

[श्री भजन लाल]

कर रहे हैं, गुमराह करने की बात आप करते करते है। मैं आपको हकीकत बताता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के किसान इकट्ठा होकर के चौधरी चरण सिंह जी के पास गए कि साहब बहुत बुरा हमारा हाल हो गया है गन्ने का कोई ग्राहक नहीं है, क्या किया जाये।

श्री राम नरेश यादव : यह नितांत असत्य है।

श्री भजन लाल : मुनने की कृपा करें, आप। मैं जो बात कहूंगा, सही कहूंगा। मैं चैलेंज करता हूँ आपको इस बात के लिए। मैं गलत बात करने का आदी नहीं हूँ।

श्री राम नरेश यादव : मान्यवर, इस तरह का कोई भी किसान हमारे पास नहीं आया।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : मैंने आपको मौका दिया है पहले।

श्री भजन लाल : तो उन्होंने कहा कि साहब, बुरा हाल है। चौधरी साहब ने कहा—गन्ना नहीं बोना था। कि साहब, क्या करें अब? कि और कुछ चीज बोते, गन्ना नहीं बोते। बोले कि अब तो बो दिया। तो जवाब था—बाकी कोई जगह नहीं मिलती हो तो मेरे सिर पर बो दो। यह चौधरी चरण सिंह जी के लफ्ज थे। यह हकीकत है और एक नहीं, सारे पेपर में यह छपा है। तो इतना बड़ा बुरा हाल किसान का हुआ, उसका कोई अन्त नहीं है। आप किस मुँह से कहते हैं। फिर यह कहते हैं, वर्मा जी ने भी कहा, इन्होंने भी कहा, चौधरी चरण सिंह जी हमेशा ट्रेक्टर से खेती के खिलाफ रहे कि ट्रेक्टर से खेती नहीं होनी चाहिए। यह किस स्थिति में रहे हैं इनकी पार्टी के लोग। अगर ट्रेक्टर से खेती नहीं होती तो क्या इतना उत्पादन बढ़ सकता था? क्या बैल और ऊट इतनी खेती कर सकते थे? रूढ़िवादी तरीके की बातें थीं इनकी।

लोगों को उस समय गन्ना जलाना पड़ा। यह हकीकत है। मिल में लेकर जाय तो 3 रुपए क्विंटल का भाड़ा लग जाय, एक-डेढ़ रुपया क्विंटल और खर्चा लग कटाई-गिराई का, तो खरीदा पांच रुपए और मंगे साढ़े चार रुपए, तीन रुपए। इसलिए जनता पड़ा किसान को।

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 2) BILL, 1988

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
DEPARTMENT OF EXPENDITURE
IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE
(SHRI B. K. GADHVI): Sir, I move:

“That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1988-89, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration.”

Sir, the Bill provides for withdrawal out of the Consolidated Fund of India of the amounts required to meet the expenditure for the year 1988-89 charged on the Fund as well as the Grants voted by the Lok Sabha.

Gross disbursements of Rs. 225,658.55 crores are provided in the Bill. After setting off recoveries, receipts taken in reduction of expenditure and transaction in the nature of accounting adjustments, the net provisions aggregate to Rs. 73,560.00 crores. Of this an amount of Rs. 25,714 crores is for Central, State and Union Territories' Plans. The provision for Defence expenditure is Rs. 13,000 crores, for interest payments Rs. 14,100 crores, and major subsidies Rs. 6,391 crores. Other non-Plan grants and loans to State and Union Territory Governments account for Rs. 2,210 crores and the balance Rs. 12,145 crores is for other expenditure including expenditure of Union Territories without Legislature and Grants and Loans to foreign Governments.

The amounts provided in the Bill are inclusive of the sums already authorised in the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act, 1988.

The House has already had a general debate on the Budget. I would not, therefore, enumerate the details of the Budget provisions but shall try to deal with the points that may be made by hon. Members in the course of the discussion.

The question was proposed.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Shri Subramanian Swamy. Absent. Shri Ashis Sen.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, You have eaten our lunch.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): You can go, take your lunch and come back. I have had my lunch.

SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, when I stand to speak on the Appropriation Bill, the first thing I feel is whether it is appropriation or misappropriation of the resources of the country for sectional gains. I should bring it to the notice of this House that while presenting the Bill, an appraisal of the overall economic situation in the country has not been made. The canvas that has been portrayed by the hon. Minister is to subserve the political ends of the ruling Government. Of late the normal course of estimates and proposals associated with the Budget formulations has been given a go-by. This is being done by taking recourse to additional resource mobilisation by pre-budget hike in administered prices, railway fares and freight, postal and telephone rates etc. outside the purview of this Parliament. More than three thousand crores of rupees have thus been raised by fleecing the common man. Still there is an overall deficit of Rs. 7484 crores in spite of capital receipts surplus of Rs. 2358 crores. The capital receipts are meant for creating assets and not for covering revenue deficit.

And this is to be met by draws from the Reserve Bank. This is financing of the deficit. Is inflation different? Total outstanding draws by way of Treasury Bills is to the tune of Rs. 39,874 crores, almost entirely drawn from the Reserve Bank of India. This is unrestricted borrowing by the Centre. But there is a rigid restriction on overdrafts by States, particularly the non-Congress (I) States. There is a perpetual liability growing from Rs. 12851 crores in 1980-81 to the stage of nearly Rs. 40,000 crores in March 1988 on accounts of Treasury Bills alone. Debts on account of market loans outstanding work out to Rs. 52,000 crores, inclusive of various bonds issued. The gross internal debt is Rs. 98,151 crores (1987-88). Added to this is the external debt amounting to Rs. 22,999 crores. And, out of the non-Plan expenditure, Rs. 14,100 crores are to be paid as interest alone, that is, nearly 30 per cent of the total revenue. Indebtedness is mounting towards a debt trap. The per capita debt has risen from Rs. 360 in 1970-71 to Rs. 2,103 in 1986-87. I do not know whether this is indicative of the health of our economy. Perhaps the honourable Minister would like to educate the House that it is so.

It has been said that exports have risen by 25 per cent and imports reduced by 14 per cent, and yet, trade deficit persists substantially.

Industrial sickness is growing by leaps and bounds. 1,47,000 units are closed; with Rs. 4,800 crores locked up in them. And how many lakhs are rendered unemployed? No figure is given. The number of unemployed would be anywhere near six crores—registered and unregistered together, besides those rendered jobless by the closures and lockouts. Apart from other public sector undertakings, in the banking industry alone some 30,000 to 40,000 persons used to be recruited every year. This has trickled down to some hundreds now. More branches have been opened but staff strength remains more or less stagnant thanks to the overzealous game of computerization even in

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areas of operation where there is no need for it and where jobs are satisfactorily being performed by manual labour. Stop this craze. Allow the inflow of new hands into the banking industry and other public sector undertakings too.

In his pious platitude, the Finance Minister has said that rapid growth of industry is essential for generating employment. According to him, industrial production has increased by more than eight per cent in four successive years from 1984-85. He says that improvement in the public sector bears testimony to success. Despite this, the public sector is to be denigrated. There is more industrial sickness and more and more unemployed youth are roaming about in the streets seeking jobs. A matter for his considerable satisfaction, no doubt! Does it mean statement of facts not true, or hypocrisy? Government wants that costs and prices need to be reduced for competition and to maintain the illusory industrial growth. Is it by reducing the work force? And you still talk of growth of industry for generating employment.

A lot of tears have been shed for the poorer sections in the rural areas. A little earlier we have heard the Agriculture Minister talking so much about the poor farmers, artisans, etc. Interest rates for crop loans have been reduced by $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Still the rate are 10 to $11\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But these are for loans up to Rs. 7,500 and Rs. 15,000. Will the honourable Minister say how many poor farmers are entitled to this amount of loan? Instead of his saying that crores of agricultural borrowers will be benefited by the proposals made by the Government I would like to know the actual number of beneficiaries by the earlier interest rates and how many of them are rich farmers. The message of cheaper credit through Gramin Banks and rural branches or other banks has not reached most of the poorer sections, but big

farmers and Kulaks take the advantage by obtaining loans on behalf of the poorer agriculturists, taking advantage of their ignorance and illiteracy.

A National Agricultural Credit Relief Fund has been proposed. There are proposals for group insurance, housing for small and marginal farmers with a monthly income of Rs. 700. How many are there who are earning Rs. 700 per month in the rural areas? They are poor farmers. It is a gimmick. Why do they not have the minimum cost of living? Then the Village Abadi Environmental Improvement Scheme. Big, big words. Another stunt is the National Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Finance and Development Corporation. Then again the National Network of Nirman Kendras. Still, the Small Industries Development Bank. How many overlapping bodies does the Government want to set up? How much of the provisions will go to the superstructure than to meet the objectives? Why not instead enlarge the operations of the Grameen Bank and enlarge the operations of the Industrial Development Bank instead of having several small corporations?

While saying so much about the rural poor, there is no mention of the urban poor, the slum dwellers; the uprooted; the wretched sections of the society. Why not entrust the Grameen Bank with some of the responsibilities which you are trying to project for the benefit of the poorer sections? Why not expand the IDBI instead of a subsidiary? Is it that a subsidiary is sought to be set up to push down the wages of the subsidiary's employees in contrast with the principal's?

Industries are closed in large numbers. Does the Central Government also fall in this category of closure of industries? Obviously no. Then why closure of Central Government establishments closure of Stationery Offices in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Madras the prospective closure of the

Government Printing Presses in Calcutta, Simla and Delhi, thus; throwing immediately out of job 1,200 employees of the Stationery and Forms Stores and 7,000 employees waiting for their turn in the Printing Presses. All for privatisation. This is the guarantee of job security in the Central Government establishments. In our earlier days when we sought Government employment and got it, we felt we were secure and that at the end of our career we would be able to get our pension and go back home with security. All this has been thrown to the winds now by the policies of the Government to subserve the interests of monopolists and private sector.

The hon. Minister upholds the thesis—more industries to generate employment. Correct. More industries should be there. Why then no clearance for important employment generating projects in certain States, like the Haldia Petro-chemical Complex, the Bakreshwar Thermal Project in West Bengal? Surprisingly, for the Bakreshwar Thermal Project, when at the instance of the West Bengal State Government the USSR came forward for required assistance the Central Government puts hurdles to the detriment of the State's requirement of more power to be had from the Thermal Project. What is the justification for that? What are the politics behind it?

The formulations of the Budget are not intended for appropriate redistribution of resources between the Centre and the States. The measures are to deprive the States by manipulating the nature of tax-revenue mobilisation. Duty hikes are being replaced by price hikes of which no portion goes to the States. What is this policy? If the States are gradually made economically weaker, can there be a strong Centre? The federal character is gradually being eroded. This, we seriously oppose in national interest. A reversal of the posture is imperative and should be initiated as quickly as possible. Otherwise, we are going to a stage of ruination of our economy.

Another aspect of the economic field is the banking industry. As on April 8, 1988, the total deposit figures was Rs. 1,21,532 crores, and the total bank credit is Rs. 75,852 crores. The total number of bank offices is about 55,000. The banks are mostly, about 93 per cent of them, owned by the Central Government. Naturally, therefore; the operational policies are determined by the economic outlook, approach to issues by the Central Government. What are the facts about disbursement of credit by the banks owned by the Government. Let us have a glimpse of it. In June, 1982 the people who borrowed amounts below Rs. 25,000; the number was 2,18,76,876; these account holders constituting 93 per cent of the total number of borrowers. How much did they get the credit? 13.8 per cent of the total credit given—Rs. 5,617 crores out of Rs. 40,591 crores. Then what was the change in June 1986? The number of borrowers in this category has gone up to more than three crores constituting 95.5 per cent. And what is the limit sanctioned for them? It is 20.4 per cent Rs. 9,729 crores.

Now those who have borrowed Rs. 50 lakhs and above, they constitute not even a fraction of one per cent of the total number of borrowers. Same is the case of the people who have borrowed more than Rs. 1 crores each, but they usurped to the extent of 43.2 per cent and 35.6 per cent of the total loans sanctioned by the banks. Has there been any change between June 1982 and June 1986? Still we find that people who borrowed more than one crore of rupees constitute 35.4 per cent of the total credit granted by the banking industry. What does it indicate?

In September 1987 the percentage in number of rural branches was 55.5. Advances given through them amounted to Rs. 10,359 crores out of the total of Rs. 68,000 crores. Lots of crocodile tears have been shed in the House for the rural poor, but the banking institutions which have been owned by the Government with the

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policies made by them give hardly 15 per cent to the vast rural populace. With all the policy that you have been talking about the rural poor how much benefit are you giving to the poorer sections of our country? Does it show an indication?

Come to the other part of it. How much imbalance has been created? Now what is the credit-deposit ratio? The National credit-deposit ratio comes to about 61.5 per cent. Very recently Haryana has achieved near-about 60 per cent. The moment we shift to the northern part, Jammu and Kashmir has 40 per cent, but the national average is more than 60 per cent. The credit granted in relation to the deposits to the people of Jammu and Kashmir is to the extent of 40 per cent. In the case of Punjab, it is 44 per cent. In Assam it is 50.6 per cent and in Mizoram, the new State, which requires more improvement it is 25.5 per cent. In Sikkim it is 28.8 per cent. A lot of talks had been going on a little earlier about Bihar. It is 37.4 per cent of the National Average of 60 per cent credit-deposit ratio. And in the State I come from—West Bengal—it is 51.4 per cent. In Uttar Pradesh, 43 per cent of the total deposits collected from that State has gone by way of advances to the people of that State. But when you come to Maharashtra, it is 76.3 per cent. If you go further South, in Andhra it is 80 per cent and in Karnataka it is 92 per cent, in Kerala it is 63 per cent, and in Tamil Nadu it is 95 per cent. What does this indicate? When the banks were in private hands, at that time you might say that they were owned by individual industrialists and they could play in their own way and in their own interest. Now, the entire banking industry is owned by the Government. What should be the policy of the Government for credit dispersal? It is bound to be for balanced economic growth of all parts of the country, irrespective of a particular region or the other. Has that been done? There has been a phenomenal

growth in the banking industry's deposits. It is nothing but a reflection of the inflationary situation by virtue of, or shall I call vice, of the Central policies. Regional imbalances in credit distribution have so much widened that apart from other consideration this too has contributed to so much distortions that it has helped sowing the seeds of regionalism and psychological conflict between the people of one State and another. Should we allow it to continue? We changed over from private hands to public hands naturally with the expectation that it will do away with the concentration of funds in the few areas and that there will be a balanced growth of all regions. This has been completely belied. Not only that the policies have led to cornering of bank deposits by a few hundred big industrialists. There are about 359 industrialists who having Rs. 1 crore borrowing have made so many crores of rupees. The policy is aiming at cornering of bank resources by a few hundred big industrialists and big businesses with a positive determined patronage by the policy-makers in the North Block to them and a steady and systematic assistance to the monopolists. Figures show that and the figures are not compiled by me but taken from the Reserve Bank of India publications whether the Finance Ministry accepts the Reserve Bank of India advices and figures as correct or rejects them as its own manipulations. There is corruption galore.

Banking industry has to be brought under public accountability within the purview of Parliament. Why not? Why should there be a privilege to this industry to work in its own way? We do not have any way of scrutinising the way of operations of banks. Why should they not be brought under public accountability?

Then comes the question of management of individual banks. There are several banks where the top executives, the Chairmen and Managing Directors, are holding offices not only on a month-to-month basis but even

as day-to-day casual labour. Even in Delhi we have an office of a nationalised bank where the Chairman is working as day-to-day labour, getting extension every day. I mean the Punjab and Sind Bank. Despite criminal cases against such persons, some of these Chairmen are allowed to continue. They seem to be more interested in the propaganda machinery. 'Sab teek hai.' We are progressing on all fronts the Ministry says instead of discharging the responsibilities expected of the Government so far as the management of finance is concerned. In most banks industrial relations are severely bad. Good industrial relations so much essential for fulfilling the task towards customers are polluted every now and then by attacks on the employees. Canara Bank, Punjab and Sind Bank, United Bank, Indian Bank, Bank of Baroda, Federal Bank and a host of them—I am not naming each of them. Unwarranted mass transfers of employees are done only to cause embarrassment. My Secretary has been transferred to a place 36 Kms. away from Delhi for no good reason and this has happened in most of the banks in various parts of the country. Victimisation of trade union activists has become a routine. All these are resulting in unnecessary conflicts and confrontations. Is it desirable? Added to these is the gimmick of loan melas. Bank deposits are public money. Most depositors are small people. Big people do not keep money deposited with banks. They borrow others' money. That money is squandered. Without going through the normal process of scrutiny, loan applications are distributed from offices of the party on the opposite side who are ruling. There is no verification of the borrower's identity. We are all for bank loans to small people. But who are getting them? Such people are gathered and incited against bank officers and staff. The result was the murder of a bank officer in Madras last year or the year before last year. He was murdered because he said, "Unless I am given the opportunity to scrutinise the application, I will be subjected to disc-

pline for granting loans to persons not identified." This is the position.

Then there is the question of wage negotiations on a national level. Bankers' associations will negotiate only with two unions although there are five. Two unions and an appendage, a small union called the Indian National Bank Employees' Federation, excluding major organization, the Bank Employees' Federation of India. In most other industrial establishments, all apex level trade unions participate. But in the banking industry, there is a positive discrimination leading to wide-spread strikes in protest against bankers' stance and the on-looking attitude of the Ministry whose Appropriation Bill we are discussing now. Does not the Government have a responsibility? Should the Finance Ministry and the Labour Ministry or should the Government remain callous and allow that confrontation and conflict in the banking industry to continue to the detriment of customer service in which we are increased? On all accounts therefore, we find whether it is industry, agriculture, employment, taxation, economic development. Centre-State apportionment of tax revenues these Budget proposals and the Bill have failed to meet the needs of the circumstances. Who have hailed the Budget? Here I have the press cuttings with me. The FICCI—the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Associated Chambers of Commerce, the Federation of Engineering Industries, Engineering Export Promotion Council, all the share markets, they have welcomed it because the Minister has conceded their major demands—investment allowance 100 per cent, exemption for export profits. One does not know whether the profits will be returned and deposited in our country or they will be something like we have been discussing in the earlier part of the Session, deposited in Swiss Banks. Reliance has declared an interim dividend of 30 per cent on textiles, Kesoram 23.5 per cent Escorts 22 per cent

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and so on. But what about price control? If 14 essential commodities used by the common man are supplied through the public distribution system, it can be done, the prices can be controlled. How much subsidy is needed for that? A thousand crores of rupees or so. How many multiples of thousand crore rupees are you giving by way of subsidy to the big business of our country who flourish individually and as groups at the cost of national economy, at the cost of people's interests? How much concession has been given to the monopolists, the multinationals? When it comes to raising the exemption limit for the fixed income groups to Rs. 25,000, so much opposition was made by the Government. The Minister said 'If the costs go up, I am making some adjustment here and there by raising the standard deduction from by raising the standard deduction from make it Rs. 25,000 for salary-earners as the limit for exemption?

With this I am concluding now. Thank you for the time given to me. *Garibi hatao* has led to *garibi badhao*. Now another slogan has come, *bekari hatao*, while Plans are made to squeeze job opportunities and increase *bekari*. Thus, on all accounts this Budget does not have any direction to motivate people, common people. It is meant to subserve monopolists, big business, blackmarketeers, the kings of black money. We cannot but record our strong disagreement. Perhaps the time is ripe to substitute the slogans of *garibi hatao* and *bekari hatao* by the all-important slogan of the day, *yeh sarkar hatao*.

We oppose this Bill.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): I have to inform Members that the Minister of Health will make a *suo motu* statement at 4 pm today regarding the death of Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker.

Now Shri Kalpnath Rai.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri B. Satyanarayan Reddy) in the Chair]

श्री कल्पनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री द्वारा प्रस्तुत विनियोग (संख्यांक 2) विधेयक, 1988 का समर्थन करता हूँ। महोदय, भारत की संचित निधि में से, अनुसूची के स्तम्भ 3 विनिर्दिष्ट राशियों से अतिरिक्त वे राशियाँ जिनका कुल योग, जिसमें विनियोग लेखानुदान अधिनियम, 1988 की अनुसूची में स्तम्भ 3 में विनिर्दिष्ट राशियाँ सम्मिलित हैं, 22 खरब, 56 अरब, 8 करोड़, 55 लाख रुपये स्वीकृत करने के संबंध में यह विधेयक प्रस्तुत किया गया है।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार ने अपने बजट में प्रति वर्ष ऋण को प्राथमिकता दी है। हमारी सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना 1985-90 का मध्यावधि मल्यांकन हमारे सामने है जिसमें कहा गया है कि :

'सातवीं योजना के प्रारम्भ में यह अनुमान लगाया गया था कि ग्रामीण भारत में 222 मिलियन लोग और शहरी क्षेत्रों में 50.5 मिलियन लोग गरीबी रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं। प्रतिशत के हिसाब से 1984-85 में ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में गरीबी का अनुपात 9.9 प्रतिशत और शहरी क्षेत्रों में 27.7 प्रतिशत था। सातवीं योजना का लक्ष्य सातवीं योजना अवधि में गरीबी के अनुपात को औसतन 36.9 प्रतिशत से नीचे 25.8 प्रतिशत तक लाना था। ऐसी आशा की जाती है कि सामान्य आर्थिक संवर्द्धि प्रक्रिया से ही काफी हद तक गरीबी दूर करने में योगदान मिलेगा। तथापि यह स्वीकार किया गया कि गरीबी पर अपेक्षित प्रहार करने के लिए कुछ विशेष कार्यक्रमों की आवश्यकता होगी। अधिकांश गरीब लोग क्योंकि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में रहते हैं। इसलिए कार्यक्रमों को अधिकांशतः ग्रामीण गरीबों की ओर संकेन्द्रित करना था। गरीबी पर संवर्द्धि का सकारात्मक प्रभाव शहरी क्षेत्रों में

अनुमानतः अधिक था। तथापि सातवी योजना के दूसरे वर्ष में शहरी गरीबों के स्वरोजगार नामक एक नया कार्यक्रम (सेप-अप) भी आरम्भ किया गया।

ग्रामीण गरीबों में अधिकांश लोग भूमिहीन, मजदूरी और छोटे होते हैं और अन्य मजदूरी कामगार होते हैं। ग्रामीण गरीबी को कम करने के लिए तीन मोटे नीति विकल्प अपनाए गए हैं। पहला यह कि गरीबों की परिसम्पत्ति को बढ़ाने के लिए किए गए हैं और बेहतर उत्पादक परिसम्पत्तियों के सौजन के हाल ही के कार्यों में सहायता के विशेष कार्यक्रम आरम्भ किए गए हैं। दूसरा उपाय यह है कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में कृषिक और गैर कृषिक कार्यक्रमों में रोजगार के विस्तार के जरिये मजदूरी आय में वृद्धि करने के प्रयास किए गए हैं और सम्पूर्ण रोजगार देने के लिए विशेष रोजगार सृजन कार्यक्रम आरम्भ किये गये हैं। तीसरा उपाय यह है कि न्यूनतम आवश्यकता कार्यक्रम (एमएनपी) जैसे अन्य कार्यक्रमों के जरिये शिक्षा और जैसे स्वास्थ्य जैसी महत्वपूर्ण सेवाओं पर गरीबों की पहुंच को बेहतर बनाने का प्रावधान रखा गया है। इसके अतिरिक्त कीमतों में वृद्धि के कारण गरीब लोगों की वास्तविक आय पर प्रहार को कम करने के लिए प्रयास किये गये हैं। यह सुनिश्चित किया गया है कि गरीब लोगों को खाद्यान्न अन्य जरूरी सार्वजनिक वितरण प्रणाली के जरिये मिलें। इसके अतिरिक्त अनुसूचित जातियों और अनुसूचित जनजातियों के और महिलाओं जैसे विशेष तौर पर सुविधा-विहीन ग्रुपों के लिए जीवन को बेहतर बनाने के लिए विशेष कार्यक्रम विकसित किये गये हैं। कुछ में संवर्द्ध और पुनर्वितरण के जरिये गरीबों के आय स्तर को बढ़ा कर और गरीब और कमजोर वर्गों के लिए विशेषकर गांवों में आय और रोजगार सृजन के विशेष कार्यक्रमों के जरिये विवरण वितरण देने का प्रयास किया गया है। इन कार्यक्रमों पर जिनमें अधिकांश कुछ समय से चल रहे हैं सातवी योजना में नवीनीकृत बल दिया गया है और इनका विस्तार किया गया है। सातवी योजना के पिछले तीन

वर्षों में समग्र वृद्धि और विशेष कार्यक्रमों के प्रभाव का विश्लेषण अपेक्षित आंकड़े मिलने पर ही किया जा सकता है परन्तु ग्रामीण भारत में परिसम्पत्तियों के वितरण और रोजगार स्थिति का अपेक्षा त दीर्घावधि प्रवृत्तियों का कुछ साक्ष्य पिछले कुछ वर्षों में उपलब्ध हो गया है और यहां पर इन प्रवृत्तियों को नोट करना लाभदायक होगा क्योंकि यह उभरती हुई स्थितियों में इन कार्यक्रमों की उपयुक्तता और प्रभावकारिता का मूल्यांकन करने में सहायक हो सकते हैं और यदि आवश्यकता हो तो इन कार्यक्रमों का पूर्वाभिमुखीकरण भी किया जा सकता है।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्रामीण इलाकों में आई० आर० डी० पी० एन० आर० ई० पी० और आर० एल० ई० जी० पी० यह तीन कार्यक्रम जो सरकार ने चलाए वे गरीबी हटाओ की दिशा में एक ठोस कार्यक्रम हैं। स्वतः ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना के माध्यम से गांवों में काम हो रहे हैं आर० एल० ई० जी० पी० के माध्यम से काम हो रहे हैं गरीब वर्ग के लोगों को ग्रामीण रोजगार योजना के अन्तर्गत भी करोड़ों अरबों रुपये खर्च कर के उनको तरह तरह के साधन दिये जा रहे हैं और वहां इन योजनाओं के द्वारा गरीबी हटाओ कार्यक्रम तेजी से हो रहा है लेकिन आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं साफ कहना चाहता हू कि हिन्दुस्तान में गरीबी की समस्या अभी हल हो सकती है जब जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण हो यानी सरकार जग जनसंख्या पर नियन्त्रण के कारगर उपाय करेगी तभी यह समस्या हल होगी। सारे विकास के शिशु को हमारी जनसंख्या के राक्षस ने दबोच लिया है। जो भी देश में विकास हो रहा है वह विकास नजर नहीं आएगा। जनसंख्या को कंट्रोल करने के लिए सरकार ने कोई ठोस समयबद्ध कदम नहीं उठाया। जनसंख्या कंट्रोल एक राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर तय किया जाना चाहिये सरकारी पार्टी के प्रधानमंत्री राजीव गांधी को हिन्दुस्तान के सभी विरोधी दलों को भी सम्प्रदाय के लोगों को सभी धर्मों के मानने वालों को सभी जो समाज के अन्दर कारगर संस्थाएं हैं। उनको एक गोलमेज कांफ्रेंस

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

बुलानी चा हूए और उसके माध्यम से एक राष्ट्रीय मतेक्य की नीति बनाकर इस जनसंख्या कंट्रोल और पापूलेशन कंट्रोल के लिए ठोस और समयबद्ध कदम उठाने चाहिए। अगर सरकार ने जनसंख्या को कंट्रोल करने की दिशा में कदम नहीं उठाया तो चाहे जितनी भी योजनाएं आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना, नवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना हम लायेंगे फिर भी हम देश की समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर पायेंगे। यह एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल है। इस मुल्क के सभी वर्गों ने आजादी की लड़ाई मिलजुलकर लड़ी और देश को आजाद किया उसी तरह से जनसंख्या कंट्रोल को राष्ट्रीय मतेक्य के आधार पर किया जाना चाहिए अन्यथा जो भी विकास का काम होगा वह दिखाई ही देगा।

हमारे विरोधी दल के एक नेता अभी विनियोग विधेयक पर बोल रहे थे। विकासशील देशों में हिन्दुस्तान एक ऐसा देश है जिसने भारी विकास किया है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया की छठी एटमिक पावर है, छठी स्पेस पावर है, दुनिया के चार मिसाइल देशों में से एक है। आज हिन्दुस्तान व रिमोट सेंसिंग सेटेलाइट बनाकर दुनिया में पांचवां स्थान प्राप्त किया है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया को आठवीं इंडस्ट्रियल पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का चौथा फटिलाइजर टेक्नालाजी जानने वाला देश है, तीसरा टेक्निकल नो हाउस पावर है, एक एग्री-कल्चर पावर भी आज हिन्दुस्तान बन चुका है। लेकिन इन सारी उपलब्धियों के बावजूद और सन् 1947 से 88 के बीच में इतना विकास करने के बावजूद अगर सरकार ने जनसंख्या पर कंट्रोल नहीं किया तथा कोई ठोस और समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम न बनाया तो विकास के इस शिशु को जनसंख्या का यह राक्षस दबोच लगा। मेरा सरकार से कहना है कि आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का जो मसविदा वह तैयार कर रही है जिसमें आर्थिक उत्पीड़न और सामाजिक उत्पीड़न की समाप्त करने की दिशा में ठोस कदम उठाये जाने वाले हैं उस आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में दो चीजों को प्राथमिकता मिलनी चाहिए

एक पावर जनरेशन या बिजली पैदा करने को और दूसरी प्रायोरिटी हमारी पापूलेशन कंट्रोल की होनी चाहिए। पापूलेशन कंट्रोल करना भारत के जीवन मरण का सवाल है। भारत के सरवाइवल

Whether India will survive or not.

हिन्दुस्तान का सवाल है। विरोधी दल के जो नेता या पार्टियां हैं उनको तो सरकार की हर बात की आलोचना करनी है। अभी बंगाल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सरकार है। 9 वर्षों से बंगाल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की हुकमत है मगर पावर जनरेशन के लिए ज्योति बसु की सरकार क्या कोई काम किया है? इस देश की बुनियादी दौलत पावर जनरेशन और इरीगेशन हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं की प्रायोरिटी है उस पर उन्होंने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। बंगाल में गरीबी जितनी पहले थी उतनी ही गरीबी आज भी है। बंगाल के अन्दर गरीबी बढ़ी है। ज्योति बसु की सरकार के दौरान कोई विकास का काम बंगाल में नहीं हुआ है, न पावर जनरेशन का काम हुआ है न इरीगेशन को बढ़ाने का काम हुआ है और किसी भी देश का विकास आज जितना पावर से होता है बिजली से होता है.... (व्यवधान)

SHRI ASHIS SEN: Should we not have the right to have a truthful statement being made instead of some populist tactics?... (Interruptions)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : उपलब्धता महोदय, मैंने तो यह कहा है कि किसी भी स्टेट सरकार की जो बुनियादी विकास के काम करने चाहिए वे काम ज्योति बसु की सरकार नहीं कर रही है पानी नम्बर वन पावर जनरेशन और दूसरा इरीगेशन इ. दोनों कामों पर ज्योति बसु की सरकार कुछ ही कर रही है।

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY (West Bengal): Don't take names. On that question you are mistaken. On the question of power generation... (Interruptions)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : एक तो ये कम्युनिस्ट हैं ।

श्री गुलाम रसूल मट्टू : कम्युनिस्ट हाना गुनाह है क्या ?

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : दूसरा अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं । इनका भारत की जनता से क्या रिश्ता ? जब देश में आजादी की लड़ाई थी 1944 (व्यवधान) ये कम्युनिस्ट तो मानसिक रूप से विचौलिये होते हैं ।

They are intellectual bankrupts. (Interruptions)

यह मानसिक रूप से दिवालिये लोगों की पार्टी है ।

SHRI ASHIS SEN: He has no right to talk about my party and about our programmes.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय हिन्दुस्तान की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का क्या है 1944 में खालिस्तान बनने का इन्होंने प्रस्ताव पास किया, 1942 में पाकिस्तान बनने का समर्थन किया, आजादी की लड़ाई में नेहरू और गांधी का विरोध किया और कांग्रेस पार्टी का विरोध किया । यह तो वही काम करेंगे और 1944 में खालिस्तान बनने का प्रस्ताव कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की पोलिट ब्यूरो ने किया था । यह है इनका तौर-तरीका और 1942 में पाकिस्तान बनने का समर्थन किया । आज 8 वर्षों से इनकी सरकार बनी है जनता के हित में ज्योति बसु (व्यवधान)

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): I am on a point of order, Sir. During the discussion on the Appropriation Bill, what is the relevance of bringing in the Communist Party, the Marxist Party, Mr. Jyoti Basu and all that? Is it relevant to the discussion?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Please confine yourself to the subject.

और विषय पर बोलिए

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं विनियोग विधेयक के माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि 8 वर्ष से बंगाल में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सरकार है । (व्यवधान)

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY: The West Bengal Government has produced a zero budget whereas you could not.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय जब यह विनियोग विधेयक पर बोल रहे थे तो इन्होंने यह कहा कि कांग्रेस की सरकार मोनोपली हाउसेज की मल्टी नेशनलज की क्यूडलज की सरकार है और इस सरकार ने गरीबी हटाओ के लिये कोई काम नहीं किया है । तो मेरा यह धर्म है कि मैं आपका जवाब दूँ । कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी मार-काट, खून-कत्ल की सरकार है । इसका विकास से कोई मतलब नहीं है, इसका गरीबी हटाने से कोई मतलब नहीं है, इसका बेकारी हटाने से कोई मतलब नहीं है, राष्ट्रीयता की चिंता का इनके सामने कोई सवाल नहीं है । इसीलिये मैंने कहा है कि सरकार जो सब से बड़ी सरकार बनी है ज्योति बसु की किसी भी देश लेकिन ने कहा है कि 'सोशलजम एंड पावर थ्रू साइडज आफ दी सेम कायन' अर्थात् बिजली ही समाजवाद है । बंगाल की सरकार ने पिछले 8 वर्षों में पावर जनरेशन के लिए हाइड्रो-इलेक्ट्रिक थर्मल पावर जनरेशन के लिए क्या किया है ? कोई भी काम पावर जनरेशन के लिए बंगाल की सरकार ने नहीं किया । 8 वर्षों में वहाँ गरीबी और बढ़ गई क्योंकि बिना पावर के बिना बिजली के न तो नहरें चल सकती हैं न टयूबवैल चल सकते हैं न उद्योग चल सकते हैं न कारखाने चल सकते हैं और न विलेज इंडस्ट्री चल सकती है । कोई काम बिना बिजली के नहीं हो सकता है । बिजली पैदा करने के काम में बंगाल की सरकार पीछे रही है और सबसे पीछे रही है यही मैं कह रहा हूँ । आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय जहाँ तक भारत सरकार का सवाल है हम कोई कम्युनिस्ट रेजिमेंटेशन में विश्वास नहीं करते । डेमोक्रेसी में विश्वास है हमारी

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले सेनानियों ने हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान में इंडिया इज ए डेमोक्रेटिक रिपब्लिक रखने का फैसला किया। 1976 में श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान में यह संशोधन किया कि "इंडिया विल बी डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट रिपब्लिक।" यह श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को धन्यवाद देना चाहिए कि उन लोगों ने हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान की प्रस्तावना में यह बात लिखवा दी कि "इंडिया विल बी ए डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट सेकुलर रिपब्लिक।" इसलिए हमने गरीबी हटाओ की दिशा में अपनी पूरी ताकत के अनुकूल काम किया है और यही कारण है कि हिन्दुस्तान विकासशील देशों के बीच एक शक्तिशाली देश के रूप में दुनिया के रंगमंच पर आया है। खाद्यान्न के मामले में आज हिन्दुस्तान आत्म-निर्भर है। हमने कृषि और औद्योगिक विकास के लिए इनफ्रास्ट्रक्चर को बिल्ड अप किया हमने कृषि के विकास के लिए काम किया। 1947 के पहले एक भूखा नंगा और कंगाल हिन्दुस्तान था। क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज भूखा है क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज नंगा है और क्या हिन्दुस्तान आज कंगाल है? हमने पिछले 40 वर्षों में जनतंत्र के माध्यम से समाजवाद और समाजवाद के माध्यम से जनतंत्र को प्रतिष्ठापित करने की कोशिश की है। जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ बंगला देश, पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान तीनों की आबादी 35 करोड़ थी। पर आज बंगला देश और पाकिस्तान को अलग कर दीजिए हिन्दुस्तान की जनसंख्या 78 करोड़ है और इस 78 करोड़ की जनसंख्या के सवाल को जनतांत्रिक तरीके से हल करना डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके से इन समस्याओं को हल करना कितना कठिन काम है। हम सामाजिक और आर्थिक उत्पीड़न दोनों को समाप्त करना चाहते हैं। हम साम्यवाद और पूंजीवाद की गुदगुदी गोदी से हट कर एक तीसरी दुनिया का निर्माण करना चाहते हैं जिसमें मन की आजादी के साथ पेट की भी आजादी हो। कम्युनिस्ट तो पेट की आजादी में विश्वास करते हैं

पर मन की आजादी कम्युनिज्म में नहीं है। अमरीकी कैपिटलिस्ट प्रणाली में मन की तो आजादी है पर पेट की आजादी की गारंटी नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर हमने मन की आजादी के साथ पेट की आजादी डेमोक्रेसी के साथ सोशलिज्म

...Socialism and democracy are the converse and the reverse of the same coin.

हमने फैसला किया है कि हम जनतांत्रिक तरीके से समाजवाद लायेंगे। हम समाजवाद को भी लायेंगे और डेमोक्रेसी को भी अपने देश में कायम रखेंगे। यह एक बहुत बड़ा बुनियादी सिद्धांत है हिन्दुस्तान के संविधान का—हमारी आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ने वाले सेनानियों का और उसी के आधार पर ही हमने प्रथम पंचवर्षीयकेयोजना द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना से लेकर सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के 35 वर्ष काल में हिन्दुस्तान ने शनःशनः विकास और तरक्की की है और भारत की जनता को ज्यादा से ज्यादा सुविधायें देने का सब काम हमने किया है। करोड़ों इनसानों को श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने एक फरमान जारी किया कि जिनके पास घर नहीं है बिना घर वालों को सरकार रहने के लिए जमीन देगी जिं का जमीन मिल जाएगी उनको घर बनाने के लिए तीन से पांच हजार रुपये तक लोन देगी किसानों को पन्द्रह रुपये मिनिमम मजदूरी हम देगे।

हिन्दुस्तान में 1976 तक दिल्ली की गद्दी पर बैठे किसी हुक्मरान ने भारत की करोड़ों-करोड़ सर्वहारा जनता को देश की बुनियाद में सझिदारी का हक नहीं दिया था। इन्दिरा गांधी हिन्दुस्तान की पहली नेता है जिन्होंने भारत की करोड़ों-करोड़ सर्वहारा जनता को भारत की मिलकीयत में, भारत की जमीन में हिस्सेदारी के सिद्धांत को स्वीकार किया और भूमिहीनों को भूमि, बिना घर वालों को घर और बैंकों के दरवाजे खोल दिये। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया, राजाओं की प्रिवी पर्स समाप्त किये, मुल्क से राजे-रजवाड़े समाप्त करवाये। बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जो बैंक मुट्ठी भर पूंजीपतियों के हाथ में सीमित थे। आज उनके दरवाजे

करोड़ करोड़ सर्वहारा जनता के लिए खुले हुए हैं, कोई भी व्यक्ति बैंक से पैसा लेकर अपनी रोजी रोटी अर्जित कर सकता है। यह बड़ा भारी कदम था। हमारे उस कदम के प्रति विरोध इन प्रतिक्रियावादी पार्टियों ने किया था—बी. के. डी. ने, भारतीय लोक दल ने, रेड्डी कांग्रेस ने, निजलिंगप्पा कांग्रेस ने और सारी विरोधी पार्टियों ने बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का पालियामेंट में विरोध किया था। एक-एक कदम डेमोक्रेसी के माध्यम से जब भी श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने उठाया, उसका उन्होंने विरोध किया। राजाओं के प्रिवी पर्स जब श्रीमती गांधी खत्म कर रही थी—ग्रबालिशन आफ दी प्रिवी पर्स, तब भी हिन्दुस्तान के ही विरोधी दलों ने उसका विरोध किया। एक-एक कदम का विरोध करना यही तो आपने सीखा है।

कोई आपने काम किया है, कोई आपकी सरकार ने काम किया है—मैं बंगाल के कम्युनिस्टों को चनौती देता हूँ काम बताओ कि तुमने हिन्दुस्तान की सर्वहारा जनता के हित में कौन सा कदम तुमने बंगाल में उठाया है? कौनसा काम आपने बंगाल में किया है?

कांग्रेस ने हिन्दुस्तान में जमींदारी को तोड़ा, कांग्रेस से बेगारी को खत्म किया, कांग्रेस ने किसानों को मौलिक अधिकार दिये, कांग्रेस ने हदबन्दी की, कांग्रेस की सरकारों ने मुल्क के अन्दर भूमि सुधार के कानून लागू किये, कांग्रेस की सरकार ने बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण किया, कांग्रेस की सरकार ने राजाओं के प्रिवी पर्स समाप्त किये, कांग्रेस की सरकार ने जनतंत्र को चालीस वर्षों तक कायम रख कर हरिजन, गिरिजन, आदिवासी सर्वहारा को भारत की सड़क में, असेम्बली में जाने का मौका दिया, जनतंत्र का विराट जला कर रखा, सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना के बीतते-बीतते भारत को एक शक्तिशाली देश के रूप में प्रतिष्ठापित किया—यह कांग्रेस की उपलब्धियाँ हैं, अगर आठ वर्ष की हुकूमत में कम्युनिस्टों ने बंगाल में कौन सा काम किया है, भारत की जनता जानना चाहती

है? अलावा इसके कि केन्द्र की सरकार की सरकार के साथ टकराव करने की कोशिश की, अलावा इसके कि हिन्दुस्तान को डिस्टेबलाइज करने में सहायता की। मैं पूछता हूँ कौन सा काम किया है?

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार की जो नीति है, जो इतने बड़े सूखे के बावजूद भारत की अर्थव्यवस्था ने एक भी व्यक्ति को मरने नहीं दिया, इसके लिए मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ।

अन्त में, सरकार से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में वृषि के विकास के लिए, खेती के विकास के लिए आज भी 30 प्रतिशत जमीन पर ही सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की पूरी खेती योग्य जमीन पर सिंचाई की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। सरकार इसके लिए प्रयत्न करे। इसके साथ ही इस समय हिन्दुस्तान में 45,000 मेगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन हो रहा है, सन् 1947 में जब देश आजाद हुआ था उस समय यह उत्पादन 6,000 मेगावाट था, मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में हायड्रेस्ट प्रायरेटी बिजली, पावर जनरेशन को दे और दूसरी प्राथमिकता सिंचाई को दे कि हिन्दुस्तान की पूरी जमीन को एरीगेट करेंगे। मैं तो यहाँ फिर कहूँगा कि आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में पावर जनरेशन को टोप-प्रायरेटी दी जाय वहीं एरीगेशन के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान की हर जमीन पर पानी पहुंचाने की सरकार गारंटी दे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि सन् 1956 में इण्डस्ट्री कमीशन को जवाहर लाल जी ने पालियामेंट के माध्यम से पास करवाया था। हम सरकार से चाहते हैं कि आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना का जो मसविदा सरकार बनाए उसमें पावर जनरेशन का लक्ष्य जो इस समय 25 हजार मेगावाट है इसे 90 हजार मेगावाट का रख, यह पहला उद्देश्य हो और दूसरा उद्देश्य यह हो कि हिन्दुस्तान की 30

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

प्रतिशत जमीन पर जो आज सिचाई हो रही है वह 100 प्रतिशत हो जाय ताकि इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में जाने से पहले हम अपनी पूरी जमीन जहां खेती होती है उसे एरीगेट कर सकें। क्या सरकार ने यह पावर जतरेशन और एरी-गेशन के दो बड़े काम किए और तीसरा काम पापुलेशन कंट्रोल के लिए ठोस और समयबद्ध कदम उठाए और राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य को स्थापित करने की कोशिश का तो निश्चित ही भारत एक शक्तिशाली, सम्पन्न और मजबूत होकर इक्कीसवीं शताब्दी में प्रवेश करेगा। हमें विश्वास है कि हमारी सरकार कृषि को प्राथमिकता देगी क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान कृषिवादी रूप से पिछड़ा-प्रधान देश है। यूरोप का विकास इंडस्ट्रलाइजेशन के कारण, शहरीकरण और औद्योगीकरण के कारण हुआ। यह सोलहवीं शताब्दी में यूरोप का विकास हुआ था। यूरोप की पूरी सम्पत्ता, पूरी संस्कृति, यूरोप का विकास, यूरोप का पूंजीवाद यूरोप का साम्यवाद, यह सब जो है इंडस्ट्रलाइजेशन और शहरीकरण के कारण हुआ। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का विकास पि के माध्यम से होगा क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान सात लाख गांवों का देश है, पि इस देश की सबसे बड़ी संपत्ति है, पि का विकास ही गांव का, देश का विकास है और इसीलिए महात्मा गांधी जी ने आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान ग्राम-स्वराज्य और ग्राम-स्वावलंबन की बात की थी।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्य महोदय, आखरी बात कहकर खत्म करूंगा। अभी राजीव गांधी जी ने शिमला में यह कहा है कि प्लानिंग डिस्ट्रिक्टलेवल से करेंगे क्योंकि यह जानना जरूरी है कि हर क्षेत्र की क्या आवश्यकताएं हैं, वहां कौसी समस्याएं हैं, कैसे हल होंगी। इसलिए डिस्ट्रिक्ट के माध्यम से, सेंट्रलाइज्ड प्लानिंग न कर, डीसेंट्रलाइज्ड प्लानिंग के माध्यम से देश का चतुर्दिक और सर्वांगीण विकास खोजने की कशिश करेंगे। इस संबंध में मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि डीसेंट्रलाइज

प्लानिंग सरकार को करनी है, तो जैसे पार्लियामेंट और असेंबली के इलेक्शन पांच साल में अनिवार्य रूप से होते हैं वैसे ही जिला परिषदों और गांव पंचायतों का चुनाव भी सरकार के स्टेट्यूटरी कानून के अन्दर होने चाहिए। सरकार को भारत के संविधान के अन्दर परिवर्तन करना चाहिए और यह संशोधन लाना चाहिए कि जिला-परिषदों के चुनाव, गांव सभाओं के चुनाव पांच साल के अन्दर हों तथा पंचायत स्तर पर समितियां चुनी जाएंगी, जिला परिषद की समितियां चुनी जाएंगी ताकि जनता के चुने हुए प्रतिनिधि अपने क्षेत्र के विकास के संबंध में सही चर्चा कर सकें और चाख-भा राष्ट्रीय के आधार पर एक प्रांत की चुनी हुई समिति, एक जिले की चुनी हुई समिति, एक गांव की चुनी हुई समिति के माध्यम से, एक डिसेंट्रलाइज्ड प्लानिंग के माध्यम से, एक विकेंद्रित नियोजन के माध्यम से हम अपने मुल्क का चतुर्मुखी और वैसंगीण विकास कर पाएंगे और आजादी की लड़ाई के अतीत को सामर रखकर, आजादी की लड़ाई के उद्देश्यों को सामने रखकर, बापू के ग्राम स्वराज्य और ग्राम स्वावलंबन के उद्देश्यों को सामने रखकर हम भविष्य में सुनहरे भारत का निर्माण कर सकेंगे ताकि हम आजादी की लड़ाई के उद्देश्यों को हासिल कर सकें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after the invigorating speech by Shri Kalpnath Rai, my speaking on economic issues may appear a little dull. But Sir, it is the Appropriation Bill and it deals with withdrawals from the Consolidated Fund of India. It is also an opportunity for some of us to speak about the general problems of the economy which, one had hoped, the Budget would attempt to solve or mitigate.

Shri Kalpnath Rai referred to the remarks made by the Prime Minister in Simla yesterday. But he did not refer to one portion which, in my opinion, is very disturbing. The Prime

Minister said that the Planning Commission people have been supplying to him false data, that all the statistics that have been given to him are cooked up and that he has no faith in them. Therefore, how do I know that the data now being presented to us by the hon. Minister are not themselves false, are not themselves cooked up? Indeed, Sir, if you look deeper into these statistics and try to co-ordinate the various scraps of information available, you will find that the economic situation is very grave; quite contrary to the stand taken by the Government while presenting the Budget in the Lok Sabha.

The most important thing which we have to realise is that Budgets themselves have lost their meaning to Parliament. It was a great document once upon a time. It was an annual statement indicating what the Government was going to do for the year and it also contained various proposals in regard to what the Government intended to do to deal with the ills in the economy. But what do we find now? In recent years, we have observed a disturbing trend. Taxes are being imposed before the Budget is presented; in fact, even two weeks before the Budget is presented. For example, this time, there was rise in the price of petrol, rise in the prices of a whole lot of consumer goods, increase in the administered prices of steel etc. These increase are announced just two weeks, four weeks, before the Budget is presented to Parliament. In other words, the Budget itself has lost its great value because it is no more an annual statement from which you can find out what the Government intends to do for the year.

Secondly, Sir, Government has been bringing out Supplementary Budgets. This year's Budget has been presented. We do not know how many Supplementary Budgets will come. We do not know what is going to happen. Last year, in August, they brought the

first Supplementary Budget and extracted Rs. 688 crores. Then, they brought another Supplementary Budget in November, 1987, and extracted Rs. 1,780 crores. Finally—this was the biggest surprise—in the first week of March, when the financial year was going to end on the 31st of March, they brought the third Supplementary Budget and extracted Rs. 3,669 crores. In one year, in addition to the General Budget, they brought three Supplementary Budgets. Therefore, the question arises, what is the meaning of the Budget, what is the meaning of the Appropriation Bill, if this is the way you are going to handle the finances of the country?

Sir, the most important thing, in my opinion, is that there should be only one Budget. This should not be brought in March. This is an English month's contribution. We should bring it just after Diwali time, around November. It should be sent to Select Committees for about three months, discussed fully and then brought back to the Parliament in the form of final proposal. This secrecy which is associated with the budget is totally uncalled for. These are all colonial government's legacy which the Congress Government is jealously guarding and pursuing.

What I would say, therefore, is not so much on the budget because the budget is a meaningless document today. I would argue about the current problems that the economy is facing and what we can do about it. First of all, let us accept that the most serious problem today in the country is the accelerated inflation. Statistics have not been presented in the Finance Minister's speech in Lok Sabha, they have not been presented in any other document given to us, they are available in the Economic Survey. If you look at the Economic Survey, this is what the correct position is. In the wholesale price index if you look for primary commodities the inflation rate was 2.1 per cent in 1985-86 in 1986-87 it went up to 5.7 per cent, the increase

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was 5.7 per cent and in 1987-88, up till March, the inflation rate was 12.1 per cent in primary commodities—primary commodities what the ordinary people buy.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): What was the position in 1979-80?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Then it will become a big thesis. I may tell you, in 1979-80 it was minus and the price of sugar was Rs. 2 per kg. Today, you tell us what the price is. The price of oil was only Rs. 7 a kg., what is the price today? The prices of gold at that time was Rs. 750 per ten grams, tell me, what is the price today? The price of ghee, the price of tomato... (Interruptions). In the 1977-80 period, if you take the whole three-year period, the rate of inflation is much less than the 11 years of Mrs. Gandhi and three years of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Here I am trying to draw the attention of the hon. House to this galloping nature of inflation, the acceleration, i.e., 2.1 per cent, 5.7 per cent, 12.1 per cent. And the impact of this inflation is hardest on the poor people. For example, if you look at the rate of growth of inflation for industrial worker for the last year, it is 9.2 per cent. If you look at the rate of inflation for urban non-manual worker, so-called white-collar worker, it is 9.4 per cent and if you look at the rate of inflation for agricultural landless labour, it is 14.3 per cent. In other words, the differential impact of this accelerated inflation is hardest on the poorest people of the country. Mr. Kalpnath Rai was talking so much about the poor people and the concern of the Congress Party for them, but here the statistics show that the hardest hit are the landless people and the ordinary working class. Therefore, there is great unrest in the country. When they will hold elections is not known, they will find out a way to postpone them. I hope they will hold elections on schedule, and in a proper way. I hope they will learn the lesson early and they will hold the

elections as early as possible. But on some pretext they would postpone elections. On the false excuse of Ramzan they got the elections postponed. No Muslim wants any normal activity to be postponed in Ramzan, but this Government has utilized this for postponing the elections. Only when they hold elections they would know the impact of inflation on the poor man.

The second problem is the debt trap that the country is facing. Nobody knows about it because this sounds like a technical word but this Government is going bankrupt. The rate at which they are taking loans from the market and the interest they have to pay on the loans that they have already taken, it has reached such a situation that if it continues like this, by 1990 the amount of market loans that will be taken will be equal to the interest and the principal that they have to pay back. This is what is called a debt trap. The situation has reached a serious level. Already it has reached a situation where you are paying almost 75 per cent of the loan that you are taking, back as interest and principal. If this rate continues, in 1990 there will be a situation where the amount of the loan you are taking will be equal to the interest payment and principal payment.

Same is the situation on foreign loans. In foreign loans also, we find that today it is a sad commentary on the economy of this country that whereas all over the world, the value of dollar with respect to other currencies—for example, dollar vis-a-vis pound, vis-a-vis frank, dollar vis-a-vis yen, dollar vis-a-vis deutschmark and vis-a-vis all currencies of the world—is coming down, India is the only country of the world where the value of dollar vis-a-vis rupee is going up. On January 1, 1980, the rupee-dollar exchange rate was eight rupees to a dollar. Today it is Rs. 13.20. When Shri Rajiv Gandhi took over as Prime Minister, the rupee-dollar rate was Rs. 11, today it is Rs. 13.20. Now why is it that while in the whole world, dollar is going down in value,

in India the rupee-dollar rate is going up? That is, the value of dollar is going up. This is because our rupee is losing value as the economy is getting weaker and there are a lot of people who are getting commissions and using the rupee to trade in the black market in Singapore and other places and therefore there is a surplus of rupees outside the country. That is why this paradoxical situation is taking place. We have reached a debt trap there also. Five years ago, the debt-service ratio, which is the amount of year export earnings that you are using to pay back your foreign loans, was only 7 per cent. That is, out of every one dollar you earned, seven cents was what you paid back as interest payment. Today it has reached 30 cents—i.e. 30 per cent of your export earnings you are paying back as interest payment. That way, you will have very little money to do anything else. So there is an external debt trap squeeze; there is an internal debt trap squeeze; and the economy is going bankrupt. These are some of the facts that are being hidden and are not being brought out.

Along with this, the third most important problem is that the poverty of farmers is growing. We see today big agitations of farmers in Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra. These are very very serious agitations. What is the factual situation? Today the Minister of Agriculture, Shri Bhajan Lal, came and made a statement that the procurement prices of such and such crops have all been raised. I want to ask a simple fact. Last year, the Government imported wheat from the United States and some other foreign countries. What is the rate you paid to the American farmer for wheat? You paid Rs. 240 per quintal. But the Indian farmer was paid Rs. 160 per quintal.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: No. Rs. 173.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Now it is Rs. 173. But at that time it was Rs. 160. At that time you paid the American farmer Rs. 240 per quintal,

but the Indian farmer was paid only Rs. 160 per quintal. Why is it so? If you pay today the Indian farmer Rs. 200 per quintal, you will have a glut in the market in the sense that the farmer will produce so much, he will be so happy, his debts will be liquidated and you will have plenty of wheat produced. Then what about the cost of production? They have raised the price of fertiliser. Some concession allegedly was given for fertilisers in the Budget, but that has all been taken away by the fertiliser companies.

SHRI KAPLNATH RAI: How?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Because they are not passing it on. What has happened is that in this country fertilizer prices have been steadily going up and, consequently, you have a glut of fertilizers in the country today. Farmers are not picking up fertilizer. You are supposed to make fertilizer, water and electricity easily available to more and more of the poorer sections. That was the meaning of Green Revolution. You start at the top, no harm, but then it must start spreading, it must be more and more accessible. Now the situation is that those farmers who were prosperous during the Green Revolution, today they are not able to afford things, they are not able to get what they are supposed to get. Here, directly it is the responsibility of the Finance Ministry because they control the excise, they control the taxes. They can do that. In fact, during the Janata Government—Sir, you are familiar—we brought down fertilizer prices; we brought down the prices of naphtha to Rs. 75. And today, how much is it? So there are ways to do it, but they have not done it. It is a fact that today the poverty in the rural areas is growing and all statistics point to it. They may say that no starvation deaths are taking place but at least I can't take satisfaction with that.

India can produce much more. On one hectare of land, the amount of rice we produce, China produces three times

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as much, Japan produces five times as much. On one piece of land the amount of cotton we produce, Egypt produces seven times as much. Why is it that we are not able to produce more? On the contrary, India has been gifted by God for 12 months of agriculture. In the United States you cannot do agriculture for five months because there is heavy snow; same thing with the Soviet Union, same thing with Japan. But in India you can do agriculture for 12 months of the year and yet, only 25 to 30 per cent of the land grows more than one crop. Who is responsible for this? It is the taxation policies of the Government, it is the incentive policies of the Government which have brought about a situation where the poor farmers are not able to afford modern technology. Therefore, the question is, what is it that has to be done?

The root cause is what Mahatma Gandhi long time back warned and what, later on, many thinkers, particularly Chaudhuri Charan Singh, had written books on, the Janata Party, in its manifesto, had warned about and adopted a policy—which Mr. Kalpnath Rai, in passing, referred to—that you must have decentralized planning. Where is decentralized planning today? He said you must have it. The whole economic strategy of Jawaharlal Nehru was centralized planning, heavy industrial orientation—and copied from the Soviet Union. Today the Soviet Union is having Glasnost and Perestroika; they are making changes. The Chinese have gone in a big way for reform. In those countries, centralized planning, heavy industrial strategy, all has been given up. But these people even today, in the Five-Year Plan document, in the Seventh Five-Year Plan—I don't know about the Eighth Five-Year Plan; they are not going to be around to implement it...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: The Janata Government had no Plan.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Janata Government had the right Plan.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: Rolling, rolling, rolling!

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It was supposed to be rolled, you must understand... (Interruptions)... To steamroll you!

So, the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and Chaudhuri Charan Singh, these are all of one strand. And what is that? Decentralized, small industrial orientation... (Interruptions)...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): How dare he compare the Janata Government with our Government? They ruled only for two and a half years and they fought among themselves... (Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): What he says is that in those two and a half years they had done much more work than you did.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: If the Janata Government had been there for 40 years, we would have been a developed country by today. Today, because of you we are an under developed country... (Interruptions)...

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: What did you do in two and a half years? ... (Interruptions) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: We brought you back!

(Interruptions)

You thank us for it. Next time we are not going to do it for you.

Therefore, the key question is that we have to come to terms with that. This centralised heavy industrial Nehru type planning will only produce unemployment because of heavy industrial strategy, and it will produce poverty and it will develop urban

areas only. It cannot develop rural areas. Therefore, what we need is a decentralised, rural-based economy that was advocated by Mahatma Gandhi and developed by Chaudhury Charan Singh. That is essentially what we have been working for. It is only though that that we can bring about efficiency in the use of our resources.

Sir, today there are 214 public sector undertakings in which there are Rs. 60,000 crores of Indian people's money as investment. The total profit earned is only 3.5 per cent. If you put money in a fixed deposit account in a bank today, you can get 10 per cent interest. After putting Rs. 60,000 crores they have managed to get only 3.5 per cent return. This is a very very scandalous waste of resources. Why is it so? They say, public sector is not supposed to make profit. Who says, it is not supposed to make profit? First of all, what is your efficiency? There are power units in the public sector, and there are power units in the private sector. If the private sector can have 95 per cent efficiency, why can the public sector not have 98 per cent efficiency? I am not saying that the private sector is superior to the public sector. I am only asking why the public sector is not as efficient as the private sector. Take fertilizer. You compare what the Rashtriya Fertilizer is doing with what the Coromandel Fertilizer Company is doing. You compare the two. There are many things. On the contrary, we find that the Government is entering into areas where it should not. It is manufacturing cold drinks, it is running 5-star hotels. It is doing all kinds of things which it need not do. Therefore, the efficiency is what is important.

I know, the time is short. I would like to end with one statistics. In 1950 the rate of savings of the Indian economy was only 5 per cent, and today the rate of savings of the Indian economy is one of the highest in world

of 24 per cent. No thanks to the Government. This is all the people's work. The people of India have been diligent and thrifty, and they have saved up to record saving of 24 per cent of the national income. This is one of the highest in the world. If we had used the resources as efficiently as we had used in the 50's, then, the 24 per cent rate of saving would have got you 10 per cent growth rate. But what do we find today?

Sir, we are the largest Opposition party. Please give us a little more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY): Already given.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What we find today is that the rate of growth of the economy is no higher than what we were having when we were saving only 5 per cent as compared to one of the highest savings in the world. This is squandering and waste of resources. It comes from the mentality. The mentality is exhibited when you start taking Jumbo jets to go abroad. The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of England go by a smaller planes. Why is it that our leaders want to go by Jumbo jets? What is special about going by Jumbo jets when, in fact, they have got four Gulf Stream small aircraft which can go without refuelling 8,000 km. Each one of them can seat about 8 people. They have got four of them. They are lying there at the airport. Why can they not use them? This habit of using the Jumbo jets or this kind of extravagance all shows up, it all adds up. It all adds up to waste of national resources.

Therefore Sir, this Bill another exercise in the waste of our resources, and there is no hope from this Government. One can only tell the people of India, "Wait for some more time. Better times are coming."

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI RAOOF VALIULLAH (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir; I rise to support the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1988.

Sir, this year's Budget has offered a lot of concessions and tax reliefs to all sections of the society. The purpose of giving these concessions and tax reliefs is to benefit the consumers but we have observed in the past two months that these concessions have not passed on to consumers and there have been complaint in this regard. The Finance Minister has started meeting the industrialist to convey the feelings of the Government that whatever tax concessions and reliefs were given to them, they are to be passed on to the consumers. Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister what steps the Government is taking to see that all these tax benefits and concessions are passed on to the consumers.

I would like to suggest that instead of depending upon the administrative Ministries it would be better to have a monitoring cell in the Finance Ministry itself so that almost every week the Finance Ministry monitors and can also see to what extent the benefits are passed on to the real users viz. the common man.

The Indian economy is under great stress and strain. Our non-Plan expenditure is mounting. Almost every year the Budget deficit are running high into thousands of crores of rupees. During the last year the exports had gone up 25 per cent. Even then the foreign trade deficit was of the order of Rs. 6,000 crores approximately. How to fill up this gap is again a matter of serious concern and I would like to know from the hon. Minister what effective steps he is taking to fill up this gap.

Some hon. Members have spoken about inflation. It has now reached the double digit figure 10.4. In this context I would like to draw the attention of the Union Government to the urgent necessity of taking some

concrete measures to check inflation in this country.

I understand the Non-Resident Indians are going to form a consortium and they are prepared to offer us money on more or less the same terms and conditions as the World Bank had been offering to us. I would like to know whether such an offer has come from the NRIs and what has been the reaction of the Government towards this offer.

The policy of the Government is to encourage foreign investments. The Government of India is not only interested in foreign loans, but also in foreign investments. The foreign investment in our country is today insignificant. So far as this is concerned this should be on a selective basis so that it is not taken for granted that whoever wants to invest in his country he is welcome. It should be confined only to the high technology areas and where our own investors and entrepreneurs are not in a position to enter. The foreign collaboration for export-oriented industries should be encouraged, because it is in the interest of our country. If foreign investors are prepared to come here, they should start industries which are export oriented industries; and whatever they produce, they must be expected to export out of this country. Sir, in this context, I would like to caution the Government that under this guise of inviting foreign investment, there should not be unbridled import of foreign technology. I would like the hon. Minister to clarify that we are not going for avoidable imports. Sir, the question is that if we have it on reasonable terms and appropriate terms, we can have more foreign investors instead of one-time technology import and our import of technology also should not be limited from only one country. But we must take the latest technology from wherever we can.

Sir, I would also like to say something on the scarce resources that our

country is facing today. If the companies—whether it is a MRTP company or a big industrial house—want to establish an industry they must be told that they should have established industry not through the help of financial institutions but on market borrowing. Today, the investors have to invest only 7 per cent or so of the investment; the rest of it comes through financial institutions. I think, it is high time that the Government pays attention to this kind of borrowing.

Sir, I would now like to raise two important issues concerning my State of Gujarat. Sir, while welcoming the statement of the Minister of State for Finance in charge of banking, Shri Eduardo Faleiro, in the other House that the headquarters of Bank of Baroda will not be shifted from Baroda to Bombay, I would like to draw the attention of the Government that in the last three years, several important departments of Bank of Baroda have already been shifted to Bombay. Sir, I am in possession of the latest circular from Bank of Baroda which says that the Central Inspection Division office has been shifted to Bombay with effect from the 7th April, 1988. The circular has been signed by the General Manager (Operations and Inspection) who is also stationed in Bombay. Sir, in fact, two main departments of the bank such as credit and investment C & I which constitutes almost the entire working of any nationalised bank, the department of priority sector lending which constitutes 40 per cent of the lending of the nationalised bank, even the department of international business which deals with the foreign exchange, the branch expansion department have been shifted from Baroda to Bombay. Even the personnel department has been shifted from Baroda to Bombay. In fact, all the General Managers of Bank of Baroda sit in Bombay and operate. There is not a single General Manager in Baroda. The Minister of State for Finance gave an answer in the Lok

Sabha that we are not shifting the headquarters of Bank of Baroda from Baroda to Bombay. Does he mean only the building of the Bank of Baroda that cannot be shifted from Baroda to Bombay? Sir, practically almost all important departments of Bank of Baroda have been shifted from Baroda to Bombay. Therefore, I would like the hon. Minister to clarify whether he is shifting all the departments of the Bank of Baroda to Bombay except the building. May I know from the hon. Minister whether he is going to bring back all the departments that have already been shifted to Bombay and restore them in Baroda? I would like the hon. Minister to clarify whether these departments will be restored to Baroda. Further I would like to know, is there any other public sector bank which has two headquarters, namely the head office of Bank of Baroda in Baroda and the Central 4.00 P.M. Office in Bombay? Is there any other bank which has the Chief Executive, that is the Chairman and the Executive Director, permanently staying in Bombay while the head office is in Baroda? Is there any other Bank which does not have a single General Manager in the head office? All of them have been stationed in Bombay. Sir, is it not surprising that not a single board meeting has taken place in the last three years in Baroda? All the board meetings have taken place in Bombay and still the Minister of State says that they are not shifting the headquarters of Bank of Baroda from Baroda to Bombay. I do not say that this is untrue. But the facts are otherwise. I would request the hon. Minister because he is from Gujarat. I represent the people of Gujarat and I demand that the Union Government make a categorical statement in this House that the headquarters will not be shifted. Sir, Bank of Baroda is essentially and characterically a Bank started in Gujarat. Most of the clientele is also from Gujarat. I will give you one

[Shri Raoof valiullah]

classic example as to how not only the clientele in Gujarat is being ignored but there is a systematic and deliberate attempt to see that he clientele in Gujarat is destroyed. Sir, in the unprecedented drought situation in Gujarat, the Gujarat Water Supply and Sewerage Board which undertakes the supply of drinking water to the rural areas had demanded Rs. 5 crores for laying pipelines of drinking water to Saurashtra. Even that proposal was curtailed by Bank of Baroda though it is the lead bank in South Gujarat. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether such things will be taken serious note of and the Bank of Baroda officials reprimanded for that. Even industrial concerns, private industrial concerns, have complained to the hon. Minister about the disgusting attitude of Bank of Baroda in Gujarat.

Sir, I would like to raise another important issue pertaining to the State of Gujarat. It is with regard to the revision of rates of royalty on crude oil. In this connection, I made a fervent appeal to the Government for the next revision, which is already due, during the discussion on the Third Supplementary Demands, 1987-88 in this House on 25th March 1988. Mr. B. K. Gadhi had then replied that they would take cognizance of what was said in the House. Sir, the hon. Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas has now stated in his letter dated 28th April 1988 to me that the revision is due. The Gujarat Government has now urged the Centre to fix the crude royalty at Rs. 683.50 per tonne with effect from 1st April, 1987. The State Government has described the present method of fixing royalty as unscientific and detrimental to oil-producing States, namely, Gujarat and Assam. It has also suggested that a small working group of experts be appointed to fix the norms for calculating the rate of royalty. The experts can include petroleum technologists, cost accountants and representatives of the

State Governments concerned. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Centre has laid down permanent norms such as formula for fixing the royalty rate, period for which it should be effective, payment of interest on the arrears of royalty, etc. Sir, the royalty should have been given to us with effect from 1st April 1987. What about the interest on arrears? That also should be calculated and given by the Union Government. Sir, therefore, I demand that the Oil-Fields (Regulation and Development) Act should be amended suitably in consultation with the State Governments. I also demand that *ad hocism* which has marked the procedure for fixing the rate of royalty should immediately end. The present system is not only unilateral but also unjust to Gujarat and other States which produce oil and they are deprived of their legitimate share from the oil produced in their States. The last revision which took place with effect from 1-4-1984 was Rs. 192 per tonne. As you are aware, Gujarat State is now facing the worst ever drought of the century. It is the fourth consecutive year of drought which has created a grave financial crisis in the State. I had raised this matter only the other day in this House through a Special Mention. To finance the development projects of the Seventh Plan and to overcome the acute drought situation and drinking water crisis, the rate of royalty must be increased to Rs. 683.50 per tonne, as demanded by the Government of Gujarat. The State Government has also suggested a new concept of net-back value for calculating the royalty rate. This net-back royalty norms has been, for the first time calculated and suggested to the Union Government and I hope, I sincerely hope, that the Government will consider this aspect also. This is a logical and fair method of determining the oil-field value of crude oil. I also draw the attention of the Union Government to the recommendation of the Sarkaria Commission concerning financial relations between the Centre and the States. The Sarkaria Commission has recom-

mended a review of royalty on minerals, petroleum and natural gas for every two years. This recommendation must be accepted by amending the Oil Fields (Regulation and Development) Act suitably. I am sure that with regard to the issues that I have raised pertaining to my State, Gujarat, while replying to the debate the honourable Minister will clarify and satisfy the Members and the people of Gujarat.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a Money Bill and I know the limitations of Rajya Sabha on Money Bills. I also very well know the limitations of the Opposition on the Bill. Even so I want to register my views in a few minutes. There are several misdeeds of the Government of India which are to be debated here. A few of them have already been discussed here and I want to mention a few more.

The first one of such misdeeds is deficit financing. Deficit Budget has become the order of the day for all these years resulting in inflation. Inflation is growing higher and higher. It is on the increase but the Government is not thinking of any steps to stop deficit budgets. Another misdeed is indirect taxes. Everyone of us knows this year the percentage of indirect taxes has gone up to more than 80, some 83 per cent or so. We all very well know that the result of the indirect taxes will be that the burden on the poor increases. Government talks so much of the poor. But all the while it is putting more and more burden on the poor by levying indirect taxes. Direct taxes are only to the extent of less than 20 per cent, around 17 per cent. In the name of export orientation and in the name of liberalisation of trade, Government is only helping the big business houses and the entire burden of it is transferred to the poor. Then the next thing is this. Dr. Subramanian Swamy has elaborately discussed about the increase in postal charges, railway

charges, and so on. But I want to emphasise that these charges have resulted in the increase of all prices and in the increase in the cost of living of the entire population. Sir, this year they have increased the administered prices of coal, sugar, steel, cement petroleum products, etc. This has resulted not only in an increase in the cost of living but also in an increase in the cost of transport, construction, etc. and the cost of projects has gone up like anything due to the increase in these administered prices.

Now, Sir, I will come to the problems of the States. I will first take up the case of the Ninth Finance Commission. When the Government of India finalised the terms of reference of the Ninth Finance Commission, they had not consulted the State Governments. The State Governments came forward spontaneously with some concrete proposals to be put forth before the Government. But they did not entertain them at all and that is the state of affairs now. But the terms of reference of the Ninth Finance Commission are quite injurious to the interests of the economy of the States and the State Governments cannot go along with these things, with the Ninth Finance Commission.

The other problem that is faced by the States is non-clearance of projects by the Centre. There are several projects presented by the State Governments which are pending before the Government of India. But they have not been cleared at all. For instance, in my own State of Andhra Pradesh, a number of projects have been sent to the Central Government for clearance. But the Central Government says that they are not pending with it! As a matter of fact, they do not want to clear these projects as a result of which the State Government is facing the drought situation and they do not find any relief from the present drought while the cost of projects is going up day by day. Apart from that, the State's economy also is being hit like anything.

[Shri Puttapaga Radha Krishna]

Sir, I want to mention one thing here. We are facing shortage of power and, in particular, my State of Andhra Pradesh is facing a severe shortage of power. There is a project, Manuguru Project, by name, with a capacity of 500 MW of thermal power, which is pending for the last eight years. Recently we heard that it has been included in the Eighth Plan. But we do not know how far it is correct. It has been pending for the last eight years. Had this project been cleared, they would have managed somewhat the problem of power in the State of Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, the Government and the leaders in the Government very much talk about the populist programmes of the State Governments. They are criticising the populist programmes and in the recent AICC(I) Session in Madras, they passed a resolution also, keeping particularly Andhra Pradesh in view. But the Central Government also resorts to these populist programmes. In the Budget, on the one hand, they are opting for deficit financing and, on the other, they are proposing some populist programmes like concessions to utensils, etc. and several things are there.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Like 'Kutir Jyoti' programme.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHA-KRISHNA: Yes. They resort to populist programme and, at the same time, they do not want the States to have such programmes. Programmes are almost the same. But here it is the Government of India and there it is the Government of Andhra Pradesh, or some other State. In this context, Sir, I would like to make a mention about the institution of Governors since it is the grievance of the States.

Sir, it seems to me that there is no necessity for the continuance of the institution of Governor and we are opposed to the continuance of the

institution of Governor as such. If at all they continue to be there, they need not be called Governors, but they can be termed as Union Representatives. The Britishers opted for this name and they had chosen this name to govern the States. But now the Governor is not to govern the State. That is why I say that there can be Union Representatives and there need not be any Governors. They have become a liability on the States now. The institution of Governor has become a liability on the State's economy. I would like to suggest that the expenditure incurred on the institution of Governor should be borne by the Consolidated Fund of India and not by the Consolidated Fund of the State.

With these few remarks, Sir, I conclude and I thank you.

श्री कलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, विनियोग विधेयक के ऊपर विचार प्रकट करते समय जब पूरे भारत का नक्शा आ जाता है सामने दीमाग पर, तो सबसे पहले तो भारत दो खण्ड में विभाजित दिखाई देता है—एक नगरों का भारत और दूसरा गांवों का भारत।

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : इंडिया और भारत।

श्री कलाश पति मिश्र : नहीं, इण्डिया और भारत तो उसके बाद आता है। सात पंचवर्षीय योजना पूरी होने पर आकर खड़े हो गये हैं। कल्पना तो यह करनी चाहिये थी कि पांच पंचवर्षीय योजना बीतते-बीतते देश आर्थिक मामले में स्वावलम्बी बन कर, आत्मनिर्भर बन कर, खड़ा हो जाय। अभी थोड़ी देर पहले हम एग्रीकल्चर के ऊपर बहस कर रहे थे, फिर कृषि मंत्री जी का एक वक्तव्य भी आया, उस पर भी काफी चर्चा हुई, फिर हमारे मित्र कल्पनाथ राय जी का भाषण सुनने से जो आनन्द आया, उसके बाद तो कुछ बोलने के लिये उत्साह की जगह हो, ऐसी स्थिति भी दिखाई नहीं दे रही। महोदय, सात पंचवर्षीय योजना पूरी करने के

बाद आत्म-निर्भरता हम में कितनी आई-इसका आकलन करना चाहिये... (व्यवधान)...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : तो आप बताइये हुई कि नहीं ?

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : मैं चित्र ही बता रहा हूँ, निर्णय आप दे दीजिये। पहली बात तो यह है कि हम इसका विचार करें कि विदेशी-कर्ज में हमारी सरकार कितनी खड़ी है और आंतरिक कर्ज में हम कितना खड़े हैं? स्वीकार करने में आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये कि 50,000 करोड़ रुपये का विदेशी कर्ज हमारे ऊपर खड़ा है।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : 40,000 करोड़ रुपये का।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : आप यह जो 36,000 करोड़ कहेंगे 40,000 करोड़ कहेंगे, जिस समय का आंकड़ा दे रहे हैं, रुपये का अवमूल्यन देखें तो उसके हिसाब से मालूम होगा कि 50,000 करोड़ से ज्यादा है। तो 50,000 करोड़ के विदेशी कर्ज से दबे हुये हैं, आंतरिक कर्ज में सरकार के ऊपर, 1,73,000 करोड़ रुपये आकर खड़े दिखाई दे रहे हैं। जो सरकार इतने कर्ज से लदी हुई हो, देश का चित्र उसी आँखों के सामने दिखाई पड़े, तो क्या स्थिति होगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अब देखिये, भारत की आजादी कहाँ पर है। जैसा कि थोड़ी देर पहले ही बताया कि लगभग 77 प्रतिशत आबादी हमारी, लगभग साढ़े पांच लाख गांवों में रहती है और उस आबादी की हालत क्या है, उसमें कौन हैं? थोड़े से मूठ्ठी भर कुछ सम्पन्न किसानों को छोड़ दें तो 80 प्रतिशत लघु और सीमांत किसान हैं और उन्हीं किसानों के साथ खेत पर काम करने वाला मजदूर है थोड़े से छोटे स्तर के कारीगर हैं, जिनकी जीविका अभी भी बहुत कठिनाई के साथ चलती है।

महोदय हम बजट बनाते हैं, देश की प्रगति की बात करते हैं। मगर यह प्रगति कहीं हो तो ही समझ आयेगी। खेती की

चर्चा करते हैं, अभी कृषि मंत्री जी बोलते-बोलते बोल गये कि देश में आज भी जितना हमारा बिजली का उत्पादन है, मात्र 20 प्रतिशत खेतों के ऊपर गांवों में दिखाई देता है। सिंचाई की क्या स्थिति है, अभी केवल 30 प्रतिशत पर पहुँचे हैं। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि ऐसे राज्य, जिस राज्य में खेत की मिट्टी अच्छी है, खेत अच्छे हैं, लेकिन वहाँ सिंचाई का अभाव है और यह सिंचाई 14—18 प्रतिशत से ज्यादा नहीं पहुँची है।

महोदय, आप कई योजनाओं की बात करते हैं, आई० आर० डी० पी० की बात करते हैं, एन० आर० ई० पी० की बात करते हैं, सहकारिता की बात करते हैं। हलाला देने में अच्छा नहीं लगता है, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि इन राशियों का उपयोग करने के बाद जो एक स्वाभिमान जागना चाहिये था आत्म-निर्भर बनने के लिये वह नहीं जागा है। ऐसा भयानक भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ गया है कि 90—95 प्रतिशत एन० आर० ई० पी० और आई० आर० डी० पी० के रुपये भ्रष्टाचार में जा रहे हैं। वह रुपये गरीबों के पास नहीं पहुँचते हैं, छोटे किसानों के पास नहीं पहुँचते हैं, भूमिहीन मजदूरों के पास भी नहीं पहुँचते हैं। फिर आप कौन से उत्थान की बात करते हैं। इसीलिये कहा कि कुछ चित्र तो दिखायी दे रहा है। मूठ्ठी भर लोग ऐसे हो सकते हैं जिनकी आर्थिक आय बढ़ रही होगी, अच्छे-अच्छे महलों में रह रहे होंगे। उनकी आय बढ़ी है, लेकिन बहुत बड़ा भारत आज ऐसी अवस्था में पहुँच गया है कि दोनों समय उसका पेट भी नहीं भर पा रहा है, शरीर के लिये कपड़ा भी नहीं मिल रहा है, बीमार पड़ने के बाद उसे किसी प्रकार की दवा नहीं पहुँच पा रही है। महोदय, इस समय भाषण ज्यादा लम्बा खींचने की इच्छा नहीं हो रही है, लेकिन भय एक बात का है कि जो प्रदेश बाढ़ में बुरी तरह से ग्रस्त रहे और बाढ़ से जिन प्रदेशों की बर्बादी हुयी, उसमें बिहार सबसे आगे है। सारे उत्तर बिहार के बांध टूट गये। अभी-अभी 15 दिन पहले उस इलाके के भ्रमण में मैंने देखा है कि टूटे हुये बांधों की मरम्मत नहीं हुयी है। लेकिन पैसा खूब खर्च हो रहा है अनन्तगया क्षेत्र में कोसी प्रोजेक्ट है। पश्चिमी

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : तब आप बताइये कोसी नहर निकालने की योजना है। सहरसा जिला, मधेपुरा जिला, समस्तीपुर, दरभंगा होते हुए आगे पश्चिमी कोसी नहर जाती है। बीच में कमला नहीं है। नहर पूरी नहीं हुई है। पूरी होने की अभी 20 वर्ष तक कोई आशा नहीं है। लेकिन इसी बीच में कमला नदी पर दरभंगा जिले में एक काम्प्लेक्स की कल्पना है कि सायपन बनाकर पश्चिमी कोसी नहर पूरी होगी और तब इलाके में पानी जाएगा। नहर कहाँ है, उसका पता नहीं है। काम्प्लेक्स कहाँ है, उसका भी पता नहीं है लेकिन नहरों की उपशाखाओं की खुदाई शुरू हो गयी है। अगल-बगल के 50 हजार किसान इस चिन्ता में पड़ गये हैं कि अगर बारिश के पहले ये गड्डे खोदे गये तो हमारे लिये तो इससे खेती में कोई लाभ नहीं है। लेकिन हजारों-हजारों लोग इस खुदाई से नुकसान में पहुँच गये हैं। वहाँ विरोध हो रहा है कि जब तक नहर नहीं बनती, काम्प्लेक्स नहीं बनता, सायपन नहीं बनता तब तक इन उप-शाखाओं को खोदने का कोई अर्थ नहीं है। यह अन्धाधुन्ध ऐसी गड़बड़ी चल रही है कि जिसकी कोई योजना नहीं है, कोई कल्पना नहीं है। देश भर उठेगा तो वहाँ से उठेगा? इसकी भी चिन्ता नहीं है। वह तो इस बजट से और संकट में फँसता चला जा रहा है। ऐसे बजट का तो कोई मतलब ही नहीं है। आप पूरे वर्ष में एक बार जितना टैक्स बढ़ाना ही बढ़ाइये, जितना व्यय करना हो व्यय करिये, पूरे वर्ष का एक स्टेटमेंट सामने रखिये, तब तो बजट की मर्यादा होती है। विनियोग का कोई अर्थ है। आज विनियोग पास हो जाता है, बजट पास हो जाता है, एक महीने के बाद एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से आप अचानक पाँच सौ करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स बढ़ा देंगे, फिर उसके बाद डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपये के टैक्स बढ़ा देंगे एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से ही जब-जब आपकी तमन्ना जागे आप डेफिसिट फायनैसिंग करते चले जायें, टैक्स बढ़ाते चले जायें तो फिर बजट का अर्थ क्या है? न आप मुद्रास्फीति रोक पायेंगे और न विदेशी कर्ज के बोझ को रोक पायेंगे। आपने 1400 करोड़ रुपये लिये हुये कर्ज का केवल सूद चुकाने के लिये इसी साल के बजट में प्रावधान रखा है। सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी जी ने ठीक ही कहा था कि दो हजार ईसवी आते-आते हालत ऐसी

हो जायेगी कि आपका पूरा-का-पूरा बजट कर्ज और उसका सूद चुकाने में जाकर समाप्त हो जाएगा। अगर आज भी आप संभालना चाहते हैं तो जैसा मैंने पहले कहा था, आज विकेंद्रित व्यवस्था कीजिए। हर खेत के ऊपर छोटी छोटी योजनाएँ बनाइये उन पर खर्च कीजिए। थोड़ा थोड़ा खर्च करने के बाद हाथ में काम आ जाए, ऐसा आप कीजिए। केवल योजनाओं का आडंबर और विदेशी कर्ज लेकर आप देश के गले में फाँसी की जंजीर मत लटकाइए जिससे आर्थिक गुलामी का फंदा गले में पड़ गया है। इतना ही कहकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

II. Death of Shri K. Vasudeva Panicker, MP

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND FAMILY WELFARE (KUMARI SAROJ KHAPARDE): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the House is aware of the sad and untimely death of our colleague Shri K. V. Panicker on 3-5-1988. Shri K. V. Panicker was examined last week at the LNJP Hospital of Delhi Administration. The patient Shri K. V. Panicker was diagnosed as a case of tuberculosis of lymphnode. Dr. R. B. Singh, who is a private practitioner holding the degree of BIMS and also a personal physician of the deceased administered streptomycin injection.

At 10.00 P.M. on 2-5-1988, Shri K. V. Panicker was brought to the Casualty Department of LNJP Hospital by Dr. R. B. Singh. Shri K. V. Panicker was in an unconscious state. On examination, it was found that Shri Panicker had no spontaneous respiration, and peripheral pulses were absent heart sounds were absent and both his pupils were semi-dilated and fixed. He was immediately rushed to resuscitation ward. With provisional diagnosis of cardio-pulmonary arrest, resuscitative measures were carried out by