenses and revenue, the gap is still there.

Another point is, in India, unfortunately our definition of budget deficit is only the actual uncovered gap. Actually that is not the deficit. The deficit even in this Budget is Rs. 28,000 crores. But the rest of it has been made up by borrowings. So, the uncovered gap is Rs. 9,000 crores odd. By transferring Rs. 2,300 crores, we say that the uncovered gap is Rs. 7,300 crores. There is still Rs. 7,000 crores lying in the Oil Fund. We can transfer all of it, and we can say that there is no deficit. That is fooling ourselves. Let us understand that our expenditure is much more than our income. Our balance from the current revenue is negative.

As was expected, that Finance Minister should have at least announced that we are going to come up with a new long-term fiscal policy. The December, 1985 policy was there. It made certain projection. The House is entitled to know, the coun-

[Shri Kamal Morarka]

try is entitled to know, where we went wrong. Is the expenditure more than what we thought? Is the money not coming from where we thought it would come? Should we tighten our belts? Unfortunately, there is no talk of either tightening the belt or we seem to be tightening the wrong belts. What we need today is having strict control on the expenditure and, as the Finance Commission has suggested, making a time-bound programme to wipe out the current deficits. That is as far as the expenditure and the deficit go.

The second question that comes is balance of trade. There has been a constant adverse balance of Rs. 6,000 crores minus the invisible receipts. Suddenly we find that we are in a balance of payments problem. Why? Exports have gone up. Imports are going up faster. But the real problem is, invisible earnings have gone down. The remittances from the workers abroad have gone down, the NRI deposits which we were getting. I do not want to dwell on it because of paucity of the time. The justification for it or the logic of it is an entirely debatable issue. Because they have gone down, suddenly we find the-resources crunch. Just like the internal deficit, the real solution to external deficit again is, we must import less.

If we talk of importing less, we will be told it is an export-induced import! There are economists galore who will tell us that the only way to induce export is to import technology, capital equipment and goods. I am sorry that that kind of philosophy no longer works, not in a country like India where we have tried it for the last three, four years. We have tried it. Our Commerce Minister is on record to say that in spite of the liberalisation the share of the larger houses in exports is negligible. Who is exportine? The garment exporter, the gem and jewellery exporter whom we have given no facilities, whom we have not given capital equipment.

So, the second point I want to tell the Finance Minister is that there should be a thrust on how to control imports, how to curb imports. On exports also subsidies are being given. Even in the Government expenditure, Rs. 8,000 crores consist of subsidies. I think a time has come when the deleterious impact of subsidies should be taken into account. I think a white paper or an analysis of all subsidies will be in order. Either in the Economic Survey every year or at least for one time let the House know what the amount of subsidies is, who are getting them and what benefit the country is getting out of it? If in spite of the export subsidies—I believe they are of the order of Rs. 2,000 crores—our trade balance cannot become positive, then the time has come to see whether the subsidies should exist or not.

The third point which I want to make is about the buoyancy of tax revenues. Unfortunately, in spite of the increase in GNP, in | called increase in industrial growth 7 per cent, 9 per cent, 15 per cent depending on the year—the trend of the tax revenues shows a very disturbing position. As a percentage of the GNP—asain I don't want to go into the figures—in 1976-77, the direct tax revenue was 3.06 per cent. In 1985-86, it has come down to 2.31 per cent. The excise revenue was 5.91 per cent. It has come i 5.58 per cent. Now, in the case of direct taxes, there was even a reduction in the tax rate. In excise, there have been sharp increases in the tax rate year after year. In spite of that excise revenue has come down as percentage of GNP. And what has gone up is the customs duty from 2.17 to 4.10. Obviously we are importing more. So we are getting more customs duty. But this revenue is at what cost? We are getting customs revenue and we are creating an adverse loan balance abroad. It is a very very bad thing to happen. The ninth Finance Commission said from 1975-76 to 1986-87, revenue went up by 14.5 per cent and expenditure went up by 17.2 per cent. Now, this 3.1 gap in the GDP can-

not be filled up unless revenue is raised apart from curbing the expenditure, which could never be over emphasised. The buoyancy of tax revenue is the significant omission. One of the most significant omissions in the Budget document, not only this year, but in the last three years, is that we have stopped talking of black money as if the problem does not exist. Or is it that the Government wants to wash its hands off the problem? At least we used to hear two-three years back either about the crack-down on black-money, or raids, seizures, bonds, incentives or voluntary declarations. Now, a stage has come when you have stopped talking of this. This is a very dangerous thing. Hardly one per cent of the whole country is among the tax-paying public. You have to widen the tax base. Not touching agriculture, which may be your political decision, but there are a lot of self-employed people, a lot of people, who should be brought into the tax net. This cannot be done in the existing system. The existing tax system needs overhauling. It is not revenue-oriented. It is harassment-oriented; it is corruption-oriented. We should make it effective. For instance, I would like to prefer, like everybody else in the country, that the tax exemption rate should have been increased from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 25,000. I will not have much grudge if you had done this because over the year inflation has taken place. But Rs. 18,000 itself can be kept, provided, when a man enters the tax bracket, the rate is kept lower. You have lowered the rate from 25 to 20. Even 20 is very high for a man when he enters the tax bracket. It pinches and, therefore, here the tax-evasion starts. You must have a very very low rate, say 5 per cent or 10 per cent at the entry point. Once he becomes a tax-payer as his prosperity increases you will get more money. Buoyancy of tax revenue has gone down. In fact, in certain cases it is less than one, which only shows tax evasion. Tax-evasion is the major

bane of this country. We have tried all sorts of techniques. I think a time has come when we should have a fresh look at the whole thing. Let us have a method by which paying taxes becomes less costly than evading it. Today, we have a large population taking part in a legitimate economy which is bankrupt and a small part of the population taking part in an illegitimate economy, which is prosperous. This cannot continue permanently.

The final point is about the public sector undertakings. One can say that they have improved a lot. But this again is a debatable point. When you are at the rock-bottom, you can only go up. So, improvement in the last two years is not an improvement. The fact is that in the public sector undertakings the returns are grossly inadequate. Now the profit making enterprises are OMGC, Mahanagar Telephones Nigam and Videsh Sanchar Nigam. These Mahanagar Telephones Nigam and Videsh Sanchar Nigam are two funny profit making enterprises. Can you imagine that service-oriented companies are making Rs. 300 crores? They are not supposed to make profit. They are supposed to give service at least cost. Anyway, they have made money and all the monies they have earned is lost by a handful companies or most of it is lost. Even today I differ with my esteemed friend who is in the Chair, Jageshbhai if we exclude the petroleum sector the rate of returns would be negative. This is the Finance Commission's findings also. The fact of the matter is that the NTC or the Coal sector are making whopping losses, not whopping profits but whopping losses. Even the social purpose which was enunciated, namely, in the collieries that there were contract labour and exploitation of labour. Today also there is contract labour on a large scale. Everybody knows it. Customers get coal at 10 or 20 times the price and yet you make a loss. My friend, Mr. Vasant Sathe is not here



[Shri Kamal Morarka] because he was very eloquent. But the fact remains that the coal sector is making a loss. He says "Declare it as a national sector." I think, we should pass a resolution and declare if it reduces the loss. The fact of the matter is that large amounts of money are going into non-productive activities. Where would the money come from ultimately? You can turn around and say that the Plan targets are going to be fulfilled this year, but the question is resource mobilisation through loans. Merely fulfilling Plan targets by borrowing money at increased rates of interest may not be the wisest thing to do.

I will just end by giving one example and that is in this year the Plan outlays have been increased only by Rs. 5,731 crores in this Budget as compared to the last year's Budget. Out of Rs. 5,731 crores, public sector resources mobilisation will be Rs. 4,761 crores i.e. a major part of the finances will be raised by the PSUs. How does the PSU raise their money? They will raise it through tax-free bonds. I want the Finance Minister to seriously consider it because tax-free bonds are also a subsidy which has regressive repercussions and without any limit individuals can buy the bonds and this will distort the picture of progressive taxation. So these are matters to which the Finance Minister has to apply his mind. My request to him is: Please come out with a long-term fiscal policy. This needs a course correction over the next 5-7 years. The whole House, all parties combined together—there should be no politics in this—and everybody should play their role to take out the country from the economic morass into which it is sliding. Thank you.

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am sorry that I am not supporting this Budget. As it is, it is a vote-catching Budget and not even a populist Budget\* and not to speak of being socialistic which the earlier Budgets

claimed to be. If you go through the Central Plan outlay sector-wise, we see that the allotment has been reduced in the case of agriculture and slightly increased in the case of rural development. In the case of irrigation and flood control it has been reduced. So, with all these reductions mainly affecting the rural sector, how can we hope that this Budget will generate employment and give relief to the people in the rural

I also draw your attention to 5 P.M. the fact that in spite of the talks about water supply and all those things the B shows that the Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme has been allotted the same Rs. 410 crores in the present Budget as it was in the revised estimate and earlier Budget estimates. So it is quite clear that this Budget will not go to the help of the people, but this Budget will help the monopolists, the foreign capital and their companions because it is based on indirect taxation, inflation, internal borrowings and external borrowings. All these four legs are cracking and this Budget will also crack on the people. It is quite sure. For example, I can draw your attention to the dismal picture prevailing in the entire mining area of India. I have my personal experience. In Raniganj coalfield area Jharia coalfield area and in Orissa I have seen that the infrastructure which has been built by the panchayats or other local bodies has been devoured by the open cast mines which have destroyed the total infrastructure including the water supply system of villages. As a result, the villagers are compelled to go away from the mining villages. Where will they go? Open-cast mining has created a problem which is social, political, economic and ecological also. It has destroyed the total ecology in the area. Apart from the fact that underground mining has devastated the entire area, especially the old underground mines, this is a problem to which the Central Government must address itself. The workers of Raniganj coalfield have gone to the ECL headquarters. You just visit the

houses in the villages. You will see hot gases gushing out. I have seen in Jamuria whole houses having gone down due to subsidence. I have seen long flames coming out of the fields after horing operations. These are the problems to which the Cenral Government is not addressing itself for the last 42 years. It must do so now. About one lakh workers have gone to ECL headquarters to file a petition before the authority. They wi'l come to coal India headquarters on 30th with the same petiioon. I think ihe Central Government must addr self to their problems. Otherwise, our national assets will be destroyed; , the entire infrastructure which is lying over the land in these areas will be devastated.

Now, . to other issues, I draw the atteniioa of the Government to the report i n the Economic Times of 25th March 1989. According to that,

.....current year's further rise in cost Oi'living of 10 percent and the general rise in the wholesale P' ic.-s of five per cent together with 15 per cent rise in money supply. The impact of continuing inflation has been a large revenue deficit financed through cieation isury bills."

Tii :se are the facts which prove that the been pie expect from the Budget ,from the Government, is not g ing IO reach them. So we have to is ourselves to the problem must try to seefha the policies that the Government is pursuing are changed because we are now in a complex deb' trap which is a threatto our economic independence. It is further aggravated by the import export policies, technological policy, etc

THE VICE-CHATRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAT): Please conclude now.

SFRISUNILBASURAY: This is a vital point. I would like to deal with this. Due to these policies thousands of industries, thousands

of factories are being closed down. From the Economic survey itself, Sir, you will find that more than one lakh and fifty thousand units of industries have been rendered sick. More than Rs. 5000 crores of bank money is locked up there. What will happen to this ? In the name of technology improvement we cannot allow this wastage to continue. So we want a definite....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Tnis will do. Your time is over now, please. Dr. Sivaji. You help me today.

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY: I think you should not have called me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Dr. Sivaji. Not more than five minutes.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SWAJI (Anadhra Pradesh) : Sir, we expected in the Budget presented by the hon. Minister encouragement for economic growth and savings and liberalisation in taxation and eradication of unemployment and poverty. But to our dismay, the Budget does nothing of these things. If any body in this country fabricates ten rupee notes or hundred rupee notes, he is entitled to be landed inside the i prison. Under the same pre text, whether Mr. S. B. Chavan or Mr. Faleiro or somebody else while formulating the Budget proposals resorted to high deficit financing and over-production of currency notes in the Nasik Press, the right place they deserve is Tihar Jail. This is the first time that so much of huge burden is put on the people though the additional taxes shown as only Rs. 1287 crores of rupees. The Railway Budget added another Rs. 876 crores. And just before the Budget there was an additional burden on coal prices to the tune of Rs. 550 crores. All these put together, roughly the additional burden on the people is to the tune of Rs. 3000 crores. And the Government hold it very convenient, irrespective of the Budget and making

[Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji]

the Budget irrelevant time and again, intermittantly off and on. resortin to hike in the administered prices.

According to a report of the RBI, during 1970's the hike in administered prices contributed to the tun'e of 20 percent to the inflation in this country and during 1980' ledto 33 percent. As you know, Sir, these are 55 items in this country from the public sc ctor units whichi are time and again hiking administered prices. During 1972 when coal sector was nationalised, the price of cool was as low as Rs. 37-50 per metric tonne and this is costing now Rs. 250 p:r metric tonne. All these things are at the cost of the State Governments and nothing goes to the State Governments as share. Several people mentioned that we are living beyond our means and we are resorting to deficit financing. And to that funds from the oil sector are being added. I don't mind adding These funds from the oil sector but they should have been added to the capital account, not to the revenue account. If it is added to the capital account, there is an obligation on the part of the Government. But if it is added once to the revenue account under the General Pool then the Government will not have any obligation. And the taxation in the country is that the Government is collecting at the rate of Rs. 50 crore? of rupees for every working hour of the Government offices, and the debt burden is as high as...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): One minute left now. (*Interruptions*). Not more than that.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI : So the Government is resorting to high corporate tax and other things, and it is not distributed amongst State Governments. And there are other instances. For example, a person getting Rs. 50,000 as salary is carrying more money to home than a person getting Rs. 51,000 as salary because of the 8 per cent surcharge imposed on income-tax.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): That is all right. Please sit down. Your time is over. Mr. Chitta Basu.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: Sir, nothing has been mentioned about cotton growers and handloom weavers of Andhra Pradesh. Several reliefs have been given to the industiial sectoi and the corpoiate sector. So, ! would like to say that the Minister should note down and announce some reliefs to the cotton growers and handloom weavers in Andhra Pradesh so that they can be relieved of their debt burden.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri (Basu. Ony five minutes please.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Kindly don't ring the bell. I will finish. I know your compulsions and you know ray compulsions.

As a matter of feet, I do not like to dissect the budget in all its aspects. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to a particular facet of our national economy which, in my view, is very much disastrous. I refer to the problem and the feature of external debt The quantum of external indebtedness, according to the facts available with me and according to tht information given by the Government, is 55000 ctore of rupees. It was given in reply to a qu.es\* ion of mine in this House. The Government stated that the total amount of foreign indebtedness is 55000 crores of rupee-. This information was given about six months ago. Sir, I was looking into the Economic Survey in order to find out whether there has been any additional information made available regarding external indebtedness of our country. I have been disappointed to find that no fresh information has been given except which was given six months ago.

According to the Economic Survey, the total amount of foreign indebtedness is about the same, i.e. 55000 crores of rupees. The debt servicing ratio during the current year is estimated to account for about 25 per cent of the total receipt. This much of information has been made available. I will remind you about the total amount of external indebtedness about four years ago. It was 25033 crores of rupees. Now it has gone up to 55000 crores of rupees. The debt servicing ratio at that time was 13 per cent. Now it is about 25 per cent or 26 per cent. That means that during last four years it has doubled. This is the moot point which I want to make. I want to know from the hon. Minister as to what have been the special requirements during the last four years which warranted such an increase in our foreign indebtedness. It is almost double. It was 25000 crores of rupees and now it has gone up to 55000 crores of rupees. The debt servicing has also increased commensurately. It was 13 per cent and now it has gone up to 25 or 26 per cent. May I know from the Finance Minister what were the specific requirements and what were the specific policy shifts which have warranted this kind of massive external debt?

I don't like to make a speech because the political implications of this kind of excessive indebtedness are known to the entire country. Sir, as you know, much of my work has been lessened by my distinguished friend, Comrade Kamal Morarka. He said that our national economy is exportless and import-dependent. There are great implications of this foreign indebtedness on the economy of our country. I don't like to dilate on this point because you understand these things. The Minister also understands the lions of these things. I want to remind you of the fate of Latin American countries. I feel

that I should warn the country and that I should warn the Government about the fate which await us. I have taken into account the total imports in US dollars in the Latin American countries which were about 6 billion US dollars. In that year, there was a total aggregate outflow of 26 billion US dollars. Six billion US dollars were the inflow and 26 billion dollars were the outflow. That was in the discharge of the obligation of the interest repayment. Therefore, Sir, we cannot remain oblivious of these things, we cannot remain blind to what is happening because of the external indebtedness.

Sir, our Government do not furnish us the detailed information of external indebtedness. I think, the hon. Finance Minister is quite aware of the fact that OEDC, the Organisation for Economic Development and Co-operation, which is a Paris-based economic organisation, in its last report, said that according to their data, by the end of 1987, the total foreign indebtedness of India amounted to Rs. 80,000 crores in terms of rupees. They gave it in terms of US dollars which was 50.4 billion dollars. Therefore, it comes to Rs. 80,000 crores in terms of rupees. The OEDC report suggests that foreign debt has been going on by around 7 billion per year in our country in US dollars. Having that as a measure, excuse me, Sir, I will have to draw this conclusion, at least the countrymen will have to draw this conclusion that the country's total external debt at the beginning of the current year would be Rs. 97,000 crores. Now, I pose a question to him, through you, Sir: Which is correct, the Economic Survey of the country or the OEDC? Sir, I am quite aware that OEDC organisation which is outside the country. Yet, I do not like that I should rely entirely on an agency like OEDC. But I must be sure,

[Shri Chitta Basu]

as a Member of this House, as an ordinary citizen of this country as to what is the actual state of affairs in this area. Sir, I put this question: What is correct, the Economic Survey or the OEDC? Sir, I have been informed that the Finance Minister is going to Washington. Right. He should go. But it is not the current issue. Therefore, I want that the Government should bring out a White Paper regarding the external indebtedness, its implications on our national economy, our self-sufficiency, our economic sovereignty and its political implications. I demand a White Paper and I hope that the hon. Finance Minister will take a little time to answer this.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I should at the outset, express my gratitude to all the hon. Members from both the sides of the House for participating in the discussion, making very valuable suggestions expressing their view in their own way, but basically touching on some of the issues which, in fact, are very important from the point of view of the national economy. Sir, I would not say that the remarks that they have made are motivated by any political consideration. I am prepared to accept this kind of recognition that they are not politically motivated; they are actually actuated by the national interest. And when it is a question of national economy, I was happy to have at least one hon. Member saying that we should rise : party politics and try to view the economy from a total national point of view irrespective of the party affiliations. I am very happy that he has been called Comrade Kamal. I am not quite sure whether he is a comrade..

SHRI CHITTA BASU: We are fighting together.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: You called him Comrade Kamal. I can assure you he is a diehard. I would not use the other word. So, I can only say that they have a particular point of view as the hon. Member, Shri Chitta Basu did not touch on other points of the Budget and emphasised only on one aspect of it....

SHRI CHITTA BASU:  
Because I was compelled to restrict myself.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: In fact, I also want to restrict my speech because I have another meeting to attend. That was why I was particular, that I am able to reply from 4.30 onwards. But, somehow, the hon. Chairman thought that there are hon. Members who would like to participate in this discussion and that is why it would be rather difficult for me to explain all the points which the hon. Members have raised.

The Leader of the Opposition Shri Gurupadaswamyji, as my esteemed friend, hon. Shri Masodkar said, was rather unkind, rather uncharitable, I must say, in using the words, and he criticised the Budget in such a fashion which clearly reflected to be a kind of a motivation. I am sorry to use this word. But that was how I felt it. Is it a fact that there is no direction in the Budget? Is it a fact that there is no philosophy of the Budget? Actually, you mix the kind of philosophy that I might put before you because this is the Congress philosophy that we have for ourselves. This Congress philosophy cannot be your philosophy, and I cannot frame the Budget according to your philosophy. I will frame the Budget..

SHRI SUKOMAL SFN  
(West Bengal): This is a capitalist philosophy.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am aware of the fact that this is a Congress-ruled Government and Congress-ruled Government is going to be followed by...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): And you are running a capitalist line. So you have a capitalist philosophy. I agree with you.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I have told you that this is the philosophy of the Congress Government and you cannot expect your philosophy to be incorporated in our Budget. It is a very simple proposition that the hon. Member should try to understand. I can well understand that there is an enunciated policy of the Congress Government and your budget does not fit into the parameters which have been prescribed by the Congress organisation. I can well understand that, but, at the outset, the disappointment is because of the fact that you are trying to see your reflection in the Budget presented by the Congress Government, and that is the only difference. That is why I thought that most of the criticism is because of the fact that you have tried to see into it the kind of philosophy that you would like to be implemented.

If you were to go through the Budget speech, you will find that the basic approach is for growth, modernisation, self-reliance and social justice. These are the four issues, or the thrust of the Budget that we have presented and tried to find out whether it gets reflected in the Budget provisions or not. I am sure that if the hon. Members were to go through the Budget, they will find that there are a number of innovative ideas which, in fact, have been incorporated in the Budget. Being the last year of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, I am sure hon. Members would be expecting to find out

whether we have been able to achieve the plan targets both in financial and physical terms. From the speech you will find that we have been able to exceed the financial provisions. It might be for the first time—at the time of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, despite difficulties, we could achieve about 90 per cent in real terms—that we are going to achieve 130 per cent. Making provision for inflation, it would come to 115 per cent in real terms. This is in regard to the financial provisions. Therefore, no Ministry, for that matter, can possibly say that enough funds were not available and that is why they were not able to achieve the targets set for themselves. But I am definitely of the view—I agree with the hon. Members—that merely spending money is not adequate. We should get adequate returns in physical terms. That is why we have been making provisions every year with a view to seeing that they are able to achieve the targets that they have set for themselves.

If you go through the Budget documents which have been presented to the House and given to hon. Members, there are two or three things which give an indication. Firstly, the rate of growth. I am not able to understand why Mr. Gurupadaswamy was very angry about the rate of growth because of the fact that, somehow, this time, monsoon being very favourable, we could achieve—and we are going to achieve—almost 170 million tonnes of foodgrains production. There is still one more year left and if God is merciful, I am sure we would be able to achieve around 180 million tonnes in 1989-90. The target we have set is between 176 and 183 million tonnes. This is, in fact, quite achievable and there should be no difficulty looking to the provision we have made for this sector.

[Shri S. B. Chavan]

Some hon. Members dwelt at length about less provisions having been made for agriculture, irrigation and flood control works. I should say that this has to be looked at in a proper perspective. The provision made by the Central Government would have to take into account the borrowings from the different banks. Also, this being the primary responsibility of the State Governments, both the figures will have to be added because, ultimately, what the agricultural sector is going to get will be the addition of the figures from these two sectors together with the banking sectors which is going to provide the money. If you look at it in this perspective, I am sure hon. Members would be fully convinced that there is enough money available. I can assure this hon. House that hereafter if any money is required, if more money is required, certainly, we would be able to consider the same provided we are convinced that the money given to them is going to be properly utilised for greater agricultural production.

In this connection, I am very happy to inform the House. There are other sub-sectors also in the agricultural sector. I am very happy to inform the House that there are three areas where the progress has been, in fact, spectacular. These are: cotton, oilseeds and sugar. These are the three areas where production has been a record. This gives us great hope that in the Eighth Five-Year Plan also, we would be able to achieve greater production and it should be possible for us to achieve the target of 6 per cent rate of growth which we have set for ourselves and go to the rescue of the person who is, in fact, eagerly waiting for getting the kind of assistance that he expects from the Government. The other point that was made by Shri Gurupada Swamy is about the dry-land farming and the emphasis which has to be put on that. I am in full agreement

with you that this is an area where greater emphasis will have to be given because this happens to be almost 70 per cent of the total area which ultimately is going to add to the production. They are, in fact, adding to the production already, but new technologies will have to be adopted in such a manner that they are able to contribute to a greater extent, so that the country as a whole gets the benefit of the neo-technology. Science and Technology Department has been coming to the rescue of all the agriculture scientists and others also. They are giving new technologies to our agriculturists, and that, in fact, has been mainly responsible for greater agricultural production. I am sure that where we are lagging behind we will have to lay emphasis on that. Pulses is one of the sector where we are lagging behind. Here is a challenge which our agriculture scientists and others have accepted and they are trying to evolve a new kind of seed which, in fact, will be drought-resistant. At the same time, there will be other things which they will have to take into account so that it is not susceptible so much to the diseases which are very common.

In the industrial field the hon. Members are aware of the fact that we are trying to achieve this time more than 9 per cent and with this I am sure, we will be able to achieve the long-term growth rates of 5 per cent. I have forgotten the point about the trend over the 15 years that the hon. Member talked of. May be, he was talking of the previous years. I can assure him that with the 5 per cent rate of growth in the Fifth Five Year Plan, 5 per cent rate of growth in the Seventh Five Year Plan and we feel quite confident that in the Seventh Five Year Plan we will be exceeding the 5 per cent rate of growth. So on a long-term basis also it is not 3.5 or 3.6 per cent but 5 per cent that we are going to achieve and that is why we feel all the more confident that for the Eighth Five Year Plan this is a very

strong foundation that we will be laying, on which foundation the Eighth Five Year Plan can rest.

In order to upgrade the technology and make our goods competitive in the international market, we will have to update the technology. Some of the hon. Members were asking as to why it is that the imports have increased over a period of four to five years. I can only say that if the hon. Members were to take care to go into the details and try to find out, right from 1985 onwards we have been trying to update the technology, make our goods more competitive. There is no denying the fact that our Prime Minister has been going round the entire world and there are a large number of dignitaries who come to India to consult our Prime Minister about what plan of action they should take for their future. So, there is a friendly relationship with a large number of countries, but at the same time, we cannot be oblivious of the fact that any other country will have its own interest in view. Merely because you happen to be friendly does not necessarily mean that they are going to concede everything that you ask. They are going to concede on the basis of merits. So, our products have to be competitive, technically sound, and qualitatively there should be no difference between the international products and the products that we are producing so that we become equal with others. Maybe, in packaging and other things, if there is any kind of difference, we will have to make some improvement so that our product becomes more saleable in the international market. That is the reason why we have been giving a large number of concessions so that our industry is able to compete with the international market and that is why this liberalisation in import was adopted. Now we will have to see how much of it is linked with greater export and how much of it is being used for non-export purposes. If it is a luxury item, everybody is expected not to use it for that purpose. I am sure with this kind of liberalisation, there should

be no reason why we should lag behind why our technology should not come up to the particular standard.

There are physical achievements which I would like to give, specially in the infrastructure field. The HBJ pipeline is going to be completed. The Maharashtra gas cracker complex is also going to be completed. The Nalco aluminium complex is also going to be completed. The first stage of Vizag steel plant is also going to be completed. The fertiliser plants at Guna, Aonla and Jagdishpur are a few infrastructure projects which, in fact, quite reasonably seem to be in the range of completion. So there should be no doubt as to whether it is only in the agricultural sector that we are going to achieve this. In the infrastructure field, if there is the necessary kind of atmosphere created, I am sure that we should be able to complete this. Added to this, I can also say on the basis of the information which has been given to me by the Departments concerned—an hon. member said something from the Central Electricity Authority; certainly I am prepared to again find out, but my information is that the 22,000 MW of electricity, which, in fact, was the target for the Seventh Five Year Plan—that they will be able to achieve and they should be able to evacuate the power which will be generated, so that this power becomes available, both for industry and agriculture. Shortage of power is one of the reasons why it is that in both these fields, the kind of achievement that we would like to have, we have not been able to achieve merely because electricity in adequate measure is not available. Now with this kind of achievement—and added to that there is the nuclear power there is 2000 MW power which the Soviet Union has also promised—if that also comes that will be over and above what we have already targeted for ourselves.

So far as railway freight loading is concerned, I think they are going to achieve the highest target—a record level of 345 million tonnes of



[Shr: S- B. Chavan] loading traffic which they are going to clear. This will be a record level which we are going to achieve.

So, infrastructure-wise, I feel that we have come to a stage when infrastructure is ready now and this can help us in fixing our targets for the Eighth Five Year Plan. If there is any inaccuracy in the statement which I have made, certainly I am prepared to discuss with any of the hon. Members and if they would point out that this figure of yours is not accurate, or is not correct, certainly I will take it up with the Department concerned. I have to quote figures from the different administrative Ministries which are supplying them to the Finance Ministry. I feel quite confident that by the end of the Seventh Five Year Plan, not only the financial targets but also the physical targets in a big way, especially in major areas, are going to be achieved by us and there should be no reason as to why we should lag behind in these matters.

Another aspect which I would like to specially emphasise is employment generation also in the Seventh Five Year Plan. Our target for the Seventh Five Year Plan was nearly about 2,500 million mandays and the likely achievement that we visualise is 3,370 million man-days which will be in excess of the Seventh Plan target. This is a major area specially where the question of employment is concerned. In this area also, we are going to achieve the target. So, it is a matter of great satisfaction to us that in all the major areas we are going to be nearer achieving the targets, that we have set for ourselves.

I am quite aware of the fact that in the matter of IRDP programmes, honourable Members have some apprehensions in their minds. Some disquieting features have also been brought to my notice. How to involve the local people, how to involve the public representatives in the implementation of the programmes, is one of the issues which is, in fact, engaging the attention of

the Government. At least for the time being, we feel that District Committees where the MPs and ML As will be involved, Zila Pari-shads, if they are in existence, their representatives also will be involved. [ Our Prime Minister has been consistently and constantly speaking about the involvement of the panchayati raj institutions including, even, the gram panchayats. So, that is the lowest level up to which, in fact, the Government is prepared to go, but ] some kind of a mechanism will have to be found by which we should be able to monitor as to whether the money that we have given for the implementation of a particular kind of programme is reaching the targeted group or is being swindled by someone in between. So, that is the major issue and I would like to tell honourable Members that now we are in a very happy position when there are Congress-ruled States and there are non-Congress-ruled States also. So, the position remains almost the same. I don't think that in matters of quality there is going to be much of a difference between one and the other. Ultimately it is human weakness, which is found everywhere. So, it will be our responsibility. Both sides of the House should agree on this point of view that the poorest man expects that he should be properly helped without compromising his self-respect. We don't want to give them doles; we don't want to create a situation for him wherein he should feel himself totally helpless.

Land reforms and other things we have tried but, in spite of that, there are a large number of people who are prepared to work in the society and still they are not getting the kind of work that they want. I would like to remove the impression—as they have said it - that it is only the white collar jobs which are, in fact, in demand. There is a dearth of jobs of that nature which, in fact, is a great problem. Certainly I can't deny the fact. But, with the kind of vocationalization that we have introduced in education—

I have full details with me but I don't have the time and that is why I would merely say this.—a large number of trades have also been introduced. For example, masons are in great demand. They are not available at all. People are prepared to pay Rs. 100 per day and still a good mason is not available. A good carpenter is not available. Even the ITI students are in great demand but they are not available. What is being asked for is the white collar job. The white collar job is not available, but if you are prepared to work manually, and with the kind of tools which are available, certainly I don't think that within the country and also abroad—in the Middle-east and other countries where there is tremendous scope for employment of such semi-skilled or skilled workers there is no dearth in fact, there is a great demand—but these boys are not available and still we have that kind of a prejudice in our mind that one who works manually...

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA : One minute, if you would kindly yield.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : You had better wait till I finish. Thereafter, if you have any point, certainly you can ask me and I will be able to clarify. Otherwise I will miss the "T" link. Not that I would not like to answer your point. But, at the same time, I think you will appreciate the fact that the link should not be cut and I may be allowed to proceed according to my scheme of things.

Sir, I have also got the information about TRYSEM and the kind of facilities even at the block level. The information which is available with me is, in the Seventh Five-Year Plan period we have been able to train 1/87 lakh youths, and the percentage of these trainees securing employment was 53, which has now increased to 63. So, even with the TRYSEM training also the possibility of employing these young youths has also increased.

So, we will have to emphasise on it because a large number of new things have come into villages. They have to go either to the district or to other metropolitan cities to get their new tools being repaired.

There are three or four other aspects about which I would like to say. One is about the deficit financing about which I must say we have been able to arrest the same. A great point of debate was made both in this House and in the Lower House that Rs. 2,300 crores from the OCC account has been transferred and that that is why this is a kind of jugglery that we have done in order to show that we have reduced the deficit. Sir, we have to appreciate the fact that a number of things we import, and in the market if we get any profit, we straight count it as a non-tax revenue in our budget. Is there anything wrong in showing this? The fact is that almost Rs. 8,900 crores are there in the OCC account. Out of that we have just transferred Rs. 2,300 crores. Year before last also it was done. This year also we are doing it. There is no reason why we should feel shy that there is something unethical, that there is something wrong that we have committed. Everybody is now trying to create an impression that something unethical has been done, that this is jugglery of figures, that in real terms the deficit has not come down, that this is an adjustment by which they are trying to show as if the deficit has been reduced. I am sure, hon. Members will appreciate the fact.

After all, this amount has been created for what? There is a difference between what we call the market price and the price which Government decides about oil petroleum products so that on a future date, for some reasons, if the prices fall down so much that between the two there is going to be a tremendous difference. The Government will have to make good. At least for the next ten years I feel quite confi-

[Shri SB. Chaven]

dent that no such situation is going to arise. Even then, we have enough money in the OCC account. There should be no reasons for any hon. Members to have some kind of a suspicion in their minds about the objective for which this amount of money should have been used is being neglected and that the money is now being diverted for reducing the deficit. I can assure you, I am prepared to sit with any hon. Member and convince him that there is nothing unethical, there is nothing wrong, there is nothing hanky-panky about it, and I do not think that we have done anything to bring down mere artificially the deficit.

A point was made by some hon. Members that the Prime Minister issued orders for economy, that the Finance Ministry also issued orders to all the administrative Ministries to economise, and they have asked what has been the impact of the same. I can well concede the point that I was expecting something more than what has actually happened. But, to say that nothing has happened also is equally not true. Every administrative Ministry has been able to absorb the D.A. which was to be paid to the employees of that administrative Ministry. To that extent, actually, it is a kind of saving. Though we had made a provision for the same in the Budget, I have told everyone of them that we will not be able to give you any money for giving the D.A. to the employees who are working with them. That is what I can say. In fact, I am in full agreement with the hon. Members that there is still scope for improvement. We will have to economise. In a number of Ministries there are people who have been there for the last 20 years, 25 years, 30 years. I quite see the point that the scheme has lost all its relevance. There is no reason why the scheme should be continued, but they are just continuing it. I can assure that the members of the

staff that they are not going to be retrenched. We can have them on our surplus pool and thereafter try to absorb them so that they do not feel the pinch of retrenchment. When unemployment is there, the people are bound to ask why we should do this and I quite see the point that we should not do this. But, this will require the co-operation of all those who are concerned so that we are able to effect economy and use that money for productive purposes. That is the purpose. Otherwise, in fact, there is no reason why we should try to reduce the number of employees from each Ministry. I do not know how far we are going to get that kind of response but that effort is going to continue and I will try to seek the co-operation from all the hon. Members also to see that we succeed in this direction.

The revenue deficit in 1988-89 was Rs. 11,030 crores which has been reduced to Rs. 7,012 crores. The overall deficit was Rs. 7,940 crores and it has been brought down to Rs. 7,337 crores. This is the first time that we are making such a conscious and deliberate effort. I can assure the hon. Members that our efforts in the Finance Ministry are going to be to see that we do not exceed the limits which we have already shown to the nation. Every effort will be made unless there are some unforeseen things, which nobody can possibly help. At that time I cannot take the risk by saying that I have given this figure and this is a figure which is very sacred in my mind and cannot possibly exceed. If any natural calamity happens to be there. I cannot possibly take the shelter under this. That is why, barring such cases, every effort will be made to see that the way in which easily people could get away with any amount of money from the Finance Ministry will be resisted to the maximum in order to see that we are able to save and invest that money for only productive purposes.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa) in the Chair.]

Hon. Member, Shri K.K. Birla and also Comrade Kamal made a point that in 1985 we had made a solemn promise and thereafter a regime of stability was one of the things which everybody expected. I quite see the sentiments of the hon. Members. But is it merely the stability for a particular class or a lower class of the society, which has a right to survive in the society? This is a basic problem to which a reply will have to be given by everyone of us. Not only from these two comrades, but also from every hon. Member of the House.  
(Interruptions)

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : I am left's elitist than the Congress Party by any standard.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Anyway. But you don't like the idea of your being called Comrade, I believe.

SHRI KAMAL MORARKA : We are all comrades on this side.

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN : Quite well. So, my appeal to all the hon. Members will be that there is no denying the fact that as 3 long long-term measure our fiscal policy will have to be on this basis that the people get a feeling of stability and unnecessary uncertainties are not created in the entire situation. That is the point which they wanted to convey. But, in fact, I am very happy that we have been making provision for the Nehru Rozgar Yojana. Rupees five hundred crores we are going to get out of the eight per cent surcharge that we are going to levy. There is no reason why we should feel sorry about the same because this is the least we can possibly do for the section of the society which we are trying to serve should consider yourself very unfortunate that you have the business. You have also the employment in the organised sector. But there are

sections of the people who, in fact, are interested in being a part of the society.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: they are still not considered as a part of the society.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: We consider them as part of the society. Our point of view is that we should give them a feeling of confidence because they are also a part of the society, they have a right to survive. They have a right to demand. They have a right to work. This is just a beginning that we are making. I don't say that I have made a commitment for right to work. I don't say that.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: Now, you are avoiding.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: I am requesting the hon. members to understand the humility with which I am putting it before them. Even the Leader of the Opposition making it a fun of this is something which I did not expect from Mr. Gurupadaswamy and rest of the people I can understand. But this is an issue on which there should be no difference of opinion. Let them be also a part of this society. If they are prepared to work we should provide work for them even if it means levying a greater surcharge on a section of the people who can possibly afford. If they can afford there is no reason why they should get away with it.

SHRI CHITTA BASU: By all means....

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: In fact, for matters of.... (interruptions) I do not think I should go into the questions of Fundamental rights because that is a matter where our jurist friend who is sitting here, hon. Shri Masodkar knows what has been the view of the Supreme Court in that matter but still that is a bigger issue. I do not want to go into the details unnecessarily.

[ShriS.B. Chavan]

Sir, there are two areas of grave concern which in fact, I should bring to the notice of this honourable House. One area is the rate of savings which has come down from 24 per cent to 21 per cent and that is the reason that we have provided different instruments of savings for which incentives have been provided in the Budget so that people on their own should come forward. There is Indira Vikas Patra, Kisan Vikas Patra, National Savings Certificate. There is a new saving in which we have given all kinds of incentives that you want. Even for those who are retired we have specially made provision for giving them concession under the Income-tax Act so that if they deposit the money they will not only get this interest but, at the same time they will get the principal amount after a particular span of time. Similar concessions we propose to extend to all the employees of the public sector undertakings so that those who retire will be able to deposit their money and get the benefits of this scheme that we have enunciated. Not only they will be benefited but the government is also going to be benefited by these measures. Unless we get the cooperation from all the sections of the House and also the people at large. If savings are not effected, then of course, it is bound to affect our total resource mobilisation that we are going to make.

Another area about which apprehension was expressed here is the balance of payments positions. If the hon. Members are interested. I have figures with me which will show that the balance of payments position is, in fact, not that happy, unless we make a conscious effort to make exports and to the extent possible try to reduce our imports the balance of payments position will not be that happy. How do we do that? It is a matter of detail to which we will have to apply our mind and see that \_\_\_\_\_

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): This is a million dollar question.

SHRI S.B. CHAVAN: Why a million dollar question? This is a hundred million dollar question for which a solution will 6.00 P.M. have to be found. And\* I feel quite confident that there is no reason why we should feel sceptical or doubtful that we will not succeed in finding a solution to the problem. Those who are trying to run away with all kinds of imports should be brought to book and those who, in fact, are interested in exports should be given all the encouragement that they want. This is the kind of approach that we have to adopt. I am giving you the figures whatever they are worth. You may draw your own conclusions. But I can assure hon. Members that thought the situation, in fact, is not very happy at the same time, it is not such a situation as to cause kind of a uproar or alarm, for the periods from 1981-82 to 1987-88 I have the figures with me. GDP at market price in 1987-88-Rs. 3,30,464 crores; debt outstanding on Government account—Rs. 36,670 crores; total debt outstanding, Government plus non-Government, IMF and ECB, it comes to Rs. 54,817 crores.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: (Maharashtra): Does it include defence? -

SHRI S. B. CHAVAN: I am giving that figure. Now, percentage of debt on Government account to GDP in 1987-88 is 11. Total debt to GDP comes to 16.7 per cent. Debt-servicing on government account comes to Rs. 2,225 crores and in terms of percentage—Percentage of debt-servicing on Government account to GDP comes to 0.67. (Interruptions). I will give the figures for both. Total debt. Total debt for 31-3-1987 and 31-3-1988. These are the figures available with me. GDP at market price on 31-3-1987 was Rs. 2,93,408 crores.

Domestic debt—Rs. 1,46,247 crores; External debt—Rs. 48,895 crores; domestic Debt as percentage of GDP at market price comes to 49.8; External Debt as percentage of GDP at market price is 16.7; Domestic Interest payment as percentage of GDP at market price is 3.2 percent; External debt-servicing , Principal plus Interest as percentage of GDP at market price comes to 1.6. For 1988 also I have similar figures and it goes up from 1.6 per cent to 1.8 per cent. So, I am not taking a complacent view of the entire thing. I am aware of the consequence which the country will have to face if the external debt were to rise, that is why we will have to be alert and we are equally alert. It is not that we are complacent in this matter. We are equally aware that while our objectives should be served, they should not present a problem to the Country by which the objectives we have in view will have to be compromised. This is where the Government will have to put in the maximum effort.

I think these were the few points I wanted to clarify. I am aware of the fact that hon. Members are interested in getting some kind of explanation on the points which they have raised. But I am sorry, I have finished my time. I wanted to give explanations to some of the points which hon. Members raised. However, I have taken note of all the points to the extent possible and I will keep them in view and try to find solutions to problems. I again thank hon. Members and commend this Budget to the House.

## MESSAGES FROM THE LOK SABHA

### I The Punjab Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1989.

### II The Punjab Appropriation Bill, 1989.

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

I "In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Punjab Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1989, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th March, 1989.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill." H

"In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Punjab Appropriation Bill, 1989, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 27th March, 1989.

2. The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill."

Sir, I lay a copy of each of the Bills on the Table.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRi H. HANUMANTHAPPA) : Now the House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow at 11 A.M.

The House then adjourned at five minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 29th March 1989.