

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't name the Minister. That will create problems.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: If my friend wants.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I do not allow it.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I will tell her privately. Now this is one example. Then Mr. Kirdhar of *Tarun Bharat* was murdered last year. There are many instances. One Mr. Ashok Pal Kavi. Then Mr. Sanjeev Gaur...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't name all of them.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Then one Mr. Shrikant Chinoy, a correspondent of the Daily. The last para is very important. I would draw your attention to say that the Government should come forward to ensure that at least the freedom of the press is guaranteed and those people who are doing their faithful duty of exposing the nefarious activities of any class of people should be protected. Sir, in this connection, their association called on the Chief Minister as well as the chief of the Police, but no action has been taken. I would request you please to see that the Government takes action to protect the journalists, and ensure to them a rightful place in the country as regards the freedom of the press is concerned.

REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGED DEROGATORY LANGUAGE USED FOR PAIGAMBAR-E-ISLAM IN BOOK "HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION" BROUGHT OUT BY NCERT IN MAHARASHTRA

श्री शरीफुद्दीन शारिक (जम्मू और काश्मीर): जनाबेवाला, मेरा नाम बुलाने के लिए मैं आपका शुक्रगुजार हूँ और मैं बसतत से आपकी और हाउस की नोटिस में लाना चाहता हूँ कि एन० सी० ई० आर० टी० की तरफ से एक किताब महाराष्ट्र में छपी है जिसका नाम है "हिस्टरी आफ सिविलाइजेशन", इसमें पैगम्बर इस्लाम के खिलाफ एक बहुत ही नाशाइस्ता

जुवान इस्तेमाल की गयी है। मैं नहीं कह सकता कि यह दानिश्ता तौर पर की गयी है या ला-इस्मी की वजह से की गयी है और यह ऐसी बात है जिससे कि सारे देश में तमाम लोगों का अफसोस है कि किसी भी मुजहब से ताल्लुक रखते हैं और मुसलमानों का खसूखन बिल मजकूर हो गया है। इसमें पैगम्बर इस्लाम को एक जुनूनी फौज का सरदार करार देकर उन को मराना पाक के नजदीक गुजरते वाले काफिलों पर डाका डालने का इलजाम भी आयद किया गया है।

मामला गंभीर है। वजीरे-तालीम को ऐसी किताबें पेश करने से पहले एक कमेटी बिल्टन चाहिए जो सारे मवाद की पहले छानबीन करे कि कहीं हिन्दू मुजहब, कहीं सिख धर्म, कहीं मुसलमानों के बारे में ऐसा मवाद तो नहीं छप रहा जिससे खुदा-न-खास्ता बिला वजह हुकूमत की और मुल्क की बननामी हो। इस सिलसिले में किश्तवार मुसलमानों का एक बड़ा इजतमा हुआ, इसके खिलाफ प्रोटेस्ट हुआ जिसका रिजोल्यूशन मैंने पेश भी किया है। मैं एक बार फिर गुजारिश करूंगा कि वहां जो लोग बैठे हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी तनख्वाहें लेते हैं वह शायद ध्यान नहीं देते या अगर दीदओ-दानिश्ता कोशिश की गयी तो इसकी इतकवारी कर के ऐसे लोगों को सजा दी जाय। बल्कि ऐसी कमेटियों में सारे मुजहब के अच्छे तालीमयाफ्त लोग शामिल कर दिए जाय ताकि वह अच्छी तरह से सारी चीज को देख लें।

†[شادی شریف الدین شایق (جمعوں اور کشمیر): جناب والا! میرا نام بلانہ کے لئے میں آپ کا شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں اور آپ کی نوٹس میں لانا چاہتا ہوں کہ

ایں - سی - ای - آر - ٹی - کی طرف سے ایک کتاب مہاراشٹر میں چھپی ہے جس کا نام ”ہستری آف سولہنڈیشی“ اس میں ہونہر اسلام کے خلاف ایک بہت ہی ناشائستہ زبان استعمال کی گئی ہے۔ میں نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ یہ دانشتہ طور پر کی گئی ہے یا لاعلمی کی وجہ سے کی گئی ہے اور یہ ایسے بات ہے کہ جسے کہ سارے دیس میں تمام لوگوں کا عموماً چاہے وہ کسی بھی مذہب سے تعلق رکھتے ہوں اور خصوصاً مسلمانوں کا دل متحسوس ہوا ہے۔ اس میں ہونہر اسلام کی ایک جنونی فوج کا سردار قرار دے کر انکو مذہب کے نزدیک گزرنے والے قافلوں پر قزاق ڈالنے کا انعام بھی عائد کیا گیا ہے۔ یہ معاملہ گھبرایا ہے۔ وزیر تعلیم کو ایسی کتابیں بھی کرنے سے پہلے ایک کمیٹی پتھانی چاہئے جو سارے صوبہ کی پولے چہان بین کرے کہ کہیں ہندو مذہب - کہیں سکھ دھرم - کہیں مسلمانوں کے بارے میں ایسا مواد نہ ہو کہیں چھپ رہا ہے۔ جس سے خدا نخواستہ بلا وجہ حکومت کی اور ملک کی بدنامی ہو۔ اس مسئلہ میں کشتواڑ میں مسلمانوں کا ایک بہت بڑا اجتماع ہوا۔ اسکے خلاف پروٹیسٹ ہوا جسکا ریپورٹیشن میں نے پتھن ہی کیا ہے۔ میں

ایک بار پھر گزارش کرونگا کہ وہاں جو لوگ بیٹھے ہیں - بڑی بڑی تنظیمیں لیٹے ہیں وہ شاید دھماکہ نہیں دیتے یا اگر دیدہ و دانشتہ کوشش کی گئی تو اسکی انکوائری کر کے ایسے لوگوں کو سزا دی جائے۔ بلکہ ایسی کمیٹیوں میں سارے مذاہب کے اچھے تعلیم یافتہ لوگ شامل کر لئے جائیں تاکہ وہ اچھی طرح سے ساری چیز کو دیکھ لیں۔]

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we take up further discussion on the Budget. Today we have to complete the discussion, and I think I should call the hon. Finance Minister to reply at 4-30. Before that we can conclude, and for this purpose I think today we will have to skip the lunch break also because there are a large number of speakers. Now I would request the hon. Members to be as brief as they can. Shri R. Ramakrishnan.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Our party has 30 minutes.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am very happy that my good friend, the hon. Finance Minister is here today to hear my continued speech, ably assisted by his Deputy.

Sir, yesterday when the House was adjourned, I was on the very delicate and important subject of black money. Sir, I know that it is not the IMF but a particular writer who belongs to the IMF, One, Victor Tanzi. He is the Director of the Fiscal Funds Division of the Financial Affairs Department of the IMF, who has written the article about the total quantum of black money which is there in the economy. Sir, his report is based on the figures of black money in our country, tabulated by an Indian economist, Mr. Sanjiv Gupta, about a year back, which showed that it was as much

as 48 to 50 per cent of our GNP, amounting to overal thousand crores of rupees, Rs. 60,000 crores. It might be more now. Again, Sir, one, Mr. D. R. Pindse of the Tata Institute of Economic Affairs had computed a year earlier the amount of black money, and he said that at a rate of Rs. 1.5 crores of black money every hour was being generated in our economy. Similarly, the Wanchoo Committee earlier had made a mild sort of estimate about the black money in the economy.

What I was trying to say was that the Government of India, despite all its intelligence and resources, is not able to make any assessment. And even now, about two days ago, the Finance Minister in his reply to a question said that they had entrusted it to the Institute of Public Finance and Administration, Delhi. And they are likely to give an interim report in October, and perhaps six months or one year after that they will give the final report.

It is not a question of how much black money is there in the economy, but it is more a question of how it is upsetting our economic affairs. It is no exaggeration to say that the black money in our economy will definitely have a sort of upsetting effect on the apple cart of the economy, and that is why, perhaps, economists like my learned friend, Dr. Adiseshiah, have suggested that this has to be tackled on a war footing. In fact, Sir, he has suggested the one-time solution of demonetisation which I welcome. After 1978 when the Janata Government demonetised the thousand-rupee notes and above, which fetched only Rs. 56 crores, there have been consistent denials by the Finance Minister. Naturally, we cannot expect the Finance Minister to tell the House or anybody that we are going to demonetise. This has to be done in a great amount of secrecy. But I would definitely urge upon the Finance Minister to do so, despite the difficulties which it may entail. You know, such a massive operation, particularly if you are going to

demonetise the hundred-rupee notes, it has to be done in secrecy. It also involves orchestrating several departments, and it has to be done in a very fine method. And apart from this method of demonetisation which I welcome and urge him to adopt in all secrecy and urgency, I would also request him to set up a high power committee which within a month or two or three will give him concrete methods by which this black money can be tapped and could be brought into the economy. This is most important. Today the black money is in circulation and it is in the form of cash, gold, stocks or other assets. It is absolutely essential that this black money should not get stored up in items which cannot be put to productive use. Therefore, some scheme must be evolved whereby this black money can be tapped. The other day the Railway Minister was saying that there was shortage of funds. Perhaps he is again toying with the idea of a Special Bond scheme where no questions will be asked. I leave the modalities to him. But it is absolutely essential that he should take urgent steps to tackle this problem of black money.

Now, another very important thing is—the Finance Minister will excuse me for that—there is an increasing feeling that the Centre is deriving advantage at the expense of the States. In his reply in the other House which I heard yesterday, he has denied that the Centre is taking any such advantage. But actually, Sir, during the last few years, there is a perceptible trend that the Centre is taking advantage at the expense of the States. Particularly the taxes which are now sought to be raised are mainly in the nature of customs duty and excise duty. Sir, there will be an increase, of nearly Rs. 193.8 crores in the Central revenues and the States will suffer to the extent of Rs. 79 crores. Similarly in the case of the Plan outlay, the Central Plan outlay will rise by 20 to 25 per cent, while the States' Plan outlay will rise only by 9.5 per cent. That is why our Hon'ble Chief Minister, Mr M. G. Ramachandran in a

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

seminar on Centre-State relations at Madras had this to say:

There was no point in the States drawing up plans only to be told later by the Union Finance Minister and the Planning Commission that there was no finance for it. It was ridiculous that the States should contribute the tax and other finances to the Centre only to be told later that no finance could be available for them in return. The States had been reduced to the position of begging at the Centre's door and this was not good for the country.

He also said that asking for more powers for the States would not be tantamount to asking for separation. It was unfortunate that the Central Government and the Congress were being needlessly oversensitive to the demand for greater powers to the States. In the interest of the country, such powers should be granted to the States. A strong Centre depended upon strong States, the Chief Minister said.

This is what our Chief Minister said. And you have to keep in view the very good financial management of the Tamil Nadu Government which the hon. Finance Minister himself has commended. But unfortunately during the last two or three years, we had successive droughts followed by unseasonal rains which resulted in floods. Even in the month of December, our State Government had submitted a report for an assistance of Rs. 128 crores. The Central team came and made an assessment. The Centre has released Rs. 41 crores. About the balance, I think, discussions are going on. I would very much appeal to the Finance Minister and the Agriculture Minister, who is in charge, to release this balance. Again recently in the month of February and March—I, had earlier made a Special Mention and drawn the attention of the Government—there was heavy unseasonal rain, causing heavy damage to the crops and disruption of normal facilities. A report is being prepared and will be sent to the Centre very shortly. I hope the Government will send a team immediately to assess the damage. Crops in more than one lakh

hectares in Madurai, Ramanathapuram and Tirunelveli districts and more than two lakh hectares in Thanjavur district have been affected. Therefore, procurement will be difficult. But the Union Food Minister, Mr. Bhagwat Jha Azad has recently reduced the quota of rice to Tamil Nadu from 40,000 tonnes to 35,000 tonnes in March and he is proposing to reduce it to 25,000 tonnes in April. This will definitely upset the public distribution system. Our demand has been that 80,000 to 1,00,000 tonnes should be given to the State pool from the Central pool. I would request the Government to see that this is definitely given because this sort of tampering with the food arrangements will cause a lot of hardship to the State's economy. I would also quote what our revered leader Anna said about the Centre-State relationship. He said:

"A number of powers at present vesting with the Central Government should rightly be distributed to the States; in order to distribute these powers adequately and just devolution of powers amended wherever necessary. The atmosphere is conducive and the time and thinking ripe for effecting such constitutional changes."

This he said many years back and it holds good today also. He said:

"There is reason for insisting that suitable legislative enactments should be introduced and amending the Constitutional provision after due analysis and examination is a necessity for proper, adequate and just devolution of powers to the State Government."

As I already said, "A strong Centre and prosperous States is a pre-requisite for efficient administration." And in the context of the overdrafts of the States, Tamil Nadu has been managing its financial resources very ably for the last ten years and this year, as I said earlier, because of the peculiar situation we are now resorting to overdrafts. The Finance Minister in his Speech on page 14—Part A—para 42, said—

"For those States who have managed their finances well, I am working out a suitable scheme to provide some ad-

ditional assistance to them in 1984-85."

What I would say is it should not be just an yearly affair. Budget is an yearly affair. But in the context of a State's previous good management and in the context of the State's peculiar needs assistance should be given. I am very happy that last year for 8 States the Government of India converted their overdrafts into medium-term loans, overdrafts of about Rs. 1743 to Rs. 1751 crores. Particularly, the State of West Bengal from where our Mr. Kalyan Roy comes, which always gets a lot of overdrafts, gets its overdrafts converted into loans. Tamil Nadu is not one such State...

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Because, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu has become so wealthy and rich by evading income-tax.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: No, please don't make false and vague accusations which have no meaning and substance. All those things you can reserve for your Central Hall talk.

Now I would request that the Finance Ministry should come forward to assist States like Tamil Nadu which has been managing its resources well, particularly at a time when we are having difficulties, with large amounts of money both by way of Central aid, more assistance, more grants and also sending overdrafts.

Now I come to one or two statements about our foreign exchange resources position. I am glad that recently it has crossed Rs. 5000 crores. Recently Dr. Man Mohan Singh said that as compared to last year, March 1983 when it was Rs. 4300 crores, our foreign exchange position in February 1984 has crossed Rs. 5000 crores. This is a welcome step. But it is rather unfortunate that India has slipped down from the 9th to 23rd position in the industrialised world. So something has got to be done about industrialising India. And for this I come to a very important subject, that of the public enterprise. Public sector enterprises have together made a profit of Rs. 614 crores this year or, to be exact Rs. 617.85 crores, as against Rs. 445.92 crores for 1982-83. Here it has to be carefully studied. The whole of the public sector enterprises together may be making profits. Our total investment in it is more than Rs. 30,000 crores.

And you should know that there are several white elephants which are making like the Steel Authority of India, the Cotton Corporation of India, the Shipping Corporation of India, the Mogul Line, the Hindustan Zinc, also the Delhi Transport Corporation, then, the Indian Iron & Steel, the Kudremukh Ore—there are a whole lot of companies which are making huge losses. Government of India should not take satisfaction from the fact that the petroleum companies—Sir, if you are given a petroleum company to manage, I mean, you are a very experienced man, but even a person with no experience can manage a petroleum company and make Rs. 900 crores of profit; there is no need of patting yourself on your back—are doing well, or that the monopoly corporations, Air India, Indian Airlines...

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN): I am sorry, Air India is not a monopoly.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: What I mean is, why don't you give such undertakings to the private sector? I didn't see my good friend, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan, sitting here. If you give these undertakings to the private sector, sometimes competition can help. From the Indian Airlines you can give some local routes to the private enterprise, like the Madras-Bangalore route or some such route. Then you will know how much profit you will make. I am not criticising you now. I will come to it later on.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN: I will be quite prepared then.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: But I can tell him that Air India is fleecing the public in the Gulf routes. There is no other way for our poor Indians who want to come back from the Gulf countries. The Air India is charging them so much. They should charge them only half the present rates. Mr. Mohanan has pleaded for it.

Now I come to SAIL, coal and other sectors. I wish the Finance Minister asks the concerned Ministries to take some strong and drastic steps to improve their performance. I think these are matters which should be discussed in a full-day

[Shri R. Ramakrishnan]

debate in the House. Sometimes it will be useful to discuss these things even during inter-session periods so that the officials and the Government take note of what the Parliament has to say on these important issues.

I will reserve some time for my colleague. But I will refer to another point. The Finance Minister proposes to tax the trusts. It is a very good move which the Finance Minister has taken because many of the companies are taking advantage of the tax concessions in the name of trusts in order to evade taxation. Even the Tirupati Tirumalai Devasthanam, which is the biggest Trust managing the Sri Balaji Temple, is included in this. It will be totally against all our principles to tax them, particularly in a Hindu country like India. Last time the Prime Minister wrote to exempt it and the TTD got exemption. Now it seems that every year they have to seek exemption. I would request the Finance Minister to treat the TTD on a different footing and give it complete exemption.

My other point is about the LIC officers. Of course, LIC is being studied by a Select Committee. You will be surprised to know that LIC officers are getting less than their Class IV or Class III employees and there is complete stagnation in their case. People do not want promotion there because when they become officers they get less. Government of India studied their problems and tried to give some incentives which they could not take advantage of. And now they have gone to the court. I have written to the Finance Minister about this. It is high time that this LIC officers issue is settled. LIC is a monopoly organisation. Something should be done for their officers. Recently one insurance expert came from abroad and observed that the LIC's mortality table is out of date and they are charging three or four times the premia which they ought to charge this is a matter which the Government should settle before it goes out of hand.

Now I come to a point which I had raised when Shri Venkataraman was the Finance Minister. In all the morning newspapers you see half-page and full-page advertisements on Calcio Calculators, Soni Radios and Seiko Watches. Could anyone tell me where these articles are available against cash bills? I know these are sold in the Palika Bazaar of New Delhi or Burma Bazaar of Madras or somewhere in Calcutta. But nowhere they are available against cash bills. Why do you allow these companies to advertise just to evade taxation? It is the avowed policy of the Government to do everything against smuggling of goods. The impression one gets is that the Government tries to protect smugglers by allowing them to advertise like this. I raised it before and then Shri Venkataraman said he would look into it. I would again request the present Finance Minister to look into it.

Now I come to the newspapers. As you know it is essential to have freedom of press if India is to survive as a democracy. For the 20 per cent disallowance on advertising a strong representation has been made to the Finance Minister. He may have given them a good hearing, but has not given them any hope. Then there is this Rs. 825 rupees duty on newsprint and there is the ancillary customs duty and again there is duty on newspaper machinery which has not been removed. Nothing has been done for newspaper though freedom of press is essential prerequisite for democracy.

And, Sir, if you want to promote the growth of a free Press, which is one of the avowed objectives of this Government as well as the other Governments, then it is absolutely necessary that you have to give some sort of oxygen to this industry particularly to the medium and small newspapers, to the bigger newspapers and to the newspaper industry as a whole. Even the IRNS and the other bodies have represented. But nothing seems to have been done for this in-

dustry. I would request the honourable Finance Minister to consider this in great detail.

Finally, Sir, before I conclude, I would only say that the Finance Minister has done a fairly good job and I hope that he would continue to take the Indian economy on the right lines.

Sir, the Finance Minister had quoted from Kautilya's Arthashastra in his Budget Speech. I would now like to quote one verse from Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa. King Aja, who is the grandfather of Sri Rama, Says:

"No karo na cha bhooyasa
mruduhu Pavamanaha prithiviruh-
haniva."

I will explain it. "Na karo" means not excessively harsh "na cha bhooyasa mruduhu" means not exceedingly mild; "pavamanaha" means like the wind; and "prithiviruhaniva" means which blows over the branches and leaves. It means that it is blowing in such a way that the branches only bend, but do not break. So, this is how a Budget should be. I hope that the honourable Finance Minister will keep this in mind for all his future Budgets.

I commend this Budget, Sir. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Ramanand Yadav now.

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : उप-सभापति जी, मैं बजट के समर्थन में खड़ा हुआ हूँ। तीन-चार वर्ष में यह पहला बजट है जिसमें इस देश में रहने वाले हर तबके को फायदा पहुंचाया गया है। इस बजट में हर व्यक्ति को राहत दी गई है, यह एक अच्छा काम किया गया है। हमारे इस बजट को बनाने वाले एक अच्छे इकोनोमिस्ट हैं। उन्होंने इस बात की कोशिश की है कि हर तबके को राहत दी जाय और साथ ही देश का विकास भी हो। हमारा जी इंडस्ट्रियल स्तर है, जो आर्थिक स्तर है या अन्य किसी भी क्षेत्र में आप देखिये, इसमें देश को

विकास के पथ पर ले जाने का प्रयास किया गया है। इसलिये यह बजट बहुत सराहनीय है। इसके लिये मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय को कंग्रेचुलेट करूंगा। उन्होंने देश की जनता की मनभावनाओं को देखकर एक ऐसा सुन्दर बजट तैयार किया जिससे सब को फायदा पहुंचा है। मुझे तो ऐसा आभास हो रहा है कि यह एक इंडस्ट्रियल बजट है। हिन्दुस्तान जैसे मुल्क में जहां पर 75 परसेंट लोग देहातों में रहते हैं उनके लायक इस बजट में तो प्रावधान किया गया है, लेकिन इंडस्ट्रियल सैक्टर में जितना ध्यान दिया गया है, जितना ध्यान उनकी राहत देने के लिये दिया गया है उतना ध्यान एग्रीकल्चरल सैक्टर में काम करने वाले लोगों, फार्मर्स, लैण्डलेस लेबरर्स या जो मिडिल क्लास फार्मर्स हैं, जो मिडियम क्लास फार्मर्स हैं या जो छोटे किसान हैं जिनके पास दो एकड़ या तीन एकड़ जमीन है उनको राहत देने के लिये जो पैसा एलोकेट किया गया है वह बहुत ही कम है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार को और अधिक राहत इस एग्रीकल्चरल सैक्टर में जो काम करने वाले लोग हैं, जो खेती पर डिपेंड करते हैं, उनको देनी चाहिये क्योंकि हमारे देश में 75 परसेन्ट लोग गांवों में रहते हैं। उनकी माली हालत अच्छी नहीं है। जब तक उनकी परचेजिंग कैपेसिटी नहीं बढ़ेगी तब तक आप कितना भी इंडस्ट्रियल विकास कर लें उससे गांवों को कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सयद रहमत अली)
पीठासीन हुए])

जब तक गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों की इनकम नहीं बढ़ेगी, उनकी क्रय-शक्ति नहीं बढ़ेगी, तब तक इंडस्ट्री में जो माल तैयार होगा मार्किट में जो माल आयेगा, उसको खरीदने वाला कोई नहीं होगा। अगर किसान की परचेजिंग पावर बढ़ेगी तो हमारा इम्पोर्ट भी घटेगा क्योंकि वह हमारे देश के मार्किट से माल खरीदेगा जिससे हमारा फारन एक्सचेंज भी बढ़ेगा। इसलिये सरकार को चाहिये कि

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

अधिक से अधिक जो विभिन्न मुद्दे हैं, रूरल प्रान-इम्प्लाइमेंट को दूर करने के लिये एन० आर० डी० पी० के अन्तर्गत जो स्कीम देहातों के विकास के लिये 5-6 लाई गई हैं उन पर और अधिक पैसा देने की जरूरत है ताकि काम ठीक से हो सके। मान्यवर, लैंड रिफार्म एक ऐसा मुद्दा है जो बहुत दिनों से इस देश के लोगों को एजोटेट करता आ रहा है। इस देश में जमीन मुट्ठीभर लोगों के हाथों में है। अधिकांश गांवों का नक्शा देख लीजिये तो आपको लगेगा कि गांव के रहने वाले 75 प्रतिशत लोगों के पास जमीन तो है लेकिन वह बहुत ही कम है। या तो उनका घर है और एक एकड़, दो एकड़ जमीन है। बाकी जो 25 प्रतिशत लोग हैं वे सारी जमीन गांव की लेकर रखे हुये हैं। ऐसी हालत में यह बात ठीक है, कांग्रेस ने जमींदारी का अबोलिशन किया, लैंड रिफार्म ऐक्ट पास किया, बटाईदारी ऐक्ट पास किया, लैंड सीलिंग बिल पास किया, बुझारत करके जो परती जमीन थी, उसको गरीबों को दिया लेकिन जो लैंड सीलिंग ऐक्ट और बटाईदारी बिल बने उनका किसी भी स्टेट में ठीक से इम्प्लीमेंटेशन नहीं हुआ। जब तक मेन बिहाइन्ड दि प्लह, हल जोतने वाला जो है, काम करने वाला जो है, अन्न पैदा करने वाला जो है, सारे देश को खिलाने वाला जो है, उसकी सुविधा का प्रबन्ध जब तक आप नहीं करेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। आप जो खेती करने वाले लोग हैं, मिडिल क्लास हैं या बड़े फार्मर्स भी हैं जब तक आप उनको पैसा नहीं देंगे तब तक वह ट्रैक्टर नहीं खरीद पाता, फर्टिलाइजर नहीं खरीद पाता, ट्यूब वेल नहीं बैठा पाता है, वह सिंचाई के साधन उपलब्ध नहीं कर पाता, वह बीज नहीं ले पाता। आज गांवों में इस तरह की सुविधाएं एकदम नहीं हैं। किसान आलू पैदा करता है लेकिन कोल्ड स्टोरेज इतने अधिक नहीं हैं ताकि वह वहां अपना आलू सुरक्षित रख सके। इसके अभाव के कारण लाखों मन आलू हर साल

सड़ जाता है। क्लोड स्टोरेज अधिक नहीं हैं। प्लानिंग करने वाले जो लोग हमारे देश के हैं, जो प्लानिंग करते हैं वे प्लानिंग टाप से करते हैं, नीचे से नहीं करते। प्लानिंग का जो मन मुद्दा होना चाहिये, सलैक्शन आफ प्रोजेक्ट्स —strata of society for which the Planning Commission should conceive how to elevate their economic position.

यह प्लानिंग के लोग कभी नहीं सोचते और टाप से ही करते हैं। व यह नहीं चाहते हैं कि नीचे का जो तबका है, जो सबसे गरीब है, गांव में रहते हैं, उनसे प्लानिंग शुरू करें। वे दिल्ली से प्लानिंग शुरू करेंगे, यही बैठकर शुरू करेंगे। कागजी किताब पढ़ने वाले बड़े से बड़े लोग आयेंगे, उनसे बातचीत करके सारा प्लानिंग यहां से बना देंगे। वे गांव में जाकर नहीं देखेंगे कि कितने विलेज चैनल पुराने जमाने में बनाये गये थे और अगर उन चैनलों को फिर से बनाया जाय तो गांव में सिंचाई अच्छी हो सकेगी। लेकिन व नहर बना देंगे और उससे बाढ भी आयगी। फिर बाढ को कन्ट्रोल करते रहेंगे और सिंचाई नहीं हो सकेगी। जितनी सिंचाई होगी उससे अधिक जमीन में पानी जमा हो जायगा। ऐसी स्थिति आ गई है? प्लानिंग करने वालों को नीचे से प्लानिंग करनी चाहिये। और उन्हें इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि प्रोयरेटि किसे दी जानी चाहिये, कहाँ होनी चाहिये। प्लानिंग कमीशन यह भी नहीं सोचता कि जो अलोकेशन आफ फंड होता है, प्लानिंग कमीशन के द्वारा जो इन्स्ट्रक्शन किये जाते हैं उसका ठीक से इम्प्लीमेंटेशन होता है या नहीं। यह ठीक है कि उसको इम्प्लीमेंटेशन करने के लिये एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, इम्प्लीमेंट करता है, लेकिन एक वेल-फेयर स्टेट में जिस तरह से यह होना चाहिये, भारत के आजाद होने के बावजूद भी वह इस तरह से नहीं हो पाता

यह अपने को शासन करने वाले समझते हैं और वेलफेयर मेजर के आधार पर वे सरकार के प्रोग्राम और पालिसियों को उस तरीके से इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं करते। वे इस के लिये बड़े बड़े सैमीनार करते हैं।

मुझे आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव की बार बार याद आती है। वे कहते थे, कि ठीक है आप प्लानिंग करके नदियों का कंस्ट्रक्शन कर दीजिये, बांध बना दीजिये, कारखाने खड़े कर दीजिये, लोहे और कपड़े के कारखाने दुनिया भर के कारखाने बना दीजिये लेकिन ह्यूमैन मैटीरियल जो देश को अवेलेबल है चाहे लेजिस्लेटर हो, चाहे एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर हो, चाहे प्लानर हो, चाहे थिंकर हो, चाहे इंजीनियर हो, यह सब जो ह्यूमैन मैटीरियल है इनका आज तक रिकस्ट्रक्शन नहीं हुआ है। सरकार ने इस बारे में कभी नहीं सोचा है और इसी का फल यह होता है कि सैमीनार तो रोज होते हैं, बांध के संबंध में होता है, दूसरी चीजों के संबंध में होते हैं लेकिन ह्यूमैन मैटीरियल

Never was a Seminar held to study how to reconstruct it for implementing our programmes and plans.

यह कभी हम ही सोचते नहीं हैं। मेरा अपना ख्याल है कि ह्यूमैन रिकस्ट्रक्शन का होना भारत में बहुत जरूरी है। हर आदमी में जंक लग गया है। उसके विचारों में जंक लग गया है। काम करने में जंक लग गया है। वह कुर्सी से सट गया है। उससे ऊपर होकर नहीं सोचता। मैं भी सोचता हूँ कि एम० पी० हूँ मुझे फस्ट क्लास का दर्जा मिलना चाहिये मैं थर्ड क्लास में चलने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। एडमिनिस्ट्रेटर सोचता है कि मैं मालिक हूँ मैं जो कहूँगा वही होगा। मैं पढ़ा लिखा वेस्ट काडर से सीसायटी से वेस्ट पढ़ा लिखा निकला हूँ मैं जो जो कहूँगा वही होगा यह कम पढ़े लिखे लोग गांव के जो

रिप्रेजेंटेशन ले कर के आये हैं उनकी बात नहीं सुननी चाहिये। ऐसी हालत में ह्यूमैन रिकस्ट्रक्शन होना बहुत जरूरी है।

मान्यवर, हमारे बिहार राज्य में सुगर केन इंडस्ट्री हैं, वैसे तो सारे देश में हैं। उसकी स्थिति यह है कि करीब 19 वर्षों तक यह सुगर इंडस्ट्री सारे देश में तरजीह पाये हुए थी। इस की इनकम टैक्स से छूट थी। हर तरीके से सरकार ने इस उद्योग की मदद की। एक एक आदमी चार चार पांच मिलों का मालिक बन गया है। मैं आपको इस के बारे में उदाहरण देता हूँ कुन्दन लाल एक मिल का मालिक था लेकिन अब उत्तर प्रदेश में उसकी चार फैक्ट्रीज हो गई हैं। बिहार में एक मिल से बिडला ने शुरू किया आज उसकी 10 मिलें हो गई हैं। थापर ने एक मिल से शुरू किया आज एक से 11 मिलें उसने बना ली हैं। यही हाल कनोडिया का है। श्रीमान, यह चीनी मिलें केन्द्रीय सैक्टर में भी हैं। प्राइवेट सैक्टर में हैं। स्टेट कारपोरेशन बनाये हुए हैं और सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट भी रन करती है। आपको सुन कर ताजुब होगा कि आज भी करीबन पांच सौ करोड़ रुपया सारे देश में किसानों का पिछले साल का 1982-83 का गन्ने का मिल मालिकों के पास बकाया पड़ा हुआ है हमारे बिहार राज्य में स्थिति यह है कि कारपोरेट सैक्टर में स्टेट कारपोरेशन बना करके मिलें चलाई गई हैं वे तो 50 प्रतिशत भी पे नहीं कर पाई हैं। एक डेड महीना चलते हुए हो गया है अभी तक नयी जो क्रसिंग हुई है उसका भी पैसा किसानों को नहीं मिला है। किसान तबाह है। वेंज एंड मसि के माध्यम से भारत सरकार यह पैसा देने का एक तरीका अपनाया। लेकिन स्टेट गवर्नमेंट जो बिहार का है वह पैसा लेने को तैयार नहीं है। मैं चाहूँगा कि जल्दी

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

से जल्दी किसानों को राहत पहुंचाने के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि किसानों का पैसा जो बाकी है उसका पैमेंट किया जाय। मान्यवर हमारे संविधान में हमारे आई-डियल हैं कि हम सोशलिस्टिक स्टेट बनायेंगे इसके लिये हमें कौन से कदम उठाने चाहिये। हम कदम उठाते हैं लेकिन हम कोई कंट्रोल नहीं करते। पब्लिक सेक्टर हमने बनाया, नेहरू जी ने सोचा कि पब्लिक सेक्टर हम खड़ा करें जो प्राइवेट सेक्टर को हम कब्जे कर सकें। सर्टन एरिया में हमने प्राइवेट सेक्टर को घुसने ही नहीं दिया जैसे कि डिफेंस इंडस्ट्री में प्राइवेट सेक्टर अलाऊड नहीं है और इस विषय को हमने पब्लिक सेक्टर पर छोड़ दिया। जब हमने पब्लिक सेक्टर बनाया तो हमने कहा कि हम इसको कमांडिंग हाइट्स देंगे।

ये जो हमारी नियत रही है सोशलिज्म की कि हम जब सारे देश में पब्लिक सेक्टर खड़ा कर देंगे तो धीरे धीरे प्राइवेट सेक्टर दबते जायेंगे और हमारी कमांडिंग हाइट हो जायेगी, इससे हम देश का इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन कर सकेंगे और लाजेंट नम्बर, आफ पीपुल को प्रोडक्शन करके फायदा पहुंचा सकेंगे, लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि जितने पब्लिक सेक्टर अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं इनमें से अंगुली पर गिनने के लायक जो केवल डिफेंस के हैं वे ही मुनाफे में चल रहे हैं, बाकी सारे घाटे में चल रहे हैं। भारत सरकार को कोई न कोई तरीका अपनाना चाहिए ताकि यह पब्लिक सेक्टर इंडस्ट्री जो हैं यह मुनाफे में चल सके। इसके लिए कमिटेड लोगों का अपाईंटमेंट होना चाहिए। इसका एक कैंडिड तैयार करना चाहिए लेकिन वह कैंडिड तैयार नहीं हो पाता है। आज शुगर इंडस्ट्री-यां बहुत सी ऐसी इंडस्ट्रीज हैं जिनके लिए जरूरत है कि कुछ प्राइवेट सेक्टर में हों और कुछ पब्लिक सेक्टर में। मैं चाहूंगा कि कुछ खास

खास इंडस्ट्रीज को जैसे हमारी शुगर को इंडस्ट्री को इंटायर पब्लिक सेक्टर में ले लें य स्टेटस ले लें। जैसे स्टील है, इस सेक्टर को पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग में ले लिया ज ये, क्लोथ मिल्स हैं, इंटायर टेक्सटाइल को पब्लिक सेक्टर में लिया जाये और कुछ सेक्टर जो हैं उनको छोड़ दिया, जाये कि वे वहां चलाकर देखें। लेकिन ऐस न करके कुछ इधर छोड़ देते हैं कुछ उधर रखते हैं। नतीजा यह होता है और हमारे कल्याण रय जी को मालूम है कि पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स में रहने वाले एक्सपर्ट्स जो हैं वे जा करके अपनी जो हाऊस को डिसक्लोज करते हैं, बात ते हैं प्राइवेट सेक्टर के लोगों को प्राइवेट सेक्टर के लोग जो उसमें पहले काम करते थे जब वह पब्लिक सेक्टर में लिया गया, उनकी उन्हीं के साथ लयलटी थी। अब उन्हीं को मालिक बना दिया है वे ही लोग चला रहे हैं इसलिए नेचुरली वे चाहते हैं कि किसी तरह से यह खत्म हो जाये। इसलिए मान्यवर हमारा अपना खयाल है कि भारत सरकार को पब्लिक सेक्टर को भजवूत करने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए।

दूसरा लैंड का बंटवारा करना चाहिए। आज जमीन की स्थिति यह है कि वह मुट्ठी भर लोगों के हाथों में है। जब तक लैंड की वेल्यू जो प्राइवेट प्रापर्टी के रूप में पड़ी हुई है इसको आप हटाएँ नहीं, खत्म नहीं करेंगे लैंड का इक्विबुल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन नहीं नहीं करेंगे तब तक फूड प्रॉब्लम हल नहीं होगी और असली समाजवाद कायम नहीं होगा आज आदमी बंधा हुआ है, उसका अपनी प्रापर्टी से मोह है, वे समझते हैं यह मेरा है लेकिन जिस दिन से ये समझेंगे कि इतने से अधिक नहीं लेना है वह हमारी सम्पत्ति नहीं रहेगी स्टेट को चली जायेगी तो उस दिन से वे बेइमानी, चोरी या ब्लैक मार्केटिंग या इन्कमटेक्स का बचाना ये सारी चीजें छोड़ देंगे। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि प्राइवेट प्रापर्टी के एब लिश कर दिया जाये। सिचुएशन

वेंज कीजिये और सचमुच आप समाजवाद का गोल रखते हैं तो इसको अचीव करने के लिये आपको मेजरर्स लेने चाहिये और उनको कड़े रूप से इम्प्लीमेंट करना चाहिए ।

आज यह बात ठीक है कि आर्थिक हालत बहुत अच्छी हो गयी है । 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम को इम्प्लीमेंट करने की बात है उसमें जो आपने एंजोकेशन किया है इससे सही पाने में—क्योंकि इसमें 10 मददे ऐसे हैं—जो गांव के गरीब तबके के रहने वाले हैं उनका फायदा होने हैं को है । लेकिन इस 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम को इम्प्लीमेंट करने वाली जो मशीनरी है वह इसको ठीक इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं करती है । उसके लिए कोई मशीनरी इवाल्व कांजिए, कोई तरीका इवाल्व कीजिए और खाम करके उन स्टेटों में जहां आज दूसरी पार्टी की सरकारें हैं । वे तो 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम के नाम से चिढ़ जाती हैं । जैसे कोई सांड रंगा हुआ रेड कपड़ा देखकर भड़कता है वैसे ही ये जो दीगर सरकार हैं दूसरी स्टेटों में जैसे कर्नाटक आंध्र और तामिलनाडु में ये भड़कती है । ये 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम को तो इम्प्लीमेंट करना चाहती हैं लेकिन करती हैं डिफरेंट नेम से उस नाम से नहीं करना चाहती हैं । अब बात तो सही है कि वे गरीबों के लिए कमिटेड नहीं हैं वे कमिटेड हैं सर्टेन क्लास के लिए जिसकी वे मालिक हैं । तो मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि 20 पाइंट प्रोग्राम पर और अधिक पैसा खर्च करे ।

मान्यवर, फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया एक ऐसा पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग है जिस के अंदर सबसे अधिक भारतवर्ष का रुपया खर्च हुआ है और इसकी दुर्दशा यह है कि 6 सौ करोड़ रुपया आप प्रतिवर्ष इसको सब्सिडी देते हैं रंग करने के लिए । कई मिनिस्टर्स आये और गये लेकिन आज तक यह सुधरा नहीं है, घाटे में ही चल रहा है और ताज्जुब यह है, तुरी यह है कि जो भी इम्प्लायीज इसमें जाते हैं जो बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं वे सब मालामाल होकर, राजा होकर निकलते हैं ।

अब जितने कैरियर वाले हैं जो लोडिंग अनलोडिंग करते हैं या जो कांट्रेक्टर हैं वे सब राजा हो गये और बैंगन लाद कर दिल्ली से बंबई पहुंचाते हैं गेहूं को । वह पहुंच जायगा हैदराबाद, और बंबई नहीं पहुंचेगा । यह स्थिति है वहां पर । इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार फूड कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया जो घाटे में चल रहा है उस की तरफ ध्यान दे । एक गांव का बनिया जब एक दुकान खोलता है तो दो, चार साल में तीन, चार महला घर खड़ा कर लेता है, लेकिन इतना रुपया देने के बाद भी यह घाटे में चल रहा है । इस पर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए और कांट्रेक्ट सिस्टम इस घाटे की जड़ है । इस सिस्टम को सरकार को समाप्त कर देना चाहिए । और सीधे इन्प्लाइज जो लोडिंग अनलोडिंग करने वाले हैं उन को परमानेंट कर देना चाहिए और उस में जो इन्प्लाइज हैं वे पैट्रियाट हैं । वह चाहते हैं कि वे सरकार की मदद करें लेकिन सरकार ही यह चाहती नहीं है । अब प्राइस राइज की बात है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली) : आप कितनी देर और बोलेंगे ?

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं चार, पांच मिनट और बोलूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली) : 5 मिनट बाद मैं आप को आगे बोलने के लिये एलाऊ नहीं करूंगा ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मान्यवर, मैं ईस्टर्न रीजन की इंडस्ट्री के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं । टैक्सटाइल कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया, ईस्टर्न रीजन कलकत्ता में स्थापित थे । उस में एक बनर्जी साहब है । वह सी०एम०डी० थे और वह जब जाने लगे है तो एक मिस्टर जैन हैं, प्रदीप जैन, उन को 71 लाख 35 हजार 161 रुपये का कपड़ा दे दिये । प्रदीप जैन ने कोई आर्डर नहीं दिया था । मिस्टर बनर्जी सी एम डी अभी हाल ही में हटाये गये । उन

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

को हटा दिया गया उन के कुकर्मों के कारण, लेकिन उन्होंने 7135161 रुपये का कपड़ा पटना की सोसाइटी, तथा कथित सोसाइटी को, उस के प्रदीप कुमार जैन को दे दिया। जितना कपड़ा दिया है उस की फेहरिस्त मेरे पास है। अगर सुनाने लगू तो उस में बहुत समय लगेगा। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस की जांच कराये।

यही नहीं, अभी 50 लाख रुपये का जाते जाते उन्होंने एक दूसरे सज्जन को कपड़ा दे दिया है। इन का नाम मेरे पास नहीं है। अभी बोर्ड आफ डाइरेक्टर्स की मीटिंग हुई थी। नये लोग जो बैठे थे उन्होंने छानबीन की है और इस को देखा। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार इस पर इक्वायरी कराये कि टेक्सटाइल इंडस्ट्री ईस्टर्न रीजन की जो है और जो उस के भूतपूर्व सीएम डी हैं उन्होंने क्या इस तरह का गोलमाल किया है। मेरा ख्याल है कि दो करोड़ से कम का गोलमाल उन्होंने नहीं किया है। इसलिये सरकार को चाहिए कि जल्दी से जल्दी इस पर इक्वायरी कराये।

हमारे बिहार राज्य में बहुत मी इंडस्ट्रीज के प्रोग्राम पड़े हुए हैं। एक सीमेंट की फैक्ट्री का प्राबलम है। हमारे यहां कोल बेस्ड इंडस्ट्री बनायी जा सकती है। भारत सरकार के पास सीमेंट फैक्टरी के लाइसेंस के लिये, लेटर आफ इंटेंट के लिये दो प्रपोजल पड़े हुए हैं। एक जमशेदपुर से आया है। मुझे मालूम नहीं कि उन पर क्या हुआ। बिहार सरकार के कागज मुझे मिले हैं। यहां सीमेंट स्केयरसिटी में है। आप अभी उसे कोरिया से मंगाने हैं और कभी कहीं और से, लेकिन अपने यहां अपने क्षेत्र में इस इंडस्ट्रीज को आप खड़ा नहीं कर सकते क्या। उस के लिये आप लेटर आफ इंटेंट क्यों नहीं देते। दो सज्जनों ने दरखवास्त की है हमारे यहां उस के लिये। उस से वहां लोगों को इंप्लायमेंट मिलेगा।

कोलबैस्ट इंडस्ट्री हमारे यहां खड़ी हो सकती है। मान्यवर, एक कोलबैस्ट फैक्ट्री थी फर्टिलाइजर की सिदरी में, उस को उठा दिया। वहां करीब 5 हजार वर्कर बेकार हो गये। कोलबेस्ड इंडस्ट्री और उस के वाइ-प्रोडक्ट्स बनाने के बहुत से प्रोजेक्ट बना कर बिहार सरकार ने भारत सरकार को दिये हैं। भारत सरकार को चाहिए कि उसे जल्द से जल्द स्वीकृति दे। मान्यवर, पेट्रोकेमिकल काम्पलेक्स बिहार में बनाने की बात थी। आप जानते हैं कि ईस्टर्न रीजन में बरीनी में पेट्रोकेमिकल काम्पलेक्स सब से पहले कंसीव किया गया था लेकिन मालूम नहीं भारत सरकार ने उस प्रोजेक्ट को क्यों छोड़ दिया। वह प्रोजेक्ट हल्दिया में चला गया। कल्याण भाई बहुत बोलते हैं, सरकार पर दबाव डालते हैं, बैस्ट बंगाल की गवर्नमेंट सी० पी० एम० की है, ऐसा लगता है धौंस जमाने से भारत सरकार डर जाती है और उन की बातों को सकम्ब कर जाती है।

मान्यवर, हमारे यहां स्पिनिंग मिल भी बैठ सकती है। स्पिनिंग मिल के लिए भी बिहार ने इजाजत मांगी है। मान्यवर, हमारे यहां इलेक्ट्रिसिटी की बहुत कमी है। उत्तर बिहार इस माने में बिल्कुल अधूरा है। उत्तर बिहार में बाढ़ आती है, किरोसिन तेल भी नहीं मिल पाता है, इंडस्ट्री कोई नहीं है। शुगर इंडस्ट्री जो थी वह खत्म हो रही है। किसानों को पैसे नहीं मिले, इस लिए किसान ने उस को बन्द कर दिया। मान्यवर, मैं चाहूंगा कि बिहार ने जितने भी आवेदन भारत सरकार के पास इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन के लिए भेजे हैं और प्रोजेक्ट्स के लिए अनुशंसा की है। कि जल्दी से जल्दी उन को लेटर आफ इन्टेन्ट दिया जाय, लाइसेंस दिया जाय, उन्हें एलाऊ किया जाय एलाऊ कर दिया जाय। आप से कोई पैसा मांगता नहीं। वह कहता है कि मैं अपना पैसा खर्च करूंगा, बिहार सरकार योगदान करेगी। माइका स्ट्रेटेजिकल मेटे-रियल हो रहा है। वह बाहर चला जायेगा, लेकिन माइका वेस्ड इंडस्ट्री बिहार में कायम

नहीं हो सकेगी। बिहार में माइका कारपोरेशन इंडस्ट्री कायम करेगा ऐसा कहा गया, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य से माइका कारपोरेशन भी हाथ पर हाथ धर कर बैठा हुआ है। एक-आध प्रोजेक्ट भारत सरकार के पास आया है, उस को भी सेंक्शन करने में हिचक है।

मान्यवर, खेतिहर मजदूर बिहार राज्य में बहुत हैं। वहां गरीब तबके के जुलाहे भी हैं जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है। वह लेबर करते हैं, कपड़ा बुन कर गुजर करते हैं। इन दो तबकों के लोगों की हालत बहुत बुरी है। खेतिहर मजदूरों को तीन महीने काम मिलता है साल में। और गरीब जुलाहे सूत मिलने पर कपड़ा बुन लेते हैं। सीवान में और रांची में कपड़ा अच्छा बनता है। भागलपुर में अच्छा कपड़ा बनता है। मान्यवर, हमारे भागलपुर का कपड़ा इंग्लैंड को भी एक समय में एक्सपोर्ट होता था—इतनी अच्छी डिजाइन का कपड़ा बनाते हैं। लेकिन आज स्थिति यह है कि सूत के अभाव में उन के करघे चल नहीं पाते।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद रहमत अली) : अब मेरी स्थिति बिगड़ रही है। कृपा कर के बैठ जाइये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मान्यवर, खेतिहर मजदूरों की संख्या हमारे यहां 45 प्रतिशत है। खेतिहर मजदूरों की स्थिति यह है कि साल में उन को तीन महीने काम मिलता है। मिनिमम वेज सरकार ने फिक्स कर दी है, लेकिन उन को मिनिमम वेज नहीं मिलती है। उल्टे जो जमीन कांग्रेस सरकार ने दी थी जब पावर में थी, जनता पार्टी जब आई तो वह सारी जमीन को—जिस को हम ने सीलिंग से निकाला था—दखल कर लिया गया। आज वह बेचारे तबाह हैं और तरह-तरह से तंग किये

जाते हैं। उन को हाउसिंग नहीं है, मेडिकल फेसिलिटी नहीं है, न बोनस का प्रावधान है, न कोई आर्गनाइजेशन है, जो मिनिमम वेज के लिए सेन्ट्रल एक्ट पास करने की कोशिश उन के लिए हो रही थी वह आज तक नहीं हो पाया है। मैं चाहूंगा कि भारत सरकार जल्द से जल्द सेन्ट्रल एक्ट उन के लिए बना दे ताकि इन लोगों को सुविधा हो सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, there is a very tiny, insignificant section, very small in number, but otherwise very much VIPS, in terms of money power who are intensely happy with the Budget. Their identities are not secret; monopoly houses, big business, share market speculators and affluent middle classes. And they have recorded their deep appreciation for the concessions given by the Finance Minister who has been all the time claiming to have kept his head high, perhaps so high that it has got detached from his body or lost in clouds, and has not been able to see the millions of people who are below the poverty line, millions of unemployed—perhaps, the highest in the world—and also the rise in poverty decay and destitution. Sir, for the poor and dispossessed masses, employment is a major means for participation in the economy. But the Economic Surveys, year after year, are non-responsive to the basic indicators of people's well-being. There is very inadequate and poor monitoring of what happens on the employment front. The only data presented in the Economic Surveys are 1982 provisional figures in regard to employment in the public and private sectors. Even the Employment Exchange data are not presented. The increase in the number of registered unemployed forms no part of the Economic Surveys, what to speak of a more comprehensive and up to date employment data.

(Shri Kalyan Roy)

That is why, Sir, the Finance Minister has ignored the unemployed and has got bouquets from the rich. On the 1st March, the Economic Times wrote and I quote:

"The share market operators are apparently pleased with whatever concessions the Union Finance Minister offered in the Budget for 1984-85 and continued to lend strong support to a good number of shares."

Mr. Nabagopal Das, an ICS man and a big boss in the FICCI, carried by the euphoria, wrote in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of 3rd March-I quote:

"The Union Budget is balanced and anti-inflationary. No Finance Minister could please everybody. He took comfort (Mr. Mukherjee) from the fact that the business community has welcomed his Budget proposals as a whole."

This is the response you are getting from the FICCI and the big business that they are quite happy and pleased with your Budget.

Sir, what is more shocking is the calculated reversal of the trend which Mr. Mukherjee indicated in the 1983 Budget. This is the shocking part of it. A total volte face. Mr. Venkataraman gave concessions after concessions to the big business and the rich straightaway. He had full faith in the IMF, Mr. Venkataraman. The deal with the IMF was done by Mr. Venkataraman, not by Mr. Mukherjee. But Mr. Mukherjee is carrying on the entire IMF burden on Mr. Venkataraman, not by Mr. Mukherjee. But Mr. Mukherjee is carrying on the entire IMF burden on his read high, on his high head, eternally fixed perhaps Mr. Mukherjee's loyalty is very difficult to find out. It is cleverly camouflaged.

In the last Budget, he introduced minimum tax of 30 per cent on no tax liability big business and he tried to impose some discipline and tax on trusts, the most handy and easy tool

in the hands of the big and shady houses to evade taxes. We welcomed this. But at the same time, we expressed our doubt about the effective implementation of this measure. We would like to know, how far this has been implemented? This time, unfortunately, Mr. Mukherjee's camouflage has collapsed. Perhaps, he and the Cabinet have understood the implications of alienating the rich and the powerful gang of monopoly houses whose support is very vital for their survival and also facing what he said:

"....a forthcoming event."

Gentlemen, don't think we do not understand you. After all, how can you go against your masters who feed you and who, in turn, expect you to protect their interests? But what is disturbing us is the deliberate attempt to mislead the people, by repeating false statements which Mr. Mukherjee also knows they are false. In order to justify the concessions to affluent classes and the private sector bosses, Shri Mukherjee has given a theory. But he himself does not believe it. He said:

"Reduction in the rate to encourage better compliance and that this will partly cover the revenue loss...."

Again it says: "Our tax rates are relatively high."

All this is sheer bunkum. What is our experience? Our experience is just the opposite the facts are just the opposite. Take the tax rate first. Recently a high-power committee lead by Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank went into the corporate financing and this is what they have stated. This has appeared in the 'Telegraph' of taxes are kept roundabout at the that the effective rate of the corporate tax for a sample of public limited companies had declined from 48 per cent in 1977-78 to 40 per cent as against the statutory rate of more than 55 per cent in the two years. The report further states, and quotes an example of 417 companies assisted

by ICICI which shows that the provision for tax as percentage of profit before tax worked out on an average of 43 per cent in 1979-80 and 40 per cent in 1980-81 as against a nominal rate of nearly 57 per cent of corporate tax prevailing in those years. Then, Sir, in the 1st to 15th June 1983 issue of 'Yojna', Justice Rajinder Sachar, former chairman of the Committee of the MRTP Act pointed out and I quote:

"A very tempting reason is offered that reduction will not only yield more revenue but will stop generation of black money. In a recent study conducted by Shri Kabra, Professor of Economics, Indian Institute of Administration, Delhi, he had analysed the structure of Indian income-tax rate from 1971-72 to 1978-79 with the conclusion that the tax evasion has not gone down."

So, whether the tax rates are high or low have been amply proved by the study of the Reserve Bank and by the study of no less a person than the ex-chairman of the Committee of the MRTP Act.

Rather either the actual collection falls far short of budget estimate or year after year deliberately collection of taxes are kept roundabout at the same figures. Take the income-tax figures. I will quote only one figure, Sir. The budget estimate was Rs. 1559 crores in 1981-82 and what are the collections? These are Rs. 1475 crores. Similarly, Sir, particularly year after year the collection of wealth tax, estate duty and gift tax have been kept at a low figure. In this budget also the collection of these three taxes altogether have been fixed at Rs. 117.50 lakhs. So vested interests are demanding total abolition of these three taxes, wealth tax, estate duty and gift tax. You will be surprised that Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee and Mr Poojary replied to my question that the children of Shri G. D. Birla who died in London paid only Rs. 3,58,470 as estate duty. This is

how we are handling the big business houses in India.

And then, Sir, coming to accumulation of tax arrears, on 30th June, 1983, as many as 95 MRTP companies were in tax arrears exceeding Rs. 10 lakhs or more in each case and that large amount of tax demands have become unenforceable. Just eight of the companies of the Birla group owed more than Rs. 5 crores by way of unenforceable tax demands. This is admitted, conceded reply in this House by the Finance Minister.

That is why Shri Prem Shankar Jha, not a friend of the leftist, wrote in the Times of India on 5th March and I quote:

"What is more disquieting is the performance of the personal income tax, in the last two years its yield has increased by only 33 per cent—less than half of the growth of money GNP. The yield of the wealth tax, estate duty and gift tax, together gone up in the same miserable proportion. Clearly, so far as direct taxation is concerned, evasion has become a way of life."

In spite of this truth, bare truth borne by your reports, by sheer statistics produced by Government papers..... Mr. Mukherjee goes out to give concessions and says, "tax rates are high". If it is not a double-faced policy, then I would like to know what is the meaning of "double faced". What does the audit say? We find, about the tax collections, that the performance of the tax collection department vis-a-vis the action plan targets in the areas of assessment and collection during the years 1976-77, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82 and 1982-83—in all these years—the actual performance in both the crucial areas of assessment and collection has fallen far short of the action plan targets laid down by the Central Board of Direct Taxes itself. The shortfall ranges upto as much as 48 per cent in the case of assessment

(Shri Kalyan Roy)

and 31 per cent in the case of collection. Secondly, pendency of company cases has in fact been constantly going up from 46,563 in 1978-79 to 55,861 in 1981-82. The effective area of arrears tax remains at the level of about Rs. 1000 crores. Although a large number of Commissioners have been appointed recently from 69 it has gone as far as I remember to 110 in 1982—the number of appeals pending with the Commissioners of Income Tax Appeals has been going up from 46,300 at the end of 1979-80 to 54,143 at the end of 1980-81 and 62,873 at the end of 1981-82. So this is the experience. This is the sordid truth which no amount of camouflage will cover. Knowing all this, giving all these figures, now you have suddenly thought that concessions are needed to be given to the capitalist section and that tax rates are high. And who pays the taxes? Read any of the recommendations of the PAC. Does. Any one of them pay Wealth Tax? All the Birlas—K. K. R. K. and others—the Birlas whom you have appointed as Member of Board of Directors Reserve Bank of India—all together—have paid Rs. 3 lakhs over the death of G. D. Birla. What is the total assets shown? Negligible. So this is how the tax collection is going on.

Sir, the need for money in the elections is understood. But it has been unfortunately nakedly pronounced. This is what the Economic Survey says:

"Direct taxation cannot be relied upon to generate large revenues in developing country".

This is what Mr. Mukherjee has stated. That means before the elections, full assurance has been given to the big business houses and kulaks to support the party which is against direct taxation. This is the penetration of the philosophy of IMF. This is the philosophy of Reagan: No

direct taxation, reduce direct taxation. This is exactly the deepest penetration of the IMF philosophy into the head of Mr. Mukherjee. But what I accuse Mr. Mukherjee is of serious breach of trust. And he has not been very honest about it. This is what he stated on November 11, 1983 at Delhi. I quote from the Economic Times:

"Direct tax rates—Pranab rules out cut".

This is what is stated:

The Union Finance Minister rejected the demand for reduction in the marginal rates of direct taxes in view of opposition from the States which get a share in the revenue. Inaugurating the 20th All-India Conference of Corporate Managers and Tax Executives organised by FICCI, he said: The Chief Ministers oppose any reduction in income tax since 80 per cent of the revenue went to States.

Then what is the use of calling the Chief Ministers? Why do you hold meetings? Mr. Mukherjee said in November, 1983: "I cannot touch direct taxes because all the Chief Ministers oppose it". And in February 1984, when not even three months have passed, he just tore the assurance given to the Chief Ministers and stated openly in FICCI: Cut those very parts which hit the States most. It is not a question of the Congress regress regime. They are all united. Is game or a question of the non-Commitment not a breach of faith. This is what Mr. Ashok Mitra is pointing out. If possible, a breach of privilege motion should have been brought against Mr. Pranab Mukherjee. Referring to the Chief Ministers meeting he did just the opposite. It is a shame. Even Mr. Bhabatosh Datta—whom Mr. Pranab Mukherjee honours an outstanding economist had this to say. He stated in the Statesman of March 5, 1984:

"Downward changes have been made only in divisible taxes..... The Centre has probably under-

estimated the loss to revenue from income tax relief by assuming that the lower rates will induce better compliance by taxpayers. If the hypothesis that the loss will be only Rs. 59 crores instead of the initial Rs. 180 crores is not realised, the States will stand to lose more."

This is by an outstanding economist, an ex-adviser to the Government of India, writing in the Statesman of March 5, 1984.

And even in giving relief to the income-tax payers, Mr. Mukherjee has given the highest relief to the highest income people. According to one expert—it has appeared in the Business Standard of March 11:

"The relief in income-tax was highest at the highest slabs working out to 11 to 20 per cent in Rs. 60,000 to Rs. one lakh slabs."

In other words, those who are earning or are showing an earning of Rs. 1,00,000 will get more relief in relation to those whose earnings are just 50,000-60,000 rupees. Such class budget, I do not know whether any other Minister would have been capable of producing.

Regarding black money, Mr. Mukherjee mechanically repeated what he stated in 1983. In 1983 he stated: "This Government is determined to plug avenues for tax evasion and avoidance and to continue the fight against economic offence." But, Sir, though this time also he has quoted, the hollowness is clearly visible. In a milder language he stated: "The evils of black money and tax evasion have also to be reckoned with. "There is no determination to wipe out or to fight out black money. I know you cannot do it because you will have to knock at the doors of FIICI for fighting the election which is coming. Naturally this time, no rooting out of black money, no fight against black money. The language also has changed with the changed situation. About black money, I shall tell you what

he stated yesterday in the other House. He has tried to minimize an article by VITO TANZI, who is supposed to be Director of Fiscal Affairs in International Monetary Fund. Mr. Tanzi stated: "Black money is highest in India". Mr. Mukherjee tried to minimize it by stating that "It is an article written by a stray journalist". That shows how serious you are to fight out black money. I want to know whether he is an officer of the IMF and whether the Government has probed into it. What has Mr. Mukherjee done? He has shelved the entire thing by referring the entire matter to another committee to find out the depth of black money—as if you need another committee to find out about black money — and you know, as I know that its report will never be published.

But I do congratulate the Government, particularly Mr. Pranab Mukherjee and Mr. Poojary, thanks to the economic policy pursued, at least smuggled goods of very shape and size, including full houses, are available to customers at their door-steps. I must congratulate Mr. Poojary. We have no dearth of smuggled goods available to us, from shaving cream to perfume to cheese to imported house. I read in the Times of India that somebody in Uttar Pradesh had imported a whole house, a pre-fabricated house, from Geneva. He is a retired Colonel, Col. Anand from the Tarai area, I must congratulate. This is not a mean achievement. Mr. Mukherjee has taken pride in introducing cost audit. He has stated on page 24 of his speech, and I quote:

"I am providing for compulsory audit of accounts." Whom is he trying to bluff? Sir, I put a specific question on the 22nd February, 1983:

"(a) whether it is a fact that most of the large houses and companies covered under the MRTP and other Acts are not submitting cost audit accounts at the time of submission of returns while under rule

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

12(1)(a) of Income Tax rules it is mandatory on companies to submit cost audit accounts of the companies;

"(b) if so, what is Government's reaction thereto;

"(c) how many companies under the MRTP Act and large houses have not submitted any such audit reports since 1977 and what action has been taken against them;"

This is the reply given by the Minister of Finance. There is nothing new about it, the cost audit; it was there. You would be interested to know the reply.

the reply. I read:

"(a) It has come to the notice of the Central Board of Direct Taxes that cost audit reports have generally not been filed along with the returns.

"(c) On a test check in respect of the companies belonging to large houses which are being overseen by the Directorate of Inspection (Special Investigation) it is seen that in about 45 per cent cases cost audit reports were not filed by the companies.

"(d) & (e) The Income-tax Officers did not seem to have asked for cost audit reports from these companies....".

And the reason?

"....due to oversight."

And who are they? All the big 74 family houses—the ACC, Bajaj, Bangur, Bird, Birla, Chowgule, ICI, ITC, J. K. Singhania whom you have again promoted either to the IDBI or the Reserve Bank of India. Jardine Henderson, Escorts, Goenka, Garware, Jaipur, Kanadia, Kasturbai, Lalbhai, Khatau, Kilachand, Kothari, Mafatlal and all others.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): Leave it.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: In spite of the fact that section 12(1)(a) requires mandatorily that they have to submit cost audit returns along with the income tax returns, none of these companies have submitted them. And what action has been taken? None so far. Are you not ashamed of it? A worker when he fails to attend 240 days per year, losses his entire year's gratuity. An ordinary rickshaw puller when he fails to pay loan to a bank, is hauled up, and his rickshaw is seized. A marginal farmer who fails to pay the money to the Government, is dragged to prison. And here is a mandatory law, and between 1977 and 1984 none of these MRTP companies—these are not small companies—are complying with it, and no action has been taken. If anybody else would have been here, I would have just asked: How many crores of rupees are you collectnig from them every month? I would ask, and anybody would ask whether he is from Communist, the CPI, the CPM or the Janata. Nobody is complying with it. And you have 15 to 20 thousand officers and clerks in the entire Board of Direct Taxes, and no action has been taken.

Mr. Poojary, you can be very brave to the LIC people. You can be brave to the bank people. You can shoot down peasants in Maharashtra. But before these people what do you do? In ordinary Bengalj we call it: Trousers drop down, heads bend and both the palms come in folded namaste. So, Sir, I would finish my speech, quoting again the article in "Yojana" by Shri Sachar—I-15 June, 1982. He stated:

"In my view, the overall touch stone by which any policy must be judged is the commitment in our Constitution to remove the vast disparity which is the bane of our society. We cannot possibly make a success of our republic unless we remove vast disparity in urban

cities where 1 per cent wealthiest control 20 per cent of the total urban wealth and 4 per cent of the top control 41 per cent of the total urban wealth. To reduce and eliminate massive absolute poverty lies at the very core of development itself. Can there be any moral justification for making greater concession and benefits for such an insignificantly small number of population when 60 per cent of our population is defined as having an expense of Rs. 20 per month per person?"

This is the article which appeared in "Yojana", which is being produced by you. And this article is by an ex-Chairman of the MRTP Commission. Have you any hope for these people about whom he has mentioned? No. None at all.

My last point—which I will bring up later on also—is that Mr. Mukherjee has mentioned about mobilisation of resources and helping the public sector. Again with what face can you stand in Parliament? You had passed an order under the Aluminium Regulation Order that the five aluminium producing companies will have to deposit the difference between the retention price and the selling price of aluminium. In other words, those whose retention price is lower than the selling price will be depositing the money in the Aluminium Regulation Account and those whose retention price is higher than the selling price will get the money. In other words, HINDALCO, your friend's concern, Mr. Birla's concern, and the Indian Aluminium, a multinational company, will have to deposit the money into the Aluminium Regulation Account so that BALCO—Bharat Aluminium—and MALCO, public sector concerns, do not die of starvation. The matter went to the court. Birlas did not pay. The court absolutely rejected Birlas' contention and the amount involved in 1983 came to nearly Rs. 36 crores. You are talking of overdrafts of the West Bengal Government and other Governments. Are

you not ashamed of the overdraft of Birlas—Rs. 36 crores? who is going to check it? Indian Aluminium has not paid Rs. 21 crores. Those are part of the proceedings of this House—questions and answers and half-an-hour discussions. After losing, Birlas went to the Supreme Court. I warned at that time Mr. Mukherjee, Mr. Tiwari and Mr. Salve: I hope you are not having a confabulation to withdraw the case or to come to an out-of-court settlement. Here is an assurance given in the House: no out-of-court settlement will be made. I said, they have gone to the Supreme Court and they will lose in the Supreme Court. (Time-bell ring) I am talking of mobilisation of resources. Mr. Salve replied in this House that because Birlas have not paid Rs. 36 crores, the BALCO and the MALCO are in a great crisis and the Government has to give a loan of Rs. 80 crores to these two public sector concerns. And the BALCO and the MALCO will have to pay heavy interest to the Government on the loan they have taken. They have no alternative but to take loan because of the non-payment by HINDALCO. And in the month before last, the case was withdrawn from the Supreme Court, according to Mr. Pranab Mukherjee's letter and reply, and a compromise was made out of the Supreme Court and Rs. 36 crores was not paid but Rs. 23 crores was to be paid. What about the balance? Even today he has replied to this. Even today Mr. Salve in reply to Question No. 1926, 15th March, 1984, has said that the case was settled outside the Supreme Court and of the Rs. 35 crores they have to pay Rs. 10 crores was waived. What about the interest to Birlas? The Minister said: "The question of levy of interest on arrears is under consideration." Is it not a shameful fact? And Rs. 10 crores was given. Why? Because they have paid to the UP State Electricity Board. This is what the Minister said. I can positively tell you today that not a single Paise has been paid by HINDALCO

[Shri Kalyan Roy]

to the UP State Electricity Board because the case between UP State Electricity Board and HINDALCO has not been compromised in Allahabad High Court. Who got the money, Mr. Poojary? This is the worst kind of socio-economic and political corruption. Who are involved in this? This question has been debated again and again in this House. Mr Pranab Mukherjee expressed deep concern, and after expressing deep concern, Rs. 10 crores was given up from HINDALCO. I demand a full investigation into the matter as to who are responsible for it. This Government's economic policy has caused serious damages to the country's economy, has retarded its growth and endangered its stability both economic and political and denied social justice to the masses. It has only intensified the problems. We reject this Budget.

SHRIMATI KRISHNA KAUL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise with your permission to speak on the Union Budget for 1984-85 which was presented in Parliament on 29th February 1984 by our Finance Minister, Hon'ble Shri Pranab Mukherjee. I congratulate the Finance Minister for it certainly is an imaginative budget, not shackled by too many constraints, and aims at bringing about speedier development of the national economy. It is formulated against the background of a strong recovery in national income and agriculture, and an equally impressive improvement in the balance of payments position.

The foodgrain production this year has more than covered the lost ground. Notwithstanding the severe droughts and indifferent monsoon between 1979 and 1983, it is likely to exceed the target of 142 million tonnes. Benefits accrued from bumper agricultural production will go a long way in meeting part of the uncovered deficit. Together with this, the industrial performance during the year and the increase in foreign exchange reserves this February, testify and prove that

the country has emerged stronger by the end of this year. The Government's voluntary decision not to avail of the 1.1 billion SDR under the Extended Fund Facility of the IMF clearly substantiates this confidence.

While meeting the investment demands of a growing economy, the Budget reflects the confidence of the economy to contain inflationary pressures. The Budget provides for reduction in excise duties and a simultaneous increase in custom. It is an astute strategic step from the point of view of levies. This will have the effect of giving additional protection to domestic industries, from foreign competition. It will also stimulate domestic demand without creating a corresponding demand for foreign goods. Capacity utilisation in domestic industries will also be aided. The reduction in excise duty on a variety of items of mass consumption, viz. textile, tea, fans, imitation jewellery, stainless steel utensils, etc., is indeed a welcome aspect of the Budget for the relief and satisfaction of the common man.

Now coming to income-tax, the reduction in the income-tax rates, pertaining both to the common man and the affluent, is a most satisfying feature. The revised tax schedule provides for relief to an assessee with an income of Rs. 20,000 a reduction amounting to 20 per cent of the tax payable earlier. Similarly an income level of Rs. 30,000 is now eligible for a relief of 16.67 per cent. These steps will go a long way in providing sizeable comfort and relief to the salaried class.

It has long been contended that high direct tax rates simply result in widespread evasions, and that high indirect tax lead to higher prices, thereby reducing demand and hence revenue. Our worthy Finance Minister has selectively cut down both kinds of taxes. In fact it is an important aspect of the budget. It takes

a step forward in devising a new credo, that it is possible, to have more revenue from lower tax rates. He has pointed out, that the reduction in tax would have cost Rs. 180 crores to the exchequer but being an astute economist that he is, he is confident, that the reduction would amount to only 59 crores, consequent upon better tax compliance. Thus the Finance Minister has succeeded in implicitly ushering in a new philosophy of taxation and giving a considered and fresh turn to tax policy.

Care has also been taken, that the Sixth Plan projects are not scuttled due to resource constraints, in the final year of the Plan. The Plan expenditure has been raised to Rs. 30,231 crores as against Rs. 25,480 crores in 1983-84 with a 25 per cent hike in the annual plan allocations. There is a special stress on programmes meant for the rural areas. Our Prime Minister's New 20 Point Plan which forms the core of these schemes and aims at all out socio-economic development of the country has been allotted almost 40 per cent of the amount of the Plan outlay for the coming year. The Rural Employment Guarantee scheme, as well as the Integrated Rural Development Programme would create 5.0 million mandays of work, and will go a long way towards lifting a major portion of the people above the poverty line.

The budget has made adequate provision for the development of infrastructure. The outlay on power projects is to go up by 44 per cent, i.e. to Rs. 1754 crores, coal production would get Rs. 1310 crores as against 1,076 crores last year, with a production target of 152 million tonnes. The allocation for Railways has been raised by 23 per cent to Rs. 1,650 crores and adequate provision has been made for the development of ports.

The stress of the budget is on Growth rather than Demand management. The budget meets the ends of equity and mass welfare through

deployment of resources. The provisions for social welfare, rural and community services, programmes for improving opportunities for gainful employment and productivity, of the vulnerable sections of society, have been given up priority.

The budget also gives reason to hope that the era of cost-push inflation, caused by sharp and not always justified increase in administered prices is behind us. The relative absence of new levies of Rs. 193.6 crores this year as against Rs. 716.05 crores in the last budget, and the absence of pre-budget price and tariff increases, as on petroleum products, fertilizers, rail travel (lone exception being the hike in coal prices in January) provide an ample proof.

In keeping with the new financial structure of revenue, which underlies his new tax philosophy, is the innovation in the budget to compete directly for household savings by offering rates of interest slightly higher than those offered by the banks. The Hon'ble Finance Minister hopes to get Rs. 200 crores through a National Deposit Scheme in 1984-85, and another Rs. 300 crores later. Instead of relying increasingly on enhanced tax rates, the emphasis has now been shifted to higher public sector surpluses and a greater draft on household savings. It provides for a 10.5 per cent rate of interest for four-year deposits, and tax exemptions on interest up to ten thousand rupees and it should prove a success in mopping up excess liquidity and curbing inflation.

Steps are being taken for the eradication of poverty. During the last four years, the Government has introduced a number of schemes for the weaker sections of society, particularly in the rural areas, in the urban slums and also for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These include the Integrated Rural Development Programme, the National Rural Employment Programme and the two new programmes announced by our beloved Prime Minister

[Shrimati Krishna Kaul]

Shrimati Indira Gandhi on the 15th of August 1983. These are the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme and the scheme for providing self-employment opportunities to the educated unemployed. They are designed to create opportunities for employment and income generation for particular target groups while also creating productive assets. The total allocation for rural development would be Rs. 930 crores and for the IRDP and NREP, an allocation of Rs. 216 crores and Rs. 230 crores respectively has been made which is to be matched by the States. The number of beneficiaries under these programmes in 1984-85 is estimated at over three million. The allocation for rural landless employment guarantee programme, which seeks to provide work for hundred days in a year, at least to one member of every rural landless family, is stepped up to 400 crores in 1984-85. Another 25 crores of rupees have been allocated for the programme of providing self-employment opportunities to the educated unemployed. The budgetary provision under this programme will be used as a capital subsidy against the loans to be given by the banks and more funds may be made available during the course of the year for these two new programmes. In the Plan for 1984-85, a sum of Rs. 243 crores has been earmarked for the accelerated rural water supply programme scheme. The States on their part are expected to provide Rs. 264 crores for this purpose under the Minimum Needs Programme. Over 50,000 problem villages are expected to be provided with drinking water facilities during the year 1984-85.

The programme for integrated child development services is an important part of the effort of the Government to help women and children in the backward areas, urban slums and the tribal areas of the country. The programme is already in operation in 830 blocks and will be fully operational in all the 1,000 identified blocks by the end of 1984. A provision of

Rs. 36 crores has been made for this scheme, the total allocation being Rs. 78 crores including the various schemes for the development of social welfare in 1984-85.

Our distinguished Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has said:

"A nation is judged by what it does for its children."

The national policy for children adopted by the Government of India under the dynamic leadership of the Prime Minister in August 1974 recognises children as the "supremely important asset" of the nation, and it has declared:

"It shall be the policy of the State to provide adequate services to children both before and after birth and throughout their period of growth to ensure their full physical, mental and social development. It also envisages that the States shall progressively increase the scope of such services so that within a reasonable period of time all the children in our country can enjoy optimum conditions for their balanced growth."

Sir, the child needs love and acceptance, nurture and nourishment for its body and stimulation for its mind and it is the dream of every mother to provide these essentials. The Integrated Child Development Service has been devised for precisely this purpose, to provide suitable aid, so that the child is not deprived of its childhood and the nation of its human wealth.

The I.C.D.S. provides a package of services to the children. These consist of supplementary nourishment, immunization, health check-ups, referral services, nutrition and health education and non-formal pre-school education to children below six years of age. It further extends its services to expectant and nursing mothers, including nutrition and health education to women so that every child in the area has opportunity of survival and development into a useful member of society.

The projects are being taken up in selected blocks in the most disadvantaged, backward and far-off rural areas and urban slums. It also includes a non-formal, functional literacy programme, for adult women, for enhancing the capability of the mother, to look after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child as an integral part of the I.C.D.S.

Each project caters to a population of about one lakh through a network of 100 Anganwadis (courtyard gardens) located in its area. The number of Anganwadis is adjusted according to the actual population, number of villages and the topography. The focal point for the delivery of services is this Anganwadi. It is perceived as an activity centre for children as well as women within the community.

Training, monitoring and evaluation programme is done regularly. The health infrastructure is strengthened by a Medical Officer, a Lady Health Visitor, and a mid-wife through primary and sub-health centres.

Emphasis is placed on the involvement of the voluntary agencies community participation and coordination at all levels.

The New 20-Point Programme is a Minimum Needs Programme for all-round comprehensive development of our vast country in important and basic areas in need of development right down to grassroot level. It has laid vital emphasis and has generated an upsurge for massive expansion of the Integrated Child Development Scheme. It would not be out of place to mention that the I.T.D.S. takes care of the all-round development of the child in its native setting and combines in a way the psychological approach of Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and Madam Montessori along with the demands and needs of his body, of his mind, of his environment and of his heritage.

A massive expansion of the I.C.D.S.P. is an answer to the theme of the Universal Children's Day which had just been observed in this very decade. There is so much pathos and so much truth in the Universal cry "Hungry Children—a challenge to the world conscience".

The provision for the benefit of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes has been increased to 209 crores for 1984-85. The Plan outlay for education and culture has substantially stopped up to Rs. 204 crores as against Rs. 150 crores in 1983-84. Likewise the Plan outlay for health and family welfare programme has also been stepped up by nearly 32 per cent from Rs. 460 crores in 1983-84 to Rs. 605 crores in 1984-85. The family welfare programme will cover an additional 20 million persons.

These and the other socio-economic priorities as reflected in the 20-point programme are being vigorously implemented. The total amount allocated to the programme in the industrial Plan is Rs. 4038 crores which is an increase of about 47 per cent over the contain inflationary pressures, while the outlays to be provided by the States and Union Territories.

The total provision for the 20-Point Programme will be Rs. 1189 crores representing nearly 40 per cent of the total annual plan outlay of the Centre, States and Union Territories. Even with an uncovered deficit of Rs. 1762 crores.

2 P.M.

The budget reflects the confidence of the economy to contain inflationary pressures while meeting the investment demands of a growing economy. It seeks to ensure economic stability while providing growth oriented incentives to industry.

In a situation of high tax rates and a narrow tax base our hon. Finance Minister is to be congratulated for limiting this budgetary deficit to Rs. 1762 crores. Even Nani Palkiwala, with his superb gift of the gab, and his ability to masterfully twist the

[Shrimati Krishna Kaul]
elasticity of the English language in fields of perpetual criticism of constructive plans and realistic policies, who had dubbed it as an oil borne budget, had to admit, that the 1984-85 budget is in the right direction.

I would like to close by quoting Shri Swaminathan S. Aiyar, who says "1984-85 budget is like a breath of fresh air. It is pointed and compact and grapples with the reality that high tax rates have become counter-productive and need to be reduced. High tax rates have penalised only the honest, not the rich and spurred a gigantic black money I once again congratulate our Finance Minister for the 1984-85 budget which is a pragmatic budget which is a budget for stability, for progress and for development, a product of sound economic of an astute economist and I whole-heartedly support it. Thanks.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the budget and to compliment our Finance Minister for the budget. Every ordinary citizen of this country finds solace in this budget. I have carefully heard and read the speeches from the opposition benches. I should say that they have lost track. Actually, this is a budget placed by our party and the opposition friends have started measuring our budget with their yardsticks. Naturally it does not fit in. If our friends from the opposition benches use the yardstick either of Janata or of Lok Dal or BJP or for that matter even of the Communist party of our friend Mr. Kalyan Roy, they cannot judge it. The budget cannot be measured by these yardsticks. Unfortunately, they have lost the track in measuring the budget. It is said that it is an election budget. Admittedly, it is an election year. Certainly it is an election budget. We do not want to deny it. It is our election budget. It is not your election budget because you are not coming back to power.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Bihar): You give the budget. We shall win the elections.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Mr. Shahabuddin, the Indian voter may be illiterate, but I can tell you after these 36 years of experience in democracy, he has become mature.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: The Indian voter does not read the budget.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Of course, I agree. He rejected us in 1977 with high hopes and aspiration in you. But he changed his mind within a span of two and a half years. He rejected you and he asked you to sit in the opposition. He gave the power back to the Congress which has continued the process of development from the very beginning of our Independence. The opposition could not rule the country for more than 30 months; even though there was a massive mandate to run the administration for five years, they failed and had to quit office after 30 months. The Congress gave this country a strong economic base, provided it the strength to face three military invasions and for many other things. Above all, the Congress gave durable political stability to the country, making an all-round progress through planned and integrated development. Vigorous steps are taken to develop science and technology, and the country today can take pride in the achievements of our scientists who have placed our country in the safe position in the world science map through INSAT-1B and our expeditions to Antarctica. More than anything else, Congress promoted national integration, combatted communalism, linguistic fanaticism and regional parochialism.

Sir, during these 36 years, where were we, and where are we now? We have started our Plan in the year 1950 with 55 million tonnes of foodgrains, and today we are producing 142 million tonnes which is a record agri-

cultural production. In steel, we started with 1.4 million tonnes, and today it is 8.3 million tonnes. In cement, we started with 2.7 million tonnes and today it is 24 million tonnes. In coal, it was 32.8 million tonnes and today it is 140 million tonnes. Crude oil was 0.26 million tonnes and now it is 22 million tonnes. In electricity, we started with 5.3 MWs and now it is 133 MWs. With this progress, the Congress has run this country all these years, and brought out the present picture. What is the barometer to test the success or to test the Budget? Sir, the barometer is our masses who have voted us to power. How far have we satisfied their aspirations and their hopes is the barometer. And with that barometer, we have to test it. Sir, this is our barometer, this is the election manifesto wherein we have given to the people before coming to power in 1980 that these are the things that we are going to do and with which we have been voted to power. How far we have satisfied these aspirations is more important. Admittedly, this is an election year. We are going back to the people after five years. How far we have been able to keep up our promises that we have given in the election manifesto in 1980 is more important. Sir, I will just take the important aspects. Much has been said about taxation I do not want to go into the actual figures. And I leave it to the economists and the people who also wrangle with the figures. Sir, regarding taxation, we have said in our election manifesto that the Congress will review the existing tax system and restructure it so as to reduce the burden on the middle-classes, to remove the harassment to the small trader, and bring about equitable responsibilities on all affluent sections for the benefit of the society as a whole. Sir, this is the yardstick with which our today's Budget, placed by our Finance Minister, Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee, should be tested. Sir, he has given relief to all sections—to the paid employees, to the middle-class, to the

industrialist—to reduce the burden by reviewing the existing system and restructuring it. So, are we not fulfilling it? Are we not in the process? Of course, we cannot satisfy all. But are we true to the words that we have given to the people during the election or not? To that extent this is an experiment, and a worthwhile experiment. And this experiment should be commended. While giving concessions, it is our endeavour to see that more and more voluntary taxes come forward and harassment is minimised. We have taken care of that. The Budget has taken care of industrialists also. And big industrialists are given attractive subsidies and at the same time expected them to share their profits. It has also taken care of misuse of profits in the name of trusts and charities and has tried to put an end to such misuses in the name of trusts and charities.

Sir, what was our promise to the large bulk of population of this country? We said that there will be substantial increase in the quantum of credit available to small and marginal farmers. This is our promise. We said that the regional rural banks and other financial institutions will be revived exclusively for small and marginal farmers with adequate provision of funds. Sir, you are aware that Gramin Banks have started functioning for the purpose of making available rural credit to small and marginal farmers, limiting their income upto Rs. 6,500. A number of branches are working in this country in obedience to the promises that we have given to the people. The scheme of differential rates of interest for bank loans for the benefit of small farmers and weaker sections will be revived and it will be continued. Small farmers and marginal farmers will be able to augment their incomes by auxiliary occupations. Under the NRDP programmes which we have introduced, we have identified the weaker sections and small and marginal farmers and through banks lakhs of rupees and crores of rupees

[Shri H. Hanumanthappa]

are flowing through credit for the amelioration of their lot. Agro-industries are being set up for their benefit and schemes for farmers agro-service centres are being implemented. We have said that small and marginal farmers as such will be treated as economically weaker sections and given all such concessions and benefits as may be available to those sections. Sir, all this agricultural strategy that we have enunciated in our election manifesto, we have followed it and implemented it through our Budgets from 1980 to 1984. It has resulted in an optimum output of agricultural production of 142 million tonnes, raising the growth rate to 9 per cent.

Sir, coming to industries, what were our promises? Let me analyse and tell you how we have stood by our promises. We have said that the Congress, therefore, emphasises a pattern of industrialisation which combines maximum possible employment with a level of sophistication appropriate to a modernising society. It will undertake a quest for appropriate technology in every field of industry so as to achieve an industrial pattern which combines viability, decentralisation as far as practicable. Sir, here also our new industrial policy that we have enunciated and several concessions that we have given is taking the shape of employment mobilisation as well as giving stability to the industrial units that are working. Sir, we are streamlining the public undertakings also. The IDBI loans now liberalised by the Finance Minister encourage the weaker units and creates an interest to revive and add to the industrial production in this country.

Sir, we had promised the strengthening of the public distribution system also. You are aware, Sir, that through various measures we have increased the scope of the public

distribution system and we have created a monitoring section also to supervise how far this facility has reached the consumer and how far it has been misused and wherever it has been misused, what stringent action is to be taken.

Sir, in the case of employment also we had promised to the country and to the people, one adult member per family employed on socially acceptable wages and a phased scheme to create self-employment for skilled and qualified youth. In pursuance of these promises, the NREP programme, soil conservation programme, afforestation, irrigation and the other works that we have taken up and recently pronounced by our hon. Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on August 15, 1983, the rural educated unemployed and the rural labour guarantee scheme have been implemented. These are the schemes which have been implemented in pursuance and in consonance with the policy that we have enunciated in our election manifesto.

Then, Sir, we have also mentioned in our election manifesto about the problems faced by our people in their employment abroad. What was our promise? Regulations in regard to Indian nationals seeking employment in other countries will be examined so as to obviate the hardships. My friends will recall that we have enacted an Act and the Labour and Rehabilitation Ministry is looking into it. In pursuance of the Act the hardships that our people, the Indian nationals abroad are facing, we are trying to solve them. We have regulated the agency licences etc. and the Government is taking action in pursuance of our promises.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: They are making it still harder.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: Whenever we introduce any new measures, there will be hardship and by experience only we will have to solve them and come to a decision.

After all, we cannot anticipate everything under the sun while making laws. After all, the laws are made by us and they are subject to correction as and when any defects come to our notice. Whatever hardships or lacunae we come across in implementing them, we are prepared to solve them and you are there to help us. Sir, I have deviated from the existing practice, by including details of the critical analysis I have made of our promises.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAHMAT ALI): I appreciate it.

SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA: I am only afraid of the bell.

Coming to our promises to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, in pursuance of our promise to them, immediately after we took over this office, we have introduced an amendment to the Constitution, extending the period that was promised, and we have thus honoured our promise. Not only that, we have allowed the reservations for them to continue.

With regard to freedom-fighters, we had also given certain promises that their pensions will be revived and continued. The House will be pleased to note, very recently our hon. Railway Minister has announced grant of two first-class passes for the freedom-fighters in their lifetime, to enable them to go round the country and have a tour of the country and know the developments which have taken place and which they were dreaming of before Independence, and thus, they will be happy to see the present-day picture of India after 36 years of independence, about which they were dreaming under the British rule.

Even in the field of sports, we had promised a national scheme for sports and games including indigenous games for the students to encourage and enhance the love towards sports in the country. We have not only successfully conducted Asian Games, we are also encouraging sports in the schools and colleges, and our Government, for

this purpose, has set up a separate Ministry for encouragement of sports, in pursuance of our promise given to the youth of the country.

In the international sphere also, we had given certain promises, like strengthening the defence capability of India commensurate with her size, natural resources, human talent, strategic position and the long land, sea and air frontiers. Hon. Members will recall that our defence allocation has been enhanced by about Rs 600 crores, and our defence personnel are very vigilant and watchful on our borders. Our promise was to "adhere firmly to the policy of peaceful co-existence and concept of non-alignment as defined by late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru". And in pursuance of this promise, our country had taken the credit of hosting the Non-Aligned Movement conference. Not only that, our hon. Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi is the Chairperson of NAM, and only in pursuance of the resolutions and discussions at the non-aligned conference, she is visiting the neighbouring countries the third-world countries. She is now recognised as the leader of the third-world countries; against the two worlds of America and Russia, there is the third force emerging, the third world under the leadership of India and our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi. Our other promise as to have bilateral and multi-lateral discussions among the countries and in the recent CHOQM conference, we have been able to come to an understanding with the Commonwealth countries to advance our trade between the participating countries.

Having said all these things, I want to bring some of the vital points to the notice of the Government. One important aspect which has to receive the attention of the Government as well as the public, is our family planning programme. It is estimated that our population will grow to one hundred crore by the year 2000. The gap is only of 16 years; we are in the year

1984 now and by the year 2000, our population will be one crore, that means, 30 crores will be added to it. We have taken persuasive and motivational methods to contain this population growth. But I am sorry to say that all these efforts have failed to reach the rural people. I can give an example. It is the rural women who had brought down the birth rate in China. There is urgent necessity for family planning. For this, you should go to the rural areas, you should involve the rural women and make them understand the necessity for family planning. This can be done only by educating women and raising their status. We should educate women, particularly, rural women, and raise their status. You should give them employment and make them participate in the national activities. In this connection, I would suggest that there should be compulsory education for girls up to the tenth standard and family planning should be taught as one of the subjects at the high-school level. This will go a long way in educating them, in spreading the message of family planning and in bringing down the birth rate. It is time to bridge the gap between population and development. A definite and comprehensive population policy, which should include female literacy and the raising of their status, is necessary. I think, even the friends from the other side, Mr. Shahabuddin and others, will agree that we should evolve a national policy on this. They have now stopped talking of family planning. They are waiting for one more opportunity as they did in 1977; if possible, to make use of. But I would request our friends on the other side that they should help us in evolving a national policy on this because whether they rule or we rule, this is a must in order to keep up the pace of development.

Sir, there is one more aspect which has been lost sight of, or, which has not received the proper attention. This is education. Of course, our Finance Minister says that if you want

economic growth, you have to sacrifice. He says, you have to sacrifice some items. But health and education are two spheres, where we cannot sacrifice. We should not also. Time has come when our educational policy has to be reviewed. Of course, we had agreed upon the national health policy. But we should do something in regard to education. Our hon. Prime Minister has set up two commissions on teachers. I wrote to her 'Please include education as a subject'. These commissions should go into not only the amelioration of the conditions of the teachers, but they should also undertake a thorough review of the present educational system, which produces lakhs and lakhs of graduates—our younger generation—and leaves them in the streets to burn buses and so on. Hence, I would request the hon. Education Minister and the hon. Prime Minister to enlarge the scope of these two commissions or appoint one more commission so that they will be able to go into this and evolve a new educational policy.

Now, I come to the functioning of the banks. Of course, our hon. Deputy Minister, Shri Janardhana Poojary, has just left. He has started a crusade against the bank officers, not against the banks but against the officers, who are not willing to participate in and implement the accepted programmes of the Government. Still, much has to be done in this sphere in the rural areas, in the far-away places, where these loans are not being distributed properly.

Now, I come to the question of special component plan. Even though Budgetary support and the allocations are there, the mid-term appraisal itself says that even after three years, the performance is not even 50 per cent. This shows that it is not enough if we make allocation in the Budget. But the implementation aspect is more important. This we should take care of. Here, even 50 per cent of the

amount has not been spent and sufficient attention has not been paid in this regard.

About reservation policy. I spoke on the UPSC also. But here again, the policy in regard to reservation has been accepted by the Government. The several circulars which have been issued by the DPAR and the Home Ministry are not being implemented fully in any of the departments, whether they are under the Government of India or under the State Governments or whether it is in the case of public sector undertakings or in the co-operative sector. Here is a premise which has been given to these people. When this is not being fulfilled, a sense of resentment or unhappiness is created among these people, on the one side. On the other, jealousy is also developing. Anti-reservation organisations are also coming up. That is why, I would say, we should effectively implement the reservation policy. With these words, I commend and support the Budget.

कुमारी सरोज खापर्डे (महाराष्ट्र) :
श्रीमान्, बजट पर बोलने से पहले मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देना चाहूंगी। इस वर्ष वित्त मंत्री जी ने संसद के सामने जो बजट पेश किया है वह वाकई स्वागत योग्य बजट है। एक लम्बे अरसे के बाद हमारे देश में इस प्रकार का यह पहला बजट पेश किया गया है कि जिस के बारे में किसी ने भी किसी प्रकार की आलोचना या टीका-टिप्पणी नहीं की है। हाँ, इतना जरूर है कि इस बजट पर भी टीका-टिप्पणियाँ हुई हैं और वह उन लोगों के द्वारा हुई हैं कि जिन लोगों को सिर्फ सरकार की आलोचना करना या सरकार के कार्यक्रमों के बारे में हमेशा शंकाएँ उठाना या उस को हमेशा क़िटसाड़ करना ही एक मात्र काम रह गया है

और वे सरकार के हर कार्य को इसी नज़र से देखते हैं और उस की बजह से ही इस जनरल बजट में टीका-टिप्पणी की गयी है। यह उन का कसूर नहीं है। वह तो आदत से लाचार हैं। आप ने देखा और पढ़ा होगा कि जब वित्त मंत्री जी बजट पेश किये थे तो उस के एक दिन पहले एक खबर अखबार में आयी थी जिस के अनुसार फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के पी० ए० का ब्रीफ केस कहीं गुम हो गया था। विरोधी पार्टियों ने आवाज उठायी कि पी० ए० साहब का ब्रीफ केस गुम हो गया है और उस में माननीय मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट के पेपर्स को रखा हुआ था। वह सब गुम हो गये हैं। मैं विरोधी पार्टियों से यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि आप के लोग भी जब सरकार में थे तो आप लोगों में से कोई वित्त मंत्री बने थे, कोई प्रधान मंत्री बने थे। कम से कम इतना बड़ा आरोप सरकार पर था वित्त मंत्री जी पर लगाने से पहले जो प्रधान मंत्री या वित्त मंत्री आप के जमाने में थे या जो गृह मंत्री आप के जमाने में रहे थे, कम से कम उन से तो पूछा होता कि क्या कभी इतिहास में ऐसा हुआ है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर बजट पेश करने से पहले अपने सारे बजट के पेपर्स पी० ए० के ब्रीफ केस में रखने के लिये दे दिये हों। मैं नहीं समझती कि कहीं भी, किसी भी देश के फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर अपने पी० ए० के ब्रीफ केस में अपने डिपार्टमेंट के या बजट के पेपर्स रखने के लिये दिये हों और वह गायब हो गये हों। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं हो रहा है कि विरोधी पार्टियों की अकल का दिवाला न निकल रहा हो। अगर उन की अकल का दिवाला न निकलता तो शायद इतना भीषण आरोप आप ने न किया होता।

एक समानतीय सदस्य : विरोधी दल का कोई भी सदस्य तजर नहीं आ रहा है।।

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें : उन की अकल का दिवाला निकलते ही तजर आ रहा है क्योंकि अकल होता तो वे लोग यहां रहते । अकल नहीं है तो कहां रहेंगे । बार बार वे लोग कहते रहे हैं कि ट्रेजरी बेंचेंज के लोग यहां नहीं रहते हैं । आज मैं देख रही हूं कि उधर सिर्फ आ साहब बैठे हैं और वह भी बोल नहीं रहे हैं । शायद अपने पत्र लिखने में व्यस्त हैं ।...

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) : सुधारा भी जाय तो कहां तक ।

उत्समाध्यक्ष (श्री सैयद रहमत अली) : बक्त ज्यादा नहीं है । आप बोलिये ।

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ें : मैं उन को डिस्टर्ब नहीं करना चाहती । आप अपनी चिट्ठी लिखते रहें लेकिन मैं कुछ बातें बजट के संबंध में कहना चाहती हूं । यह शायद पहली बार हुआ है कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर ने बजट पेश करने से पहले भिन्न भिन्न संस्थाओं के लोगों को बुला कर उन से विचार विमर्श किया और यह भी एक कारण हो सकता है कि इस बजट को पेश करने के बाद उतना हंगामा नहीं हुआ जितना कि पहले बजट पेश करने के बाद होता रहा है । हमारे देश की जो आर्थिक व्यवस्था है वह अत्यन्त कठिन है और उस को समझना इतना आसान नहीं है कि जिस को समझ कर हम बजट बना कर देश के सामने पेश कर दिया करें । (व्यवधान) आ साहब, आप बैठ जाइये । अगर अपोजीशन में कोई नहीं रहेगा तो बोलने में मजा नहीं आयेगा । हमारे वित्त मंत्रालय के ऊपर सारी मिनिस्ट्रीज

का भार रहता है और उन में एक टेंशन बना रहता है ।

ऐसी स्थिति में साधारण जनता और बड़े बड़े पूंजीपति नये बजट के विरुद्ध अपनी टीका-टिप्पणी करते रहते हैं कि किस तरह का बजट पेश करने वाले हैं और किन किन चीजों के दाम बढ़ेंगे और किन किन चीजों के घटेंगे । लेकिन जब वे संतुलित बजट पेश करते हैं तो सारा राष्ट्र काफी सीमा तक संतुष्ट होता है । इस बार भी ऐसा ही हुआ । सरकार का एक ही लक्ष्य है कि हमारे देश के गरीबों को ऊपर उठाना और गरीबी को दूर करना । इस के लिए छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में 20 सुत्री कार्यक्रम के द्वारा देश से गरीबी को दूर करने का मूल लक्ष्य है । छठा पंचवर्षीय योजना के मध्यवर्ती मूल्यांकन में 1979-80 में 3390 लाख यानी 40 करोड़ व्यक्तियों को गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे की जनसंख्या को ऊपर उठाने का अनुमान लगाया गया है । अनेक कार्यक्रमों को लागू करने के कारण और ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रमों के लागू करने के कारण ये आंकड़े 1981-82 में 2820 लाख यानी 28 करोड़ का अनुमान लगाया गया । इस प्रकार मोटे तौर पर छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के पहले दो वर्षों में 570 लाख व्यक्तियों यानी करीब पाँच 6 करोड़ लोगों के गरीबी की रेखा पार करने का अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है ।

श्रीमन्, छठी योजना में 10 करोड़ 20 लाख लोगों को गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर लाने का कार्यक्रम है । इन आंकड़ों को देने का कारण यही है कि सरकार के पास गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए अनेक कार्यक्रम हैं और उन पर वह काम कर रही है । हमारे दस विरोधी दलों के नेताओं ने अभी थोड़े दिन पहले हमारी प्रधान मंत्री को एक मेमोरंडम दिया है और उसमें 11 सुझाव दिए गए । लेकिन उन सुझावों को देखने के बाद लगता है कि विरोधी दलों ने जो सुझाव सरकार को दिये हैं, वे कोई नये नहीं हैं, अनोखे नहीं हैं । वे तो आम स्कूलों और कालेजों में पढ़ने वाले लोगों के जैसे

सुझाव हैं जिन्हें वह अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। आपको यदि कुछ सुझाव देने हों थे तो ऐसे सुझाव दें जो मौलिक होते, तब तो बात समझी जा सकती थी।

श्रीमन्, हमारे विरोधी दल के भाई यह भी नहीं जानते हैं कि इंट्रिग्रेटेड रूरल डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम क्या है। मैं समझती हूँ कि रूरल इंट्रिग्रेटेड डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम अंत्योदय से बड़ा प्रोग्राम है। ... (व्यवधान)

श्रीमन्, इसी प्रकार हमारे विरोधी भाइयों ने यह भी कहा है कि संविधान में दिए गए मूलभूत अधिकारों में काम करने का अधिकार भी जोड़ा जाए। ऐसा करना भारत जैसे गरीब देश में जहाँ पर कि 46.2 परसेंट लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहते हैं, वहाँ पर काम का अधिकार संविधान में शामिल करना जरूरी है। यह केवल विरोधी दल के लोगों के कहने की बात जरूर हो सकती है, लेकिन इसका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हम कहां तक कर पायेंगे, इसमें मुझे भी शंका है। अगर यह काम सरल होता तो अपने ढाई साल के शासनकाल में जनता सरकार इस पर काम कर सकती थी। कुछ राज्यों में गैर कांग्रेसी सरकारें आज भी हैं वह इस चीज को लागू कर सकती हैं।

महोदय, संविधान में बिना संशोधन किए ही 15 अगस्त, 1983 को सैल्फ-हैंपलायमेंट स्कीम फार दि ऐंजुकेटेड यूथ की घोषणा हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने की है। 1983-84 में 2.5 लाख रुपये की सीमा निर्धारित की है रिजर्व बैंक ने कर्ज के रूप में और 1984-85 के लिए 3.25 लाख रुपये की राशि निर्धारित की है। 31 जनवरी, 1984 तक इस स्कीम के अंतर्गत कम से कम 1 लाख 63 लाख 647 आवेदन पत्रों की सिफारिश की जा चुकी है।

पांच महीने में सरकार ने जो प्रयत्न किये हैं नहीं समझती ये कोई कम प्रयत्न हैं। लेकिन इसकी सराहना विरोधी पार्टियों की ओर से

की जायेगी ऐसा मैं कभी नहीं सोच सकती थी और न मैं अपेक्षा करती थी।

श्री सैयद शहाबुद्दीन : आप से उम्मीद की जाती है कि आप उस को पूरी करेंगी।

कुमारी सरोज खापड़ : आप से उम्मीद नहीं कर सकती थी।

जैसा मैंने पहले कहा कि 46.2 परसेंट जनसंख्या गरीब है। उस गरीबी को दूर करने का सरकारी प्रयास निरन्तर जारी है। इंट्रिग्रेटेड रूरल डेवलपमेंट प्रोग्राम राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार कार्यक्रम, ग्रामीण भूमिहीन रोजगार गारण्टी कार्यक्रम, ऐसे प्रमुख कार्यक्रम हैं जिन्हें लोगों को गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर लाने के लिए विशेष रूप से तैयार किया गया है। देश में आर्थिक असंतुलन है। कुछ राज्य बहुत विकसित हैं और कुछ बहुत पिछड़े हुए हैं। पिछड़े हुए इलाके जैसे पंजाब है इसमें 15.13 परसेंट गरीब जनता है, हरियाणा में 24.84 परसेंट गरीब जनता है, हिमाचल प्रदेश में 27.23 परसेंट गरीब जनता है। इसके ठीक विपरीत अगर आप देखें तो उड़ीसा में सबसे अधिक गरीबी आप पायेंगे। उड़ीसा में 66.40 परसेंट गरीब जनता मौजूद है। त्रिपुरा में 59.73 परसेंट, मध्य प्रदेश में 57.73 परसेंट और बिहार में 57.69 परसेंट, यह इतना इम्बैलेंस है, कि सरकार का इस ओर ध्यान जाना चाहिए और उस इम्बैलेंस को समाप्त करना चाहिए। जितना अधिक पैसा सरकार को पिछड़े इलाकों के लिये खर्च करना चाहिए वैसे नहीं हो पा रहा है। आगे चलकर मैं एक बात और कहना चाहूंगी कि एक पंचवर्षीय योजना या एक छोटी योजना इन पिछड़े हुए राज्यों के लिये बनाई जाय और उसका लाभ उन इलाकों को मिले। इन पिछड़े हुए राज्यों के लिये राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर एक आयोग नियुक्त किया जाय जो इन राज्यों के प्रत्येक आर्थिक पिछड़ेपन के पहलू पर अध्ययन करके एक ऐसी रिपोर्ट दे जिससे सरकार उनके विकास के लिये प्राथमिकता दे

[कुमारी सरोज खापाड़ें]

सके। अभी तक मेरी जानकारी के अनुसार कोई इस तरह के आयोग की नियुक्ति नहीं हुई है। इतना ही नहीं उद्योग के क्षेत्र में पिछड़े क्षेत्रों के विकास के लिये राष्ट्रीय समिति नियुक्त जरूर हुई परन्तु उसने एक ही विषय पर अपनी सिफारिश दी है जो सरकार के विचाराधीन है।

कीमतों के बारे में काफी चर्चा रहती है। विरोधी दल तो इसको राजनैतिक रंग देते हैं। इतना सब होने के बावजूद, मैं एक एकानामिस्ट न होते हुए जैसा कि हमारे सहयोगी डा० आदिशेषैया बैठे हुए हैं, इतने बड़े एकानामिस्ट, हैं मैं तो एक साधारण इस देश की नागरिक की हैसियत से कई बातों पर आपसे कहना चाहूंगी कि साधारण व्यक्ति जो गरीबी की रेखा से ऊपर उठ रहा है तो उसकी खपत की रेखा भी बढ़ती जायेगी। योजना आयोग के अनुसार गरीब व्यक्ति वह है जिसकी गांव में 65 रुपये और शहर में 75 रुपये खर्च करने की क्षमता हो। इस दर के अनुसार एक व्यक्ति दो समय का खाना भी नहीं खा सकता। जब वह इस दर से ऊपर उठेगा तो उसकी खपत की दर भी बढ़ेगी। जब उत्पादन क्रमशः नहीं बढ़ेगा तो कीमतें आप बढ़ेंगी। मैं महाराष्ट्र के विदर्भ के पिछड़े हुए इलाके से आती हूँ। वहां काफी पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है। लोगों के पास खाने के लिये, पहनने के लिये, रहने के लिये साधन नहीं हैं। बेरोजगारी काफी है। जब यह लोग ऊपर उठेंगे तो जीवन स्तर बढ़ेगा तो कीमतें अवश्य ही बढ़ेंगी। कीमतों को रोकने का एक ही साधन है हर क्षेत्र में उत्पादन बढ़ाना और वह उत्पादन तब ही बढ़ सकता है जब सारा देश उत्पादन बढ़ाने के संग्राम में सरीक होगा। मुझे विश्वास है कि बाढ़ और सूखे के होते हुए भी पिछले पांच वर्षों में आर्थिक क्षेत्र में विकसित देशों का मुकाबला हम कर सके हैं। मैं

वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करूंगी कि बजट एलोकेशन करते समय कुछ प्राथमिकताओं को ध्यान में रखा जाना चाहिए। जैसा मैंने पिछड़े राज्यों के बारे में कहा और थोड़ी देर पहले उनका जिक्र किया, उन क्षेत्रों को प्राथमिकता देना बहुत जरूरी है। महाराष्ट्र में विदर्भ एक पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है। उसमें कोई सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में बहुत बड़ा उद्योग नहीं है। यदि बड़ा उद्योग संभव नहीं है तो छोटे छोटे उद्योगों को वहां पर प्राथमिकता दी जानी चाहिए। साथ ही विदर्भ को महाराष्ट्र में हर राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम में प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिले पिछड़े हुए हैं। बहुत पहले उन जिलों के अध्ययन के लिए एक पटेल आयोग नियुक्त किया गया था। उसकी सिफारिशों के अनुसार उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वी जिलों का विकास कार्य हो रहा है। मैं चाहती हूँ कि विदर्भ और दूसरे पिछड़े क्षेत्रों लिए भी इस प्रकार का आयोग नियुक्त किया जाय जिससे कि विदर्भ जैसे इलाकों का भी कुछ उद्धार हो सके।

श्रीमन्, गांवों में गरीबी है तो शहरों में यह गरीबी गन्दी बस्तियों में दिखाई देती है। छठी योजना के अनुसार 1981 में 3.12 करोड़ जनसंख्या स्लम्स में रहती है। ये स्लम्स बम्बई, दिल्ली और कलकत्ता जैसे शहरों में बढ़ते जा रहे हैं। ये बातें इन शहरों में जाने पर साफ नजर आती हैं। इन बस्तियों को हटाने के लिए शहरी क्षेत्रों में जो एलोकेशन किया जाता है उसकी तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य की ओर इस बजट में कम ध्यान दिया गया है। देश की 43 करोड़ जनसंख्या निरक्षर है। महिलाएं तो केवल 25 प्रतिशत ही शिक्षित हैं। 8 मार्च को विश्व में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महिला दिवस मनाया गया। हमारे देश में महिला की स्थिति शोचनीय है, जब कि महिलाओं

पर हमारे समाज का बहुत बड़ा भार है। मैं चाहूंगी कि इस अवसर पर वित्त मंत्री जी महिलाओं के लिए विशेष कार्यक्रम घोषित करें। इसके लिए हमारे देश की महिलाएं उनको काफी दुआएं देंगी। मैं इस घोषणा की बात फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर पर ही छोड़ देती हूं।

श्रीमन्, 6 मार्च, 1984 को एक अतिरिक्त प्रश्न संख्या 840 के उत्तर में कहा गया था कि 111 कम्पनियां ऐसी हैं जिनके नाम दिये गये थे, इनके ऊपर करोड़ों रुपये का टैक्स ऐसेस किया गया है। मेरा सुझाव है कि आयकर कानून को सरल बनाया जाय और जो आयकर लगाया जाता है उसका 75 प्रतिशत कम्पनियों को सीधे जमा करना चाहिए और 25 प्रतिशत कानूनी फैसले के बाद लिया जा सकता है। इस समय एक रुपये में एक पैसा आयकर की शकल में आता है। आयकर वसूली में कितना खर्च होता है इसकी मुझे जानकारी नहीं है, परन्तु आयकर से काफी आमदनी हो सकती है यदि आयकर विभाग के कर्मचारियों और करदाताओं पर कड़ी निगाहें रखी जाएं।

विदेशों में जो भारत मूल के निवास रहते हैं उनको देश में उद्योग लगाने का प्रोत्साहन हम दे रहे हैं। मैं इसकी सराहना करती हूं। सन् 1983 में ऐसे 83 आवेदन फार्म आये थे जो अभी तक 55 स्वीकार किये गये हैं। मेरा सरकार से अनुरोध है कि ये उद्योग देश के पिछड़े इलाकों में लगाए जायें और इन भारतीयों को पूरी सुविधा दी जाए। उनको पूरी सुविधाएं हमारे देश में प्राप्त होनी चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, मेरा एक सुझाव और है। विदेशों में जो भारतीय बसे हैं उनके द्वारा निर्यात को प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिए और मिल भी सकता है। ये हमारे निर्यात के प्रतिनिधि हो सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, प्रधानमंत्री जी ने इस वर्ष जनवरी में सरकारी खर्च में कमी करने का मंत्रालयों को जो आदेश दिया है उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं। प्लान और नान-प्लान खर्च में जो कमी की जा सकती है उतना करने के लिये कहा गया है और किया जा रहा है, रिक्त स्थानों को भी भरा नहीं जा रहा है। लेकिन इसके साथ साथ मंत्रालयों में जो फूटकर खर्च होते हैं, छोटे मोटे खर्च होते हैं उनको भी कम करना बहुत जरूरी है। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर प्रधानमंत्री जी के आदेशों को मंत्रालयों द्वारा पूरी तरह से अमल करवाने की कोशिश में लगे हैं। यदि इन आदेशों को पूरी तरह से लागू किया जाए तो करोड़ों रुपये हम बचा सकते हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का स्वागत करती हूं और फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को बधाई देती हूं।

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have just listened to the hon. Member Sarojji and I was delighted to hear her remarks against the Opposition also. But possibly in the discussion of the budget, the hon. Member, Miss Khaparde will agree that more agreement with the Finance Minister will not contribute to a helpful discussion of the budget. No doubt the Members of the ruling party are charmed by the smiling Finance Minister.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: No, no, we are not charmed by his smile. We are definitely charmed by his budget, by his programme, by his progress.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA: He has produced, or placed before us, an outwardly....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED RAHMAT ALI): You are also smiling.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: We are charmed by the smiling faces of the Opposition.

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA:

But the fact is that the smile of the Finance Minister is deceptive and treacherous. He also possibly knows it, because he has, while presenting this budget, sought to set a programme before us, which is a very short term programme, may be for a few months only and in the next budget we may see a completely different picture—may be in November or in December or whatever it may be.

Now, Sir, before I take up the proposals of the budget, I would like to place before the House that this budget works in the context of a particular political situation. More provision of money in the budget and presenting an account does not lead to any concrete results unless the very political system helps it. But there is now a serious political crisis. The Finance Minister may provide a lot of money, but for the purpose of actual implementation, there must be a supporting political structure, a political foundation and a political culture. And the State must operate as an autonomous institution. But what do you find today? Today the relationship between the State and the civil society has been smashed. We find a ruling party, but we do not find a Government in the real sense of the term. That is the irony of the situation.

MISS SAROJ KHAPARDE: Do you find a Government in West Bengal, in Andhra Pradesh or in Karnataka?

SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA:

I request Sarojji not to take it in a partisan view. If she also carefully analyses, she will come to the same conclusion as I do. Now, I give an example. Take the Rural Development Programme for which a sum of Rs. 932 crores has been provided by the Government. And it is part of the anti-poverty programme. But what has happened in actual practice? The provision of Rs. 932 crores has enlarged the scope of greater corruption in the whole society. Not that

the provision is bad. But the way it has been implemented, it has led to an enlargement of corruption and more than half the amount of money has not gone to the people for whom the money was meant. When you look at the anti-poverty programmes in actual practice we find that these programmes have been turned into pro-ruling party programmes. That is a fact. That is the hard reality. Even the ruling party members will agree that unless they also tackle this, ultimately they will fall a prey to this danger and ultimately they will realise and say, nothing has come out of this whole game of what is called rural development programmes. I will give you another instance. The 20-point programme has been enunciated and publicised and it was originally enunciated in 1975. During that period this programme was aimed at achieving legitimacy for a Government which wanted to throttle the people. That was the main, basic, aim of the 20-point programme at that time. Today we find a new 20-point programme. And surprisingly this new 20-point programme has become suddenly, without anybody's, any authority's discussion or approval, what is called the core of the Five Year Plan. And what do we find today in actual situation? The Five Year Plan document is there. The discussions on the Plan are there. But the whole administration is more interested in is more geared to, not to the implementation of the Five Year Plan, but to the implementation of the 20-point programme. The 20-point programme is a political gimmick. I do not know ultimately what results will come out of it. This is how things are being done. And when the Finance Minister comes out with a Budget and he makes some bold assertions about a good management of the economy, it is again nothing but deception. What is the economy that he is controlling? He has given us a budget of Rs. 42,000 crores in which there is a deficit of Rs. 1780 crores. But what does the budget indicate? This Rs. 42,000 crores relates to only

half the economic management of which he makes a claim? The other half comes under the control of black money. The Finance Minister of the Union Government is in the control of only 50 per cent of the national economy. If he is managing anything, he is managing only 50 per cent of it; the remaining 50 per cent has been managed by the black money operators. And even within his own sphere of functioning what do we find? Even in his own 50 per cent, the actual authority or a large part of the authority has been handed over to a new breed of corrupt politicians, bureaucrats and the policemen. And we find commercial interests penetrating and operating in the rural areas. And then we find illicit traders and local landlords and political land lords dominating rural areas. All these different forces are managing their own spheres. The Finance Minister remains satisfied by presenting a budget before this Parliament deceiving himself and the nation and we also—whether we criticise it or we support it—adopt it. And finally when we adopt it, whose interests really does this Budget serve? Not the interests of the general mass of the poor people. The Budget of the Finance Minister is more concerned with the interests of the rich class, the elite class, because that is that main class which now supports the Government. In the resulting situation the general masses are safely ignored. The budget is not mass oriented, in spite of the provision of Rs. 932 crores for rural development programme.

When we talk of a budget, it has got two aspects. One is the annual aspect of it. That covers the annual provision of expenditure and income. The other aspect relates to the long term policy. Now, there is no policy indication given in the budget. It is only some *ad hoc* arrangement of addition or deduction of taxes and duties. The Finance Minister gives us a rosy picture of economy. But what

are the real facts. The budget is floating on oil. Income from petroleum has suddenly increased. That again is not a permanent resource. After a few years we may not have these oil resources. As such the economy is not on a stable foundation. There is no long-term prospect or long term perspective and we do not find any prospect of socio-economic change. In the past few years there was a lot of talk about socialism and social transformation. These words are no longer used now. These have been conveniently forgotten. If you look at some of the figures in the budget what do we find? The budget provides for Rs 490 crores for police, mainly, for CRP, BSF and Central Industrial Security Force. When it comes to education, the budget provides Rs. 4.7 crores only for adult education. But Rs. 60 crores are allocated for television expansion. I am citing only a few figures. What do these indicate? If it indicates any priorities of the Government, these priorities are more authoritarian. The Government has more money for instruments of repression and control over the people. It has more money for expansion of television. And then what is the actual role of television? A very recent survey report in Europe has pointed out that television cannot be an educative medium. At best it can be an entertaining medium. The most dangerous role of television is that it makes the mind drowsy and it paralyses the mind of the viewer. It makes his mind passive. So we do not have money for education. We do not have money for providing free and compulsory education. That is the total perspective of the Government. Whatever may be the bold claims made by Government about removing poverty, the fact is that they have no concern for equality and justice of the people. We find extensive police raj operating everywhere, whether it is a State ruled by Congress (I) or by some other party. We find a new police culture which is enveloping the entire country about which the ruling party in the Centre must be very careful.

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

The growth of this culture must be stopped right now. In the budget we do not find any ray of hope for changing this situation. Now, Sir, I 3 P.M. would like to refer to only one or two points more. Sir, the Finance Minister has not lost any opportunity for taking credit whenever nature has been bountiful. But, whenever there has been drought, he blames the nature for the bad results in agriculture. When nature is very much bountiful, he takes credit by saying that the improvement or progress in agriculture is because of the very sound policy adopted by the Government. Unfortunately, if you look at the total picture of the economy, whether it is agriculture or industry or energy, you will find that the picture is not very bright and the claims made by the Finance Minister are not supported by facts.

Now, if we look at the other provisions of the Budget, we will only find that the Finance Minister seems to be keenly interested in expanding the television network to about eighty per cent of the villages in the country. But, Sir, throughout the entire Budget, we do not find any concern, any serious concern, of the Government for providing clean drinking water to eighty per cent of the villages. Nor is he interested in providing for education or in making people literate, in taking literacy to eighty per cent of the population, if not a hundred per cent. Therefore, we cannot hope for any long term changes to come about in the country through this Budget either in this year or in the years to come. It may at best serve some purpose for the ruling party for the coming elections. But it is also possible that it will boomerang on the ruling party itself.

Now, Sir, I will mention only one more point and will finish. The Finance Minister has in his speech, referred to Assam. He has mentioned that he is providing Rs. 82 crores as additional loan to the Government of Assam for the purpose of relief and

rehabilitation. Here, Sir, I would like to point out that the Government, which has mismanaged the situation, resulting in a very great loss of human lives and loss to the whole economy, cannot save that State just by providing Rs. 82 crores. There are two points to which I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister in this regard.

The first thing is that unless and until political stability is restored in Assam through a satisfactory solution of the problem of foreigners there because of which the Government that is operating in Assam has lost its legitimacy—no amount of grant or assistance will help the Government in bringing about any kind of a stable economy or stable politics in that State, not to speak of any improvement.

Secondly, not only the State of Assam, but also the whole North-Eastern Region and other States like Orissa and Bihar are under the perpetual clutch of the colonial economy and a colonial policy. Delhi, even after Independence, has not ceased to be colonial in its outlook. The political bureaucracy in Delhi still remains colonial in its attitude and the colonial economy is still operating in these backward States. Unless and until this is abandoned and a radical change is brought about and the colonial system is replaced by a socialist policy in these States, no amount of grant and no amount of assistance will help in the growth and development of these areas and stability of politics and stability of economy in that State.

With these words, Sir, I would like to remind the honourable Finance Minister of the need to look into these things and to see that the implementation of the Budget proposals is not done only in the narrow interest of the ruling party and that it is not politically misused, but its provisions properly used in the interest of the economy and in the interest of the country as a whole. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDI-QUE (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget, and I congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for a Budget which is balanced, purposeful, development-oriented and with well-defined directions. Sir, of all the aspects of the Budget, I take special note of its emphasis on and thrust towards development. It is also to be noted that the Budget is being treated as a tool of economic policy rather as an instrument for raising tax revenues.

Sir, you will remember, in its chapter "Future Problems and Prospects", the Economic Survey has rightly pointed out:

"While the Government was able to step up planned investment during the Sixth Plan by 25 per cent a year by raising tax rates and the prices of products manufactured by public sector, the scope for raising more resources in this way was virtually exhausted."

Sir, more specifically it pointed out "Direct taxation cannot be relied upon to generate large revenues in a developing country . . . without adversely affecting the incentive to save and invest". On the other hand, indirect taxation had reached such high level that "the scope for raising additional resources through this instrument beyond the normal growth of revenues associated with rising production is limited".

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. Ramakrishna) in the Chair.]

Lastly, there was little room for further increase in administered prices. Thus by reducing the rates of direct taxation and selected excise duties, the Government has conceded that higher rates of taxation had become counter-productive, and that the time had come to lower tax rates in order to both stimulate production and reduce evasion. The reduction of income-tax rates at all income levels is particularly significant because it marks a retreat from the policy of allowing inflation to raise the rates of taxation on real incomes that has been

followed not only here but throughout the developed and developing countries of the world over the past two decades.

Sir, coming back to the development-oriented aspect of the Budget, it has taken for the first time a very serious and realistic view of the Central public sector enterprises in unequivocal terms that "economic viability must be the principal test for the survival of an enterprise". Sir, the overall dismal position of our public sector has been frequently discussed or commented on in this House. A total investment of Rs. 30,000 crores in the public sector, most of which are eternally in loss, is no mean amount. I am not going into the management aspect, though there is a lot to be said. There is something basically wrong in our approach. What I mean is that in the Budget it has been rightly prescribed as one of the remedies as modernisation of industry. With this end of view, the IDBI already has been providing liberal financial facilities for modernisation of industry. The widespread sickness in the cotton and jute textile industries has been as much due to their failure to modernise machinery and equipment as to their inability to respond to the changing pattern of demand. The total amount outstanding from 422 large sick units was Rs. 1453.29 crores as on June 30, 1981. Only two years ago, the outstanding amount was Rs. 1101.73 crores spread over 345 sick units. In most cases, sickness is due to obsolescence in traditional industry. Though unpleasant, the trend clearly establishes that the sickness in industrial sector has been growing at a faster rate than the growth rate of the bank credit. This is very distressing to the banking system. The figure does not include the outstanding of thousands of sick units in small scale, agricultural and other sections. Add to this the amount blocked in lakhs of suit-filed accounts. A dismal picture of the Indian banking and

[Shri Bijoy Kumar Handique]

their inherent capacity to earn profits emerges from a study of the amount blocked in sick units and suit-filed accounts.

It is distressing to note that only 9 jute mills have so far availed themselves of soft loan offered by the IDBI, though there remain a huge backlog of modernisation. The amount sanctioned to the jute mill industry under the soft loan scheme has a meagre Rs. 27.50 crores, compared with about Rs. 500 crores for textile mills which is also, by no means, an impressive figure. What caused further disappointment to the authorities and financial institutions was the less than 50 per cent utilisation of the sanctioned amounts by jute mills and some other industries. It will be remembered that many jute mills declined to accept loans for modernisation and rehabilitation purposes after these were sanctioned. Earlier this year, the IDBI announced that over a period of 10 years, the bank would make available Rs. 2,500 crores for the modernisation of the textile industry. When that announcement was made, the IDBI was charging a concessional rate of interest of 12.5 per cent for the soft loan. The textile mills then demanded much lower interest rate. (Time Bell rings). Is my time over so soon?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): The Finance Minister has to reply at 4.30. There are still 5 or 6 speakers.

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HANDIQUE: In the budget, though the Finance Minister could not concede the demand fully, it is clearly stated that for all soft loans up to Rs. 4 crores, the IDBI would reduce the rate of interest by 1 per cent to 11.5 per cent. The weaker units will get soft loan assistance of the same amount at an even lower rate of interest of 10 per cent. From our experience of the recent past, it is useless to nurse the fond hope that the industries of their own will take advantage of the concession to modernise their production facilities, plants

and machinery. I feel that the Government must consider enforcing modernisation on the ground that it is a national loss and no unit, big or small, has any right to waste. Unless penal measures are prescribed, or even suitable penal legislation is introduced, this thrust of the budget towards curing the potential malady of the Indian industry will end up as an exercise in futility. Sir, to pursue this thrust towards development, the budget has rightly emphasised the need for credit expansion and resource mobilisation for public investment. Thus, the "National Deposit Scheme" Certificate of deposits have been proposed. It is, however, to be admitted that in spite of Government's emphasis on credit expansion, the flow of credit lacks a uniform pattern.

In retrospect, over a period of 10 years beginning from 1971 to 1981, bank credit has expanded by more than eight times. As a percentage of national income, it has recorded an impressive increase from 13.5 per cent to 29 per cent. While in per capita terms, the rise in from Rs. 69 to Rs. 457, the base for credit creation has also broadened though credit-deposit ratio has shown a declining tendency. Besides, the seasonal character of the bank credit is still a continuing weakness of the Indian money market. The flow of credit during busy and slack seasons is considerably wide.

Sir, one basic objective of the monetary and credit policy is to use bank credit as a stimulant of the development of the backward regions of the country. But the flow of credit to different States lacks any uniform pattern. Sir, in per capita terms, the backward States like my State of Assam, or Orissa or even Bihar get a much smaller share of the bank credit. Likewise, Sir, the poor credit-deposit ratio of as many as 14 States indicates the fact that the deposits mobilised in these States are being diverted to other States. Thus, the regional imbalance is further intensified, giving rise to regional

resentment at the same time. So, Sir, the liberalisation of the new credit policy does not mitigate the problems of the industrial sector to the desirable extent. So, I would suggest that the hon. Finance Minister should look to these problems and see to it that the commercial banks be allowed sufficient leeway in meeting the genuine financial needs of the industry and trade even while catering to the priority sectors and social needs upto officially prescribed limits.

Before I conclude, Sir, as my time is rationed strictly, I have certain points to make about my State. One is about the employment position of the local people in the Central Government sector. I would like the hon. Finance Minister to make a survey to find out the percentage of local people employed in the Central undertakings in this region of Assam and the neighbouring States and Union Territories. I am afraid, it will be a very dismal picture. So, I would request sincerely the hon. Finance Minister to make a survey and see that the local people are absorbed. At least, there should be an arrangement for holding the interviews for all categories of posts in the region itself. We have given enough handle to an agitation. Of course, I always call it a misled agitation, a misguided agitation. But, Sir, for the heaven's sake, let us not give concrete handles for any other elements to take advantage of such things to create an agitation and chaos in the society.

So, I do appreciate again and congratulate the hon. Finance Minister for his balanced Budget, a Budget where even Rs. 930 crores have been provided for the eradication of poverty on the call of our Prime Minister. The 20-point programme forms the core of it which will give social and economic justice to the people, particularly the weaker sections of the society. And I do hope that as it has been proposed in the Budget, as expectations have been

roused in the Budget, it will be implemented fully. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI G. VARADARAJ (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget proposals for the year 1984-85 proposed by our young and dynamic Finance Minister. On the whole the Budget is a balanced Budget but a case of missed opportunity. It is a diplomatic budget where the hon. Finance Minister appears to have played safe which will at least preserve the *status quo*. A few welcome reliefs have been given selectively to certain sections of people and industry. Some mass consumption items have received some relief, and the whole thrust is one of playing safe.

However I feel that without sacrificing a *status quo* approach the hon. Finance Minister could still have framed a Budget which was more growth-oriented. He did express in favour of giving impetus to industrial growth but I am afraid, the budget measures outlined in the budget proposals have not gone far enough.

Sir, I am aware that the hon. Finance Minister has a difficult task to perform, caught in the compulsions of resource mobilisation and limited options to tap. Nevertheless, the resource position was not bad, the performance on the agriculture sector was good and industrial recovery was very visible. What was needed was to give fillip, to revitalise our limping economy and struggling industry with a dynamic approach to inject momentum. A more dynamic budget giving a leap forward to the economy and industry in the leap year of 1984 was expected.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, for the last three days many of my learned colleagues have discussed at length the various aspects of the budget proposals for the year 1984-85.

I would like briefly to touch on some of the tax proposals. I welcome

[Shri G. Varadaraj]

the reliefs proposed to the fixed income groups in terms of income tax and a relief in the excise on electricity. But I regret that in the process, the States have stood to lose more. I am of the view that the hon. Finance Minister could have considered reduction or removing of surcharge so that the States' share is not affected.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I appreciate hon. Finance Minister's comment in his budget speech to provide some additional assistance during the year 1984-85 for those States who have managed their finances well. I am proud to say, my State, Tamil Nadu, is one among those States. Our State Government under the dynamic leadership of our popular revolutionary Chief Minister, hon. Dr. M. G. Ramachandran, in spite of the unseasonal climatical conditions, other natural calamities and financial constraints has marched ahead to implement the various innovative programmes to upgrade the suffering downtrodden rural masses. For example, our hon. revolutionary Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran's nutritious meal scheme which benefits about 70 lakhs of children who suffer of malnutrition is something which is acclaimed by every one. The Great Lady Mother Teresa, when she visited Madras recently had all praise for the scheme. Our revolutionary Chief Minister has also announced many welfare schemes for rural masses, agricultural workers, unemployed youth and vocationalisation of education. All this, Sir, is possible only because of the excellent manner in which the State's financial resources are managed. I am sure the hon. Finance Minister will take into consideration all these factors and see that the financial assistance as requested by the State is provided for during the year 1984-85. This will enable my State to implement the various welfare measures and programmes and plan further measures.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to deal in detail about the

reliefs proposed to the textile front. At the outset I must congratulate the hon. Finance Minister on the first meaningful step, though minor, in implementing the integrated textile policy of which he was the author when he was the then Commerce Minister.

It is the moral duty of the industries and the Government to make available durable cloth at economical prices to the masses. But unfortunately, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we have failed in achieving this objective. Though we have tried to prove through impressive statistics our great achievements in building up capacities, an in-depth analysis will reflect that the failure to satisfy the need of the common man is more due to the Government's policy though the textile industry may also be partly responsible.

At present, we have no long-term clothing policy as such. When I say clothing policy, I mean that a policy frame-work, which spells out clearly the need and demand of the common man, taking into consideration the cost structure, so that the industry can plan and play an efficient role, to satisfy the needs of the common man without the industry itself facing periodical crises. Unfortunately the current textile policy does not seem to achieve this objective. Instead, it is more often a victim of Government's unrealistic and ad hoc policies.

Our present textile policy is still a tangled web. I would not like to go into this at this juncture, except to emphasise that a balanced view and approach in an overall perspective is urgently needed.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, all of us here, are well aware, that next to agriculture, textile industry provides the maximum employment, direct and indirect. Hence a strong textile industry is a vital necessity not only for the economy of the country but more

particularly to the cotton grower, fibre manufacturers and the dependent decentralised sector. It is a large employment source and one of the major contributors to the exchequer. During the year 1983-84, the total contribution from the textile by way of excise and customs duty was Rs. 1779.80 crores. As against this, the relief announced by the hon. Finance Minister is a meagre sum of Rs 68 crores. Even this relief will benefit only a selected small segment of the textile industry leaving a major portion without any relief. The relief is more towards the polyester cotton blended manufacturing sector which is mostly manufactured by the NTC and a few concentrated mills only.

The spinning sector manufacturing cotton yarn and polyester blended yarn which constituted the predominant segment of the spinning sector has not been given the urgently needed relief. This anomaly could be removed by treating polyester viscose blended yarn on par with polyester cotton blended yarn applying the same rate of excise duty at Rs. 5 per kg.

In respect of cotton yarn, counts 56 and above, account for 49 per cent of the total excise duty for cotton yarn although it constitute only about 8 per cent in the total cotton yarn production. The high duty incidence on fine and superfine counts has been a major factor for our debacle on long staple cotton front which severely affects the farmer. In the light of the present concessions announced on polyester cotton blended yarn at Rs. 5 per kg, I request the hon. Finance Minister to consider reducing the duty on cotton yarn of 56 counts and above to the same level. This duty reduction would also help in more efficient use of cotton.

It should not be forgotten that the spinning sector constitute the nerve centre of the entire textile industry and sustain not only the cotton grower as a consumer but also the handloom and weaving sector as a raw material supplier. Hence, it is vital that raw materials are made available to this sector at reasonable prices so that they in turn would be able to make available yarn at economic prices. Any set-back or collapse of the spinning sector will have great repercussion on many fronts and even the economy.

The major factor contributing to the present crisis in the textile industry is the high price of its fibres. The most important complementary fibre next to cotton, namely viscose, has become prohibitively expensive and out of parity with the price of comparable cotton varieties. Currently, it is found that the price difference between cotton prices of comparable quality with domestic viscose fibre is Rs 7 per kg. The price difference in the case of imported fibre is still higher, working out to Rs. 14 per kg.

The price differential between the imported and indigenous fibres is as high as Rs. 7 per kg. primarily because of the excessive customs duty of 45 per cent, working out to more than Rs. 7 per kg.

There is a strong case for also removing totally the excise duty on domestic viscose staple fibre and comparatively the countervailing duty on the imported fibre in order to maintain price stability on the raw materials to enable spinning sector to make yarn available to the decentralised sector at economic prices.

I strongly urge the hon. Finance Minister to consider removing the import duty totally.

While I welcome the fabric reduction on polyester cotton blended fabrics to 2 per cent ad velorem, it is unfair to increase the fabric duty on man-made and blended fabrics exce-

eding Rs. 25 per sq. metre, to 10 per cent ad valorem. In this way, except for pure polyester cotton blended fabrics, most of the other man-made and blended fabrics will have to pay the high rate because most of the above fabrics will be above Rs. 25 per sq. mt. Hence, I request the hon. Finance Minister to consider increasing the price of blended fabrics from Rs. 25 per sq. mt. to a higher level and tax at a same concessional rate of 2 per cent ad valorem instead of 10 per cent.

One other major cause for the present plight of the textile industry is the backlog in modernisation. The industry has missed the bus and can no longer be postponed. Moreover, modernisation and upgradation of technology is also urgently needed in the common interest. However, the industry has not been able to modernise its machinery due to adverse working conditions and sustained losses since 1980. Even otherwise, textile industry has been subjected to fluctuating fortunes.

In order to ensure a sustained modernisation, I understand that the Cotton Mills Federation which represents the textile industry has submitted a scheme to set up a modernisation reserve fund which will enable the mills to carry out the modernisation programme in sustained manner irrespective of the fortunes of the industry. I appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to consider this aspect as well.

Sir, I would now like to touch on exports. I need not dwell at length on the importance to boost exports not only to augment our foreign exchange earnings, but also to find complementary outlets for our goods. However, we all know, the international market is competitive, particularly in the light of our own high cost oriented and priced products. We need to maintain a strong and sustained drive for increasing exports without which our export will fall.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Mr. Varadaraj, why don't you say about the textile industry because the Finance Minister has just now come. He says, he has given much to the textile industry.

SHRI G. VARADARAJ: I hope, it will come to his notice.

Sir, during last year, section 35 B, which helped exports, has been removed and section 80 (HHC) was introduced which allows deduction from taxable income to the extent of one per cent of the turnover. Experience has shown that this is inadequate and it should be improved. The reasons are: Recession abroad and domestic inflation due to rise in the prices of industrial inputs have made our exports uncompetitive. It is essential that a strong and sustained drive for increasing exports is urgently called for. This will mean (a) thoroughly scouting markets—new and existing ones for our products by more visits abroad (b) extension of publicity and advertising abroad and (c) opening branches and after sales service centres abroad to give effective service. These are very essential for export and as efforts in this direction are not adequate, our exports are falling. I strongly recommend that instead of one per cent, this facility should be increased to 5 per cent so that more exporters can make use of it especially in the field of consultancy and engineering project exports where there is tremendous potential.

Another important area for increasing export of engineering goods is the impressive and updated technology required for the engineering industry. It is a welcome move on the part of the Finance Minister to reduce the customs duty on capital goods imported for gem and jewellery sector. Similar reduction in duty should be given for capital goods imported in the engineering industry for the expansion and modernisation. In the last few years,

the cost of capital goods due to sophistication has increased to such an extent that the present duty levels make it absolutely prohibitive and I do hope, I suggest, in the interest of modernisation and making it possible to produce engineering goods of international standards, the customs duty on capital goods for export commodities should be reduced, if not waived.

With these observations, I once again congratulate the dynamic hon. Finance Minister and his team for the Budget which they have presented and I support the Budget. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Budget of 1984 shows the continued adherence of the hon. Finance Minister to the basic policies and promises made by the Congress I to the people of India in the year 1980. This is the Budget which has put the hon. Members of the Opposition in a position of opposing the Budget for the sake of opposition—a negative line that will fall on rocky soil with no chance of fruition. Hon. Finance Minister's endeavour to put back on the rails the economy of the country, which was derailed by the previous Government has not only succeeded but it has also imbibed confidence in the national character to continue to stop forward without hesitation in their normal walks of life.

This Budget has attempted to touch and give relief to all sections of the society. The common man is the biggest beneficiary—giving him relief and the impetus to progress in the field of small-scale industries including the agro-industries, such as khandsari units, self-employment schemes by obtaining easy loans from banks without producing surety, intensive agricultural developmental work on small farms by making inputs such as fertilisers cheaper by way of increased ratio in subsidies, increased funds for drinking water in over 50,000 villages

in the country, excise cuts on his consumer items and the lowering of his wealth and income-tax, the lowering of his communication and cooking cost and most important, making his power consumption cheaper. A bonanza indeed, Sir, for all sections of our society.

In pursuance of paras 38 to 42 in this overall happy budget pertaining to the economic contributions of the States, I would like to humbly submit to the hon. Finance Minister that my State of Punjab has been and is till today in a state of turmoil. The Akali Dal has so systematical upset the ap'ecart of the economy of Punjab with their relentlessly undemocratic postures, that Punjab from the number one position in the country is being progressively lowered to the bottom of the ladder. Industries, Sir, have come to a stand-still and the industrialist is making haste to shift to other States. No worthwhile economic progress could be made in the State because the exchequer had, for the past three years, been emptied to feed and maintain the Akali agitators, maintain law and order and generally to frustrate their politically-motivated anti-national dreams. Sir, if the agriculturist of Punjab is still producing foodgrains with record yield in spite of all the turmoil created around him, it is not only because he is the best farmer in the world, it is because he is the finest nationalist in the country. He has never, and will never tire in giving off his best on the food front for this country. And therefore, Sir, to maintain this spirit and zest of the Punjab farmer and to overcome the three years of forced setback to the Punjab economy it has become imperative for the Central Government to come to the rescue of Punjab by reimbursing and increasing financial assistance to the State. It is to the benefit of the entire nation to set Punjab, even as a special case, back on its economic feet. In this regard, Sir,

[Shrimati Amarjit Kaur]

I also appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to consider in depth the desirability of allocating immediate increased funds for the long overdue completion of the Thien Dam and other irrigation and power projects in Punjab. Irrigation and power for an exclusively farming State, is the life blood of that State and therefore, Sir, the completion on a war-footing of the Thien Dam and other irrigation and power projects in Punjab will remove the thorn in its flesh and smoothen the rough edges created on the map of this State.

Sir, an assurance by the hon. Minister over these two aspects will go a long way to boost the moral of the people of Punjab during these troubled times.

Finally, Sir, this budget has been dubbed by the hon. Members of the opposition in both Houses of Parliament as an election-year budget. If for one moment we suppose this to be true, then all their criticism of it becomes negative—for the admission of this obviously implies that the budget of 1984-85 is an excellent one.

With these words, I support the budget. Thank you.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, as I was listening to the hon. Finance Minister deliver his budget speech a thought flushed through my mind that perhaps the end of February had lost its meaning and its importance.

Sir, the budget speech almost sounded like an exercise in narcissism. It was an act of self-glorification; it had been reduced to a rite. I was reminded of Stravinsky's symphony "The Rites of Spring", coming as it does on the eve of spring. Unfortunately it is so monotonously orchestrated that it sounded like a cacaphony a parody on this famous symphony. I find that the budget proposals provide no structural reorganisation of the economy of the country. The Finance Minister has talked of simplification. I find no

simplification of the financial administration. I also find little clarity in terms of ideological break-through.

In the whole budget of Rs. 42,000 crores after all the permutation and combination, after all the arithmetical exercises, we come to a net plus of Rs. 273 crores, which is just about 0.6 per cent of the total budget.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Is it plus?

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: It is plus 273 crores in tax. The tax proposals after all the plus and minus, finally end up with plus 273 crores which is just 0.6 per cent of the total budget outlay.

Sir, my judgment of the economic performance of the Government would relate itself to these questions: Are the people happier? Is there less poverty? Is there less economic disparity among various classes? Is there less regional disparity in the country today? Is there less international disparity in the world as we find it? I find that in terms of gross national product, in terms of world industrial production in terms of the total trade of the world, in terms of the total expenditure on human welfare, we seem to have been slipping down consistently.

We must all thank our agriculturists. We indeed have a record production of 142 million tonnes. The Finance Minister does not hesitate to claim credit for the soundness of his agricultural policy and while he talks about two years of drought and a year of indifferent monsoon, why does he not give credit this year to the bounty of gods?

I find in the mining sector, certainly our petrol-men have done a wonderful job. For this I would congratulate the Government because over the last few years they have certainly set a new trend in massive investment in petroleum exploration and petroleum refining. Today we have got a production capacity of 25 million tonnes, which gives us a saving, roughly, of Rs. 6000 crores in foreign

exchange. But for this we would indeed have been in a soup. I wish our energy sector, particularly power derived from various sources, had done equally well. Then we would have been out of the woods.

In the secondary sector the Finance Minister has spoken about 5.4 per cent rate of growth this year. If he recalculates and, sort of, adjusts it to the rise in prices, he would perhaps find that it is not higher than the usual 3.5 per cent which has characterised our growth over the last two decades.

I would particularly draw his attention to the low capacity utilisation in all our industries. I have got here a detailed report given in this House where the utilisation is as low as 32 per cent. Barring five or six industries, everywhere it is below the installed capacity.

Sir, public sector is a massive investment. But if we were to omit from the calculations the oil and the state trading sectors the profits made by the IOC, The STC and MMTC, I think the rest of the public sector is only a losing proposition. I am for public sector. Yet I would like it to be in good economic health and to contribute to the economy of the country. I find that despite all the protection and despite administered prices, somehow our public sector is not doing well. I would have liked the hon. Minister to tell us how he proposes to mend this. As for the private sector, every time an industry falls sick, the Finance Minister comes to its rescue and takes it over. Well, he has to take it over. There are social compulsions. But I think that he should have spelt out the steps whereby the industry should be made to avoid such sickness. What have we done in this regard? Why is that so much of our industry in the private sector goes on adopting this route of malady? I would like the Finance Minister to take us into confidence in that regard.

About the convertibility question, I find a very ironical situation. For the non-MRTP companies, the limit is 26 per cent; for the MRTP companies, the limit is 40 per cent. So the Finance Minister is very hard with the smaller companies and he is rather soft with the bigger ones. Now I do not just understand the logic of this. I hope the Finance Minister would enlighten us on this point.

Sir, there has been an unfortunate controversy about the role of non-resident Indians. I believe that it is in the interest of the country that this controversy is set at rest and, if necessary, our law is clarified so that, while we have the opportunity to persuade more and more of Indians living abroad to make remittances to India, as far as investment in India is concerned, there is no discrimination between one who lives here and one who lives abroad.

In the social service sector, I have tried to find out what the allocation for tourism is. I do not know whether the Finance Minister considers it a social service, or an economic service or an administrative service. Anyway I was unable to locate it. But I know quite a substantial investment has taken place in the hotel industry both in terms of direct investment in the public sector as well as in terms of loans to the private sector. I would like to understand whether it is proper utilization of the limited resources that we have got that in Ashok Hotel the highest rent for a room is Rs. 4000 per day and the lowest is Rs. 675 per day—and among the people who utilize the facility, the vast majority are Indians, who are really the representatives of the industry. It is a facility they enjoy at the cost of the taxpayer.

Coming to the Plan expenditure, the Finance Minister made the claim

[Shri Sayed Shahabuddin]

that he has raised it to the high level of Rs. 110,000 crores. Sir, if he were only to calculate at constant prices, he would find that even compared to 1979-80 prices, there is in fact a 25 per cent shortfall in Plan expenditure; and if he were to measure it in terms of physical targets, perhaps the shortfall would be more than 25 per cent.

When I come to the social services, I find a rather agonising situation. The total expenditure on social service is just Rs. 2,000 crores, which is 5 per cent of the total outlay. Education gets a paltry Rs. 197 crores in the Central Budget, Health gets Rs. 610 crores, Housing gets Rs. 243 crores. These are three minimum basic needs of every human being. They have a right to them; and yet this is the priority they get. I do not grudge the expenditure on Defence, which has been raised to Rs. 6800 crores. But I would like to say, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the fact that our defence expenditure goes on rising from year to year is a measure of the failure of the foreign policy that the country has followed under this Government.

Sir, I find no mention at all about controlling administrative waste. Perhaps high living has become the culture of this Government. The other day I went to Patna where I was told that the new Chief Minister had renovated his official residence by spending more than Rs. 20 lakhs. Perhaps the pattern is set from Delhi and the poor man simply follows it. This is the level of wasteful expenditure. Surely such expenditure would give rise to inflation.

Coming to inflation, Sir, sometimes we are told that it is natural sometimes we are told that it is part of the development process, it is a global phenomenon, it is said to be imported; sometimes, it is administered. But what we find as a concrete fact is that if you measure it by the

consumer price index, in the four years the index has jumped by 51 per cent. If you judge it by the wholesale price index, it has jumped by 42 per cent. The real value of the rupee in the last four years of this Government has come down from 27 paise to 18 paise. And that is why even when you raise the salaried wages of the fixed income groups, e.g. the Government servants, you are amazed to find that their real income is much less than what it used to be. The minimum salary in the Government is Rs. 196, which measured in terms of 1960 prices, comes to Rs. 93. After all the DA instalments that the Finance Minister has been kind enough to grant, the value of the total emoluments of Rs. 482, which he sets now is only Rs. 86 in terms of 1960 prices. That is to say, there has been a net reduction in the income even of the lowest paid fixed income group. In this connection, Sir, while all articles of mass consumption have risen in prices... (Time bell rings). I will take two or three minutes more. The prices of certain items which I consider to be luxuries, the colour TV, the refrigerator, the car, the moped, have gone down. Why this is so in a socialist economy, I cannot understand. And I find that further concessions have been allowed for all such luxury items, for air-coolers, refrigerators, for even porcelain ware. The Finance Minister is indeed very thoughtful. How can these poor fellows eat except porcelain ware? I find that the result is that the poverty is increasing. The unemployment has recorded a massive rise during the last four years. It has reached a figure of 21 million. And whatever the Government might claim, the ordinary people are finding it difficult to make their ends meet. And whether it is 60 million or 120 million, I do not see people rising above the poverty line. I find, more and more people, particularly the lower and middle classes, moving, sinking below the poverty line.

One factor must be understood. Industry will provide no answer to the problems of unemployment. Over the last 20 years the percentage of labour force absorbed by the industry has remained constant. You have got to do something else. You cannot pin your hopes merely on industrialisation. Particularly when there is a spate of mechanisation and computerisation in the name of modernisation. Really we are adopting techniques and technologies which are going to aggravate the situation of unemployment and not alleviate it.

Sir, I find that bank loans scheme has generated a lot of controversy. The Finance Minister has gone out of his way to call the Chairmen of the nationalised banks and give them a direction that they have got to disburse Rs. 200 crores in two months time. Whether they can do it or not or whether they have got the administrative machinery for doing this or not, I do not know. But such a direction, simply on the face of it, to my mind, appears to be uneconomic.

Sir, I would like to mention here one more fact. As far as taxation is concerned, I do not grudge the proposals that the Finance Minister has made. In fact, many of them I support and welcome. But his hope that his tax concessions will give rise to reduction of tax-evasion or tax-avoidance, I do not think, is borne by facts. For the last four years the contribution of income-tax to our budget has gone down from 2 per cent to 1 per cent, and that of the corporate tax has gone down from 7 per cent to 6 per cent, and the proceeds from Wealth Tax have been paltry. We all know the urban property values are rising. The land which was sold at Rs. 10 per sq. metre in Delhi is today being sold at Rs. 2,500 per sq. metre and even more. Yet the wealth tax assessment is made in a manner that would

get a paltry sum of Rs. 97 crores from the whole of this country. Really, the rich underestimate their wealth. (Time bell rings) Final point I would would take two minutes more.

I find that taxation provides only 41 per cent of the Budget. Fifty-nine per cent comes from loan, whether domestic or foreign deposits and deficit financing. Sir, the public debt is rising. It has risen today to Rs. 74000 crores. The uncovered deficit is now low, Rs. 1,762 crores, and yet it is bound to rise after all the calculations are made. Our foreign exchange reserves are going down, if I take into calculation the input from foreign credit on 31st December, 1983, the balance was Rs. 4,555 crores. If you were to minus Rs. 1,629 crores that we brought in as foreign loan it will be reduced to Rs. 2,900 crores which was the figure in January, 1977. And if, out of that, you were to eliminate the hard earned income remitted by Indians abroad, then, you will understand how desperate the situation is today.

Sir, I do not find in this entire Budget Speech a word about the black money, how much it is being generated. I do not know whether it is 50 per cent or 60 per cent of the total money in circulation. At what rate is it being generated? What is the Government doing to curtail it? What is the Government doing to control its impact on the economy? And it is the black money which is responsible for corruption.

Somebody mentioned about smuggling. Smuggling only meets a demand. If there is so much black money going around and there is demand for luxury goods, surely black-marketeers and smugglers come into operation, and they supply the demand.

Sir, finally I would like to make a point that as far as the fixed income group are concerned the Finance

[Shri Sayed Shahabuddin]

Minister can make a real breakthrough by relieving them of all tax liability. Their incomes are known and they should be indexed against inflation.

As far as the indirect taxation is concerned, it should be abolished on those items which are of mass consumption. Why are you limiting it to cloth of a particular variety?

All cloth which is less than five rupees per yard or metre should be completely free of excise duty because it is an item of mass consumption. If this philosophy is followed, surely you will move towards a new balance in our society.

Direct taxes have to go up. There is no respite. I would rather plead that our tax administration be tightened. If the wealth-tax is assessed more justly and if the estate duty is collected more equitably, surely your total receipt will go up.

Finally, mention has been made here about public trusts and charities. I had occasion to point out in this House last year that there is a constraint on the creation of wakfs which is considered by the Muslim community as a religious duty. I would like the hon. Minister to take care that the possibility of creating a wakf out of a running business is not curtailed. I am not in favour of a public trust undertaking completely unrelated business activities. But a person should have the right of creating a trust, a religious trust out of his running business. I would once again plead with the hon. Minister (*Time-bell rings*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): You have taken three times the time.

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN: I would plead with the hon. Minister: Please modulate your budget proposals in a manner that it serves the masses, that it gives them a life of dig-

nity, that it provides the basic needs for all our people, at least the right to breathe freely and live human beings.

SHRI NAND KISHORE BHATT (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to compliment the hon. Finance Minister for formulating a pragmatic and anti-inflationary budget, which not only takes care of the imminent problems connected with economic growth but has given a sign of relief to tax payers as well as to the common man.

Sir, the Plan outlay has been rightly increased for achieving a sustained growth rate of 6 per cent. The Finance Minister has taken care in allocation of resources to the core sector of the economy, particularly steel, housing and rural development. He has announced increased outlays for Integrated Rural Development and National Rural Employment Programmes, which will benefit the poorest of the poor.

The income-tax rate for individual tax-payers has been reduced, which will create favourable conditions for voluntary tax compliance by the tax-payers, especially the salaried class. I am confident that the reduction in the personal tax rate, along with the exemptions given in the wealth-tax, will step up savings and investment in the economy. The Finance Minister has also kept in view the interests of Government employees and pensioners by providing Rs. 300 crores in the budget.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would like to mention that the budget has given considerable relief in the realm of Central excise, particularly for textile and paper industries. He has also given complete excise relief on khandsari sugar.—These fiscal incentives will accord considerable strength to those industries. However, I personally urge that these reliefs should ultimately be passed on to the consumers by the industries. Only when there is a corresponding reduction in the prices of the commodities, these

policy measures will prove to be anti-inflationary and protect the interests of the workers and the common man. The reduction in prices will also help the industries and stimulate demand for these products and will enable the industries to generate profits and create more employment opportunities.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there are signs of growing sickness in industries, particularly in textiles, engineering and jute. It is shocking that institutional credit locked up in sick units has shot up by one-third in just one year. Apart from the units which are already closed, it appears that some of the units which are now working may also close down shortly for one reason or another. In such a situation, setting up of industry-wise Standing Tripartite Committees to monitor the health of all the units in the industry with a view to preventing sickness, by identifying the symptoms at an early stage and applying the necessary remedial measures, would go a long way in improving the situation. Such a Standing Committee can also go into the cases of already closed units and indicate appropriate measures for their reopening and resumption of production.

The problem of sickness has become acute in the textile industry, and immediate steps should be taken to prevent sickness in the units which are now working, in addition to restarting the closed units. There is urgent need for studying in depth the problems faced by the textile industry, production patterns and the difficulties experienced in marketing, as well as other management problems.

In this connection positive relief is given to reduction in the IDBI lending rate on loans and advances for encouraging modernisation and revival of sick units. The NTC subsidiaries too have to be strengthened and the deficiencies removed. The number of subsidiaries will have to be in-

creased so that no subsidiary is entrusted with more than six mills; otherwise, the subsidiaries will not be able to effectively manage the units. In all subsidiaries as well as at the national holding company level, the post of Chairman and Managing Director should be delinked and labour representatives should be appointed on boards both in subsidiaries and at the national levels. Similar studies should also be made in engineering and jute industries. It is encouraging to note that guidelines have been given to the nominated directors of financial institutions on the boards of companies. All along there has been a feeling that these directors were mainly decorative without any specific duties allotted to them. Now that new guidelines have been given to them with specific duties, one can hope that the nominated directors of financing institutions on companies will be able to effectively prevent mismanagement and consequent sickness in industries. Sir, the Bureau of Public Enterprises has produced its annual report giving figures of the programmes of the Central public sector companies for the year 1982-83. The broad impression that one gets from them is of a slow but steady improvement in the functioning of the public sector. One can see that the profits were higher and that the loss-making units had not made losses they did or at least less of them. But there is a distinct evidence in the figures that professionalism is paying off. I have already said about the sickness in the industry which includes units like NTC and Heavy Engineering Corporation which will need massive infusion of capital to become profitable. By and large, there are definite signs that the public sector is improving due to the combined efforts of the professionals and the workers alike. It is indeed reassuring that as at current prices Rs. 5848 crores is available by way of resource generation.

Sir, just now someone said about the banking industry. The nationalisation of banks about 14 years ago

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt]

was an important milestone in our onward march to the socialistic system. When banks were nationalised, at that time there were 8000 branches and today we have got more than 45000 branches. The total capital at that time was Rs. 800 crores and today the nationalised commercial banks have mobilised Rs. 60,000 crores. This money has to be utilised for the benefit of those sections of the society which have been completely neglected so far.

Much is being talked about the schemes of mass loans by giving a political colour to it. Let us understand that all these schemes initiated by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, are meant essentially for the benefit of those sections of the society which have been neglected and who constitute 80 per cent of the population. When they say that it is a drama, mela, etc. I am very sorry to say that even when good schemes and good things are done, they try to impute motives. There are vested interests in the banking industry and those vested interests have got to be removed and that can only be done by giving fresh guidelines. I am very happy that the recent decision taken by the Finance Minister will go a long way in not only removing these corrupt people, not only in getting rid of those officers and even managerial cadres who were hand in glove with corrupt people in defeating the object for which the banks were nationalised.

Then, the scheme of Integrated Rural Development, the scheme of National Rural Employment Guarantee, all these are measures which are being financed by the banking institutions and the benefits are going to the common man.

Sir, the most important thing for which we have been pressing is enlargement of the public distribution system. It is only through the public distribution system that the prices

can be contained and the essential items can reach the poor people. On the defence side the budget has provided for Rs. 7000 crores. This is very necessary. An Hon'ble Member from the other side was just asking why should we spend so much money on defence? It is very necessary because we do not want to be complacent. We do not want to be caught unawares. It is good that the Finance Minister has provided money for defence and I must congratulate him for this. Security of the country has to be looked after. If there is no country, where will we be?

I wish that the Finance Minister should have provided more money for the scheme of drinking water. This is a country with seven lakhs of villages, in spite of planning and development people have to go for miles to get drinking water and they bring water in pitchers. What is provided is not the last figure and I am sure when the situation comes the Finance Minister will be quite liberal in providing this basic facility to our poor people in the villages.

Before I conclude. I have got a few suggestions. One is with regard to the assessment of income tax. The Income Tax Department is charged with the responsibility of collecting income tax and corporate tax revenues of the order of nearly Rs. 3,600 crores for the Government. The collections are made by way of advance tax, self-assessment tax, tax deduction at source, and additional tax on completion of assessments. Advance tax and self-assessment tax are paid voluntarily and would account for 80 to 85 per cent of revenues. But for the corporate sector, collections from which amounted to Rs. 2339 crores according to revised budget estimates for 1982-83 (number of companies in existing being 71689 in 1981-82), the contribution to revenues by way of additional tax is negligible or nil. Nearly 75 per cent of either the total work load or the completed assessments (assessments completed being 45.46 lakhs out of total work load of

71.17 lakh assessments in the financial year 1981-82) consists of summary assessments which have to be finalised by acceptance of returns. Taxes by such assesseees are paid by way of advance tax or self-assessment tax. These assessments, therefore, do not contribute anything to the general revenues of the State. If two-thirds of the officers and members of staff are engaged in this activity, they are indulging in wasteful and unnecessary documentation which, as pointed out a little while ago, does not confer even a single penny's benefit on the State. The Department can easily shed off this work if a simple amendment is made in the Act to the effect that assessments include self-assessment. It would release the officers and members of staff for more useful work, and would save the department from crumbling.

Regarding acquisition of immovable properties, Chapter XXA Sections 269A to 269S deal with the work of acquisition of properties by the Income Tax Department in cases where under-statement of price shown in the registered deeds is detected. The section has been in force for nearly one decade. The number of properties acquired should be in the neighbourhood of ten. The acquisition orders even in these cases are engulfed in litigation. The offices of IAC where proceedings under the said section take place are dens of corruption. The purpose of enactment of the Section has been defeated. The retention of the section in the statute book is wholly uncalled for.

In accordance with the spirit underlying the Prime Minister's 20-Point economic programme, the Government has been trying to develop the rural sector. The progress so far made leaves much to be desired. The task is also an uphill one and com-

plex. One of the constraints is massive resources needed for the purpose. The problem can be solved in a large measure by industrialization of rural areas. This would provide employment to the rural population, improve their economic condition, generate additional demand, bring almost around prosperity and check the trend towards urbanization. But the massive resource mobilisation can be achieved by involving the urban masses and by giving them incentives. I suggest that a provision should be made in the Income Tax Act to the effect that no inquiries will be made with regard to the source of investment, direct or indirect in setting up industries in rural areas upto a specified date, say, 31st March, 1985. The profits accruing to such industries will be liable to tax in the normal manner. This facility will lead to investment of hidden wealth of the value of thousands of crores of rupees. This sort of investment climate can be generated by reducing the rates and by making the retention of money in black either unremunerative or unproductive.

Lastly, Sir, before I conclude, I would like to submit that in this vast country of ours, or in any country of our size and dimensions, railways is the most important sector. We know that there is a great demand for railway lines and we are also aware of the fact that money is the main constraint. I would like to put one question to the honourable Finance Minister: Why not give the Railways the same facility which are extended to the other limited companies to raise loans? When the limited companies are allowed to raise loans, why not the Railways also be permitted to raise such loans? I say this because the people of this country are interested in the faster development of railways—and I hope that the response of the people to this will be very good.

[Shri Nand Kishore Bhatt]

With these words, Sir, I give my wholehearted support to the Budget proposals and thank the Finance Minister for his pragmatic, balanced and growth-oriented Budget. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN): Now, before I call upon the Finance Minister to speak, I would call Mr. Shyam Sundar Mohapatra to speak. He is the last speaker now.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is always very difficult, as you know, to be the first speaker or the last speaker and more so to come immediately before a prolific Minister like Mr. Pranab Mukherjee.

Sir, we must give the honourable Minister bouquets for the handling of the Budgets consecutively for two years. Various newspapers have brought out commentaries on him. Some say that he follows Malthus; some say that he follows Kaldor; and some say that he follows Prof. Galbraith in his new theory for egalitarianism. But I must say...

AN HON. MEMBER: He does not follow Marx, I suppose.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: He is not a Marxist, I know. He is only a social democrat. But I personally feel that he believes in and tries to implement the economic programme of the Congress(I) Party and our Prime Minister.

Sir, I do not like to tread on the path followed by my colleagues. This is only one occasion when we try to discuss anything and everything under the sun and thus I would like

to discuss India's image outside India, that means our foreign relations.

Sir, today, we are passing through a state of conflagration from one end of the globe to the other, from Pyongyang or Seoul or Kampuchea or Ceylon to Iran and Iraq, to the Mozambique or Botswana or South Africa, or from here to the far off Central America, Guatemala or Honduras or El Salvador or Nicaragua or to the far off Argentina or Brazil, everywhere we find distress, and everywhere there is a conflagration and burning problems. There are burning problems and there is attack on the human beings by the imperialists and the whole state of affairs in the world is so confusing today resembling the state of affairs in the world immediately before the Second World War before Hitler came to implement the programme of Nazi socialism.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.]

Sir, India's policy has been consistently egalitarian at home and abroad. Mr. Castlereign the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom, had once said, while speaking in the British House of Commons, that the foreign policy of a country abroad reflects the policy at home. Our foreign policy is so egalitarian, so committed to the people's welfare that we are bound to support people's movements outside India, whether it is Kampuchea or North Korea or whether it is the Iran-Iraq war or whether it is the movement in the African countries or in the Caribbean countries or the Latin American countries, because it has been the policy of the Indian National Congress, not now, but for the last seventy years, from the days of Subhas Chandra Bose and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who were really the architects of our foreign policy and the foreign of the Indian National Congress. And, Sir, till today, it is the same policy with new dimensions which we are carrying out.

I am going to say now how our foreign policy has been successful from country to country, from area to area, and I am going to tell you how our foreign policy has been successful everywhere. Whether it is North Korea or South Korea, whether it is the plane crash issue in which a South Korean plane was shot down by the USSR, whether it is the Rangoon affairs where the South Korean President, when he came with his entourage of so many diplomats and Cabinet Ministers, faced the bullets of the assassin and in which incident many people died, India comes out into the open and comes out in open condemnation. Or, if it is the case of Kampuchea where the Pol Pot regime annihilated more than ten lakhs of people and threw them into the sea, we accepted the competent Government and recognised the Heng Samrin regime although we know that there is continuous tussle between China on the one side and the USSR on the other. And what is the policy involved in the Kampuchean politics? Sir, it is the politics of intervention and invasion. Even in the last Non-aligned Conference held in Delhi, the members were not united on this issue whether Kampuchea should be called to the Conference or not. The question is whether Vietnam has intervened in the Kampuchean affair. We support the Heng Samrin Government, because it is a question of justice, question of reason, question which Government is popular with whom. Sir, India supported Heng Samrin for the simple reason that it was a Government which gave the people welfare, gave them peace, gave them tranquillity and gave them stability. On the side of Pol Pot the argument is that they wanted to follow regimented Communism, they wanted to follow some obscure Communism of probably 160 years before and Pol Pot wanted to implement it. There stands India's support for a just cause. Now take

the question of Iran and Iraq War. The two members of the Non-aligned world. The two are so close to us. The Congress Party has party to party relations with Iraq. The Congress Party also supports Iran because they are so close to us by blood. The Aryans came to India through Tehran to Hindukush. We are supporting both the friends and asking them to come closer and solve their problems. Sir, when our Foreign Minister, ably aided by the Secretaries, went to Damascus, we tried to impress on both the parties that somehow the trouble should be over. And he has been successful. Today you see in Beirut and you see in Lebanon. And there is the national reconciliation going on. On one side President Assad, on the other side President Gamayal is there, and on the third there is the invading force, Israel, which wants to fish in troubled waters.

Sir, I was in America last month when President Reagan, in spite of protests from Congress, his own party men, was compelled to withdraw marines from Lebanon, the reason being that people all over the world, including the United Nations, do not want an imperialist policy, an aggressive policy or invasionist policy to be followed by the American President in this election year in the United States.

Sir, come to Caribbean politics, Guatemala or Honduras. The whole region is now almost on the heap of gun-powder. If anyone goes to ignite, the whole Caribbea, the whole Latin American region, will be inflamed.

Sir, I found there what respect India has in Nicaragua. I was a guest of President Daniel Ortega and had discussions with him for two hours, and with the Foreign Minister another three hours. What support, what respect they have for Mahatma Gandhi, for Jawaharlal Nehru and for Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Daniel Ortega was here during the Non-Aligned

[Shri shyam Sundar Mohapatra]

Conference He said that Mrs. Gandhi is magnanimous; she is the only hope of the whole non-aligned world. (Interruptions). It was Mrs. Gandhi who supported Nicaragua's drive for existence for five years. A small person, young person, 36 years old — Daniel Ortega is only 36 years old; he is the President of Nicaragua. What a tremendous support India has in Nicaragua. I went to the villages. I talked to the children, young boys of 12 years of age with a gun. I asked them why? They said: We want to defend our mother-land, we have the support of the whole non-aligned world, we have the support of Mrs. Gandhi and we have the support of Cuban President. Sir, there is a cotumny against Nicaragua Government on their being supported by Cuba, by the USSR. Why should it not be? If America wants to attack Nicaragua every five minutes, if America has kept 10,000 soldiers on the border to attack Nicaragua, why should it not be supported by Cuba and the USSR?

Sir, coming to the affairs in Africa, we have always been supporting the people of Africa in their liberation struggle for independence. It was Dewan Chaman Lal who was sent by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru to fight the case of Jomo Kenyatta who was handcuffed and dragged in the streets, and it was Dewan Chaman Lal who fought the legal battle not only in Kenya but also in the Privy Council. Sir, today we are supporting the cause of Namibian people. In tearful tones Mrs. Gandhi, while speaking in the General Assembly, talked about Nelson Mandela who is still languishing in prison. The Indian people have always supported the cause of the African people. African is a place where you find lot of experiment in democracy. You find dictatorship. You find benevolent dictatorship. You find social democrats. You find Westminster type constitution. You find presidential type of

Constitution. You find all sorts of things there. Recently, there was a coup in Nigeria. We find that President Suhari went out and President Buhari came in. The reason is that Africa is still an under-developed State and the African people still don't see the light of the day. It is the big powers, the super powers, who are trying to exploit. It is a shame that some of the African States are in league with Israel and arms and ammunitions are being sent to Nicaragua. The President and the Foreign Minister told me that it is a shame that America is in league with Israel. The arms and ammunitions that have been taken from Labanon are being sent to Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua to suppress the liberation movements.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I want your views on our economy also.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is making a very interesting speech.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: You have already spoken on it. Our President Giani Zail Singh is visiting Argentina and Mexico. I was in Argentina last year. Argentina is a country to which nobody in our country ever looked. I paid a visit to the Foreign Minister and he asked me for what I was there. I said that I was there for three things. Argentina is a country where the Nazis after the Neuremberg trial took shelter. Argentina is a country in the whole of Latin America where you have only dictatorship. One dictator goes and the other comes. There is no trace of democracy. I asked them as to why the Spanish culture has given rise to military dictatorship. Thirdly, I wanted to know that in the whole of Carribean region, in the whole of Latin America Argentina is the only country where you find translation of works of Mahatama Gandhi translation of Vedas, translation of Vedanta, translation of Upanishadas, translation of books of Shri Aurobindo, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi. Argentina is one country in the

whole of Caribbean and Latin America which has tremendous respect for India. Why? Because of late India has supported their just cause on Malvina and Falkland Islands. India, as a leader of the non-aligned world, supported Argentina's cause over Falkland Islands. The whole might of the British power was used against a small nation and yet it fought for 65 days. But Mrs. Gandhi supported the just cause and was not swayed by the influence of the U.K. because they are giving us aid or by the influence of the U.S.A. because they are giving us aid. Mrs. Gandhi stands for the right and just cause.

Sir, we are being threatened by a nuclear war. The one aspect of the old global politics today is that we are slowly drifting towards a nuclear war, to be annihilated and liquidated. All of us know that the whole world will face a disaster probably in a few months or in a few years. I had the occasion to see a documentary, much talked-about documentary in the whole world, titled "The Day after". What will happen the Day After? In the scene, there is a picture in which about a million of people are standing stuck to the ground not flesh but skeletons. If you set the picture, the horror the veracity of the horror, the tragedy of the horror will completely demolish your senses. People say, "Don't show this film to any child."

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Finance Minister, you don't reply to this part of the speech.

SHRI SHYAM SUNDAR MOHAPATRA: This is the age in which we are living. Now, President Reagan has thought it fit to deploy missiles to Europe. There are some European powers including Mrs. Margaret Thatcher who have supported such deployment of missiles. It is only the USSR

which candidly goes against rearmament extension of armament going in for research and development in armaments which are meant for human annihilation. They support India's cause for peace, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi stands for use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Sir, Mr. Ustinov, the Defence Minister of USSR, when he came here, he said, "Yes, USSR is also at par with the United States of America, because both the countries are now cruising in the space, and one is not less than the other, there is a check on President Reagan". Otherwise, the mad President of the United States of America, supported by Israel, supported by military ingoism here and there in Latin America, like Chile, like somewhere in South Asia, like the leader of the ASEAN block, will go for a nuclear war. As you know, Sir, President Zia-ul-Haq, the military dictator who has already enriched uranium, who has already got some secret advance knowledge of nuclear invasion from different countries, can do anything. Any dictator is a mad man. President Galtierie was a mad man. Today's dictators are mad. And who does not know of Adi Amin who is now languishing somewhere in Libya. So, Sir, if knowledge of such high order is in the hands of dictators, in the hands of persons who have nothing to do with public life, excepting creation of military despotism. They can do anything. That is why Mr. Ustinov says, "only in extraordinary circumstances, any direct nuclear aggression against the Soviet Union and its allies can compel us to resort to a retaliatory nuclear strike as a last means of self-defence." This is what Mr. Ustinov says I may not be a Communist. I may not be a supporter of what Mr. Ustinov says or what the President of the USSR says. The question is the ultimate reality. The ultimate reality is that we are facing a nuclear threat and there is no rescue from it.

[Shri Shyam Sundar Mohapatra]

Sir, the question is whether our foreign policy is patriotic or not. Sir, I quote what Pandit Nehru, the first architect of India's foreign policy said. He said "whatever policy you may lay down, the art of conducting the foreign affairs of a country lies in finding out what is most advantageous to that country." Sir, whether you are an internationalist or a nationalist, whether you think for your people or for other people, you must follow a policy which is advantageous to you. We are not certainly going to follow the policy of the USSR, if we know that it is advantageous to them or support President Reagan or Mrs. Margaret Thatcher or Mr. Kohl of West Germany if we know that they are following a policy which is advantageous to them. No. "My country, right or wrong" What is most in the interest of my country should be my policy. This is what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said. And Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that we are not going to interfere in the policy of other countries. That is why Mrs. Indira Gandhi has not interfered in the policy of Pakistan or in the policy of Nepal or in the policy of Bhutan or in the policy of Ceylon or in the policy of Bangladesh or in the policy of Maldives. Sir, the last conference of the South Asian Foreign Secretaries which was held here made it completely clear that for the first time the South Asian nations are going to converge on this city of Delhi to have some common political programme and to have an international outlook which will be for peace and solidarity of the fighting people. Sir, I know that in the South Asian nations there are dictators, military dictators, there are persons who believe in regimentation, there are persons who believe in democracy. ~~Yes~~ Mrs. Indira Gandhi believes that we have nothing to do with others States. Let us live and let others live.

Sir, since the time is up, I want to conclude my speech with a remark: This Budget is a Budget for the peo-

ple. May be, in the election year, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has brought a Budget for the welfare of the people. But there could not be anything better than this. All ardent critics, all those who swear in the name of popularism, those who swear in the name of Americanism have also praised Mr. Mukherjee because they feel that it is a Budget which is for the high and low for the high-brows and low-brows, for all of us. Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Professor has made a very good speech.

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: On foreign affairs.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the hon. Finance Minister.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to all my hon. colleagues who have participated in the general discussion on the Budget which I presented before Parliament on the 29th February. Sir, as many as 43 distinguished Members have participated in the discussion and have made their observations. By the very nature of this discussion, Sir, and when the discussion takes place in both Houses, many common points are covered. In my reply to the debate on the floor of the other House yesterday, I have covered some of the points and, perhaps, the Members would excuse me if I would not just repeat those points here. But I would like to explain what direction we wanted to have through the Budget.

Sir, very often it is pointed out, and there are certain stock words of describing a Budget, that it is colourless, that it is lacklustre, and so on.

This time I was told by one lady Member that her initial reaction to the Budget was that it is colourless and that it is odourless. I do not know whether she attempted to smell the Budget and what she got out of it. (Interruptions). The Budget is an instrument which reflects the exercise and the exercise is a continuing one of the general economic policies pursued by the Government. Since 1980 we came to office again. Certain definite policies we are pursuing and those get reflected in the Budgets which we presented before the Parliament and, in short, if somebody asks me what is the objective, what are the goals you wanted to achieve, to reach, the objective is clear; we wanted to provide incentives for savings, for investments, to create a climate of growth and despite difficulties, internally and externally, we wanted to maintain the development tempo; in other words, to protect the Sixth Plan.

Sir, it has been pointed out and a number of Members have made their observations that mere financial outlay or rather increase in financial outlay is not an indication of protecting the Plan. I will come to that aspect a little later. But one point has been commented upon and that is that in last January when we took the decision of reducing the Plan expenditure to the extent of 5 per cent and non-Plan it was expenditure by 3 per cent we sacrificed the Plan. It is not correct. It is true that there were some reductions. But if you look at the Budget estimate of the Central Plan Rs. 13,870 crores, and which ultimately in the revised estimate is more than Rs. 14,000 crores, you will notice that there has not been net sacrifice in the Plan. It is true that two supplementary demands I got approved by Parliament some reduction took place in those areas. But if you look at it I do not know whether you will judge the success of a Plan merely by financial outlay and when I say that Rs. 97,500 crores has increased to Rs. 110 thousand crores, naturally your attempt has been to calculate what

it would be in terms of 1979-80 prices or 1978-79 prices. But even if you look at the target in physical terms, in certain areas, you will find that we are reaching the target. Take the case of petrol. When we started, the petrol production was a little over 10 million tonnes; and during the Sixth Plan, we have already achieved target of 26 million tonnes and we are going to reach 29 million tonnes. Take the case of power generation. It is true, during the earlier plan, target was to create additional capacity of 19,000 MW and there were shortfalls of 4 to 5000 MW, and it would be around 14 to 15,000 MW. But if you look at it from the other side, what was your starting point? The starting point was 28,000 MW. That means over a period of years, almost 3 decades of planning, we could establish a generation capacity of 28,000 MW and if we have 14 to 15,000 MW in one plan period, is it a small achievement? Take production in certain core sectors, like, steel, cement, fertilisers. You will find in physical terms, we have stepped up, and stepped up substantially. That is why it has been possible to withstand the pressure exerted on the economy both from within and from outside. I do not know whether in any plan period we had to face the impact of two severe droughts. I do not know whether during any plan period we had to face a situation, when international situation—if not hostile—was extremely unfavourable. I do not know. Dr. Adiseshiah or other experts can tell me, whether the type of depression which we had in the early eighties had any parallel, except for a short period in the early thirties. The world remained stagnant for almost a couple of years. And simply you cannot pass on the buck by explaining that it is as a result of the world prices or it is simply the responsibility of the OPEC countries for increasing oil prices. But despite that, we have been able to maintain the plan. Despite that we have been able to reach a target which we fixed, if not in all cases, but in certain very crucial and important sectors.

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

Somebody commented — and that was my good old friend Prof. Chatterjee—while making his observations and said that he does not disagree with me; but he is not impressed by the performance. I am afraid, I do not know how I can impress him when he is determined not to be impressed, whatever be the facts.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE
(West Bengal): Look at your targets.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: If you look at the food-grain production, you ask: What is the strategy? Is there any strategy? Yes, there is a strategy. Just compare these two years. In 1979-80 we had a drought and reduction in the grains production was 17 per cent. In 1982-83, we had a drought, and the people say, the impact was much more severe. Reduction in the grains production was 4 per cent. That is the difference between good management and bad management. And that is the outcome of the strategy. Without the strategy it would not have been possible. You come from Bengal. I can remind you what happened in 1942-43, the great famine of Bengal. It was not that the foodgrain production went down drastically — at least to this extent, all over the country—and the rice was sold at one rupee a kilo, though kilogram was not known in those days; but more than 5 million people had to die because they did not have the purchasing power even to purchase one kilogram of rice at one rupee. Despite the impact of two droughts, perhaps, most respectfully and humbly, we can claim that we have prevented recurrence of that situation. Nobody died of starvation. (Interruption) That is the strategy. And this growth is not in one year. You look at it from 1973. I am not going to take you back to the starting point of the First Five Year Plan, when your foodgrain production was just a little more than 55 million tonnes. We have now reached 142 million tonnes. One of your party colleague has himself admitted and I agree

with it. He said that we have not introduced land reforms in that drastic manner in which some of the socialistic countries did, where many heads had to roll, where bloodshed had to take place. We have not resorted to that path. But despite that, in absolute terms, over the period of the last three decades, we have almost trebled our foodgrain production. Please show me, in a given situation like ours, which of the countries have been able to achieve this much production? Therefore, it is not out of any magic wand. It is not accidental. It is the product of a conscious and deliberate policy pursued by the Government, by the planners and by those who have been entrusted with the task of managing the economy.

Sir, coming to the second objective, it has been pointed out that whatever we have done, is some sort of window dressing, in view of the forthcoming event which I mentioned in my Budget speech; it has been said that the real impact would be felt when that forthcoming event is over. I am not going to talk about the forthcoming event. But I would request hon. Members to point out what new we have done. Reduction in direct taxes, we are doing it continuously. In 1980, the maximum limit in regard to Income-tax exemption was increased from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 15,000. When I presented my first Budget in 1982-83, I increased the standard deduction. I reduced the direct tax in certain slabs. This year also, I have reduced the direct tax rates, because, I thought that there is a necessity for providing relief in these areas.

So far as the indirect taxes are concerned, it is not because certain industrial units would make profit out of this concession. It is not the intention. I made it quite clear yesterday on the floor of the Lok Sabha. My intention is that, there should be additional demand, new demands should be created, by passing on the concession to the consumers. I appeal to the corporate sector, do not kill the goose which lays the golden

egg. Do not be guided by motives and impulses. Have some patience. Get profit out of the increased and enhanced demand. The question is, whether it will be done or not. If it is not done, what can we do? We have done something. You have noticed. In October, I gave excise duty relief to certain industries. When it was not passed on to the consumer, I have withdrawn that relief. It created demand. We have seen. Take the case of commercial vehicles. There has been a tremendous impact. I have sacrificed revenue. But you shall have to keep in mind that sometimes, we have to adjust our duty structure to meet the needs of the economy, to meet the requirements of the economy. When I reduced the excise duty in certain sectors, in selective areas, I thought that these sectors of the Indian economy require some support because there is some—if not recession—sort of demand constraint. Therefore, I thought, the time has come when some relief should be provided to them. I thought it would be possible for the industry to take advantage of it and to overcome it, particularly, the stagnation which is prevalent in the textile and certain other sectors of industry. Sir, while on the subject of taxation, some criticism has been voiced that we have not done enough. Particularly, this criticism is from the industry sector. Their representatives, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries, I think they have created almost a precedent, they have revised their opinion about the budget. Their first reaction was that it is a constructive budget. After sometime I read in the newspaper, they said that they are revising their opinion. They expected to have more relief from us. I thought that it is not necessary. What is necessary for the corporate sector, I have done it. There is a positive philosophy, there is a positive objective which I outlined what I want investment, I want growth and for that wherever it is necessary I have provided relief. I have provided relief for modernisation by reducing the rate of interest from financial

institution IDBI, for modernisation programme of making additional money available surcharge at the rate of five per cent and permitting them to deposit with IDBI so that funds are available for modernisation, which is necessary for industrial production and augmentation of industrial productivity. I have last year given them higher depreciation allowance. I have provided it last year by sacrificing revenue to the extent of almost Rs. 120 crores, by reducing interest rates at the highest point. So, I thought these are adequate reliefs to them. But they expected that there should be relief across the board on the corporate tax. I do not feel that there is any necessity. And at the same time, the idea which we are propagating for the last couple of years is that in our system there is no room, there is no scope for expenditure-related incentive. The moment you have expenditure-related incentives, the tendency would be to inflate expenditure. Rather, the system should be reverse in our system, in our condition. There should be incentive for saving, there should be disincentive for expenditure, and in order to provide that, in order to build that system in our arrangements last year I took certain steps and this year I went further by abolition of weighted deduction. I hope Mr. Kalyan Roy has noted this point that the very industry has not taken it very nicely.

Some criticism has been made that I have not uttered a word about tax evasion or how to tackle the problem of black money. I might not have, though in my budget speech I mentioned in a paragraph about the menace and about the impact of it. But I do not believe in saying, I believe in doing. That is why I have done, one of the major areas of tax avoidance is the trust. Last year I took certain steps to plug the loopholes. This year, I have gone further and I have indicated that the defaulting trusts will have to pay tax at the highest marginal rate. I think my Marxist friend

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

should not have failed in underlining the significance of compulsory audit. If he goes through his earlier budget speech, he himself will find that he had recommended it and I have introduced it. I have introduced in respect of professionals Rs. 10 lakh turnover and in respect of others Rs. 20 lakhs. The system of introducing the payment through cheque, the measures which we have taken to plug the loopholes in trusts... private trusts, charitable trusts, religious trusts — are these not steps to take action against tax evasion and tax avoidance? Apart from the normal enforcement machinery, the policing job, you take the number of income-tax raids and searches and seizures, the number of searches and seizures on the Customs side and compare it with any year. Take the number of detentions under COFEPOSA take the number of prosecutions under the Customs Act and compare it whether it is going down or going up. It is not my claim that I have been able to tackle the problem in its entirety. I have never claimed that and nobody is going to claim that. But what I would like to point out is that we have taken systematic steps and we are doing it. On the one hand we are strengthening and enforcing our enforcement machinery to tackle this problem, on the other hand we are taking legislative and other measures, including certain economic measures, to tackle the problem so that the menace of black money can be reduced — if not curbed totally, at least it can be reduced considerably.

In this connection a reference to a study of IMF has been made. As I explained on the floor of the other House, actually the study is not conducted by IMF. In some journal, an article appeared and they used certain figures and they took the help of certain studies conducted in certain countries. And one such reference was related to a study conducted by some other person in India. But I myself have entrusted to the Institute of Public Finance to have a study, because

in the early '50s some sort of an attempt was made to quantify black money by accepting a particular model suggested by Prof. Kaldar. The Wanchoo Committee also made some attempt to quantify it on a certain basis and following a particular model. I have suggested to the Institute of Public Finance to make an assessment to what extent the black money operates and how to tackle the problem. This is an area where I do feel we require the cooperation and assistance of all concerned. It is a social menace and unfortunately we do not have in our system, whatever may be the reasons, that type of social disapproval to economic offences which we have to the other type of social offences. I am giving you just one example. In Calcutta recently one gruesome murder took place. A small boy was kidnapped and killed. I found that all the lawyers of Calcutta decided not to stand in favour of the accused. Whether he has actually done it or not, is a matter for the courts to decide. But what I am pointing out is that all the lawyers. When they read the report of the murder in the newspapers, decided that they are not going to stand in favour of the accused. We do not find this type of attitude or approach when a known smuggler is arrested.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra): Antulay.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: Don't bring party matters. It will not help you. Here I am not taking it from the party platform. This problem you had to face when you accentuated it. If you permit me to say so, I can tell you you accentuated it because you equated yourself with the smugglers; you equated the political prisoners and COFEPOSA detenus and those detained for smuggling and economic offences at the same time and gave them social standing to be equated with those who were detained for political reasons. Therefore let us not go into that. What I say is that in our system we

do not have that type of social disapproval against economic offences which we normally have against social offences and unless we can create that atmosphere, by merely enforcing the administrative machinery or by merely doing the policing job, I am afraid, it would not be possible to tackle the problem totally. Sir, another important observation the hon. Member has made is in connection with the Centre-State relations. And an attempt has been made to convince the House that all my tax exercise or all my tax proposals had one objective viz. to see that the States do not get more, and I become generous at the cost of the States. Unfortunately, Sir this is totally a wrong attitude and approach. No Finance Minister makes his tax proposals looking from this angle whether the States will get more or the Centre will get more. Whether taxes will be reduced or taxes will be increased, for each proposal there is an economic justification and economic consideration. You may agree with it or you may not agree with it. But there is never a consideration like this, that this particular proposal will help the Union and this particular proposal will deprive the States. That is not the consideration. Even if you come to the bare facts you will find that it has not been so. This point I made quite clear in my Budget speech. What have we done for the States? Take even the latest estimates. I will give you just one figure. When we do planning, it is known to everybody that the Central assistance is according to the Gadgil formula, transfer of resources, particularly from the taxes which are within the divisible pool, are according to the recommendations of the Finance Commission, and the States' own resources are projected at the time of planning, according to the assessments they give. And on that basis, it was found that there will be an erosion of the States' own resources, all States taken together, during the five years, to the extent of Rs. 5300 crores. Of those Rs. 5300 crores, Rs. 4800 crores have already been covered by the Centre. All of you must be knowing, when

we started the current Plan we told them that the entire plans will not be adjusted during the current Plan period. After that, when there was a substantial overdraft on 31st March, 1982 to the extent of Rs. 1743 crores, we converted that into medium term loan. We increased the Central assistance which was originally projected at the time of planning by Rs. 1650 crores, and by an additional of almost Rs. 500-600 crores. All taken together, you will find that not only have we maintained the assistance which they were entitled to have, we have also provided them extra assistance in our anxiety to protect the Plan.

And what is the use of creating a dichotomy between the Centre and the States in this area? Where does the central development take place? Is there any place in geography of India which is known as the Centre? When a power project under the Central sector takes place, it has to be installed in a certain State or a Union territory. When a defence installation or an ordnance factory is to be located, it would be either in a State or in a Union territory. Is there any separate area which is known as the Centre? Therefore, what are the reasons for this dichotomy? Repeatedly we have pointed out that the areas of the States and the Centre are so demarcated that one has to function as a supplementary of the other. Our planning effort will not be successful if the State plans are not successful. Look at the huge investment which we have made, the allocations which we have made. Take rural development. I have doubled the allocation for rural development. Each and every farthing will be spent in the States and in the Union territories. Each and every farthing on irrigation will be spent in the States and in the Union territories. Each and every farthing on the 20-point programme, where the total investment taken together would be more than Rs. 11,000 crores, will be spent in the States. Unless the State plans are implemented, we cannot

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

reach the objective. Therefore, I do not find why this type of argument is being built up and it is not correct to say that.

5 P. M.

Particularly in the case of the additional excise duty a reference has been made as if we are deliberately not doing so. What have I done in this area? In order to protect the States here in the additional excise duty, you have noticed that in the textiles I have given relief across the board, on almost all items. In one item I have increased the duty. And that is the additional excise duty which is collected by Centre and handed over to the States in its entirety. I have transferred a part of the basic excise duty on cigarettes from the basic excise duty to the additional excise duty in order to ensure that the States' share is not reduced. And despite doing all these things, suddenly you are coming with the argument that the whole effort and exercise has been made to deprive the States. It is not correct to say that.

Sir, another important point which the hon. Member referred to is that this is an election budget. What is the connotation of an election budget? Is it a populist budget?

SHRI R. RAMAKRISHNAN: Popular budget. (Interruptions)

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: There is a difference. I do agree it is a popular budget but it is not a populist budget, it is not a give away budget.

Mr. Kalyan Roy, I appreciate you because the philosophy to which you subscribe cannot think in constructive approach. Always you are to think in destructive approach. Otherwise, how can you be a Marxist? If you were to be constructive, then, you cannot remain a Marxist. You will have to be destructive.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Wonderful understanding of Marxism.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: I do entirely agree that my

understanding of Marxism has come out of you.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Then, we have been very bad teachers.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: My total understanding of Marxism has come out of you. So, I think that you embody it.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Who is at fault, the student or the teacher?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I leave it to him.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: You can also join. You also belong to the same tribe.

Sir, some Members expressed doubt about the performance and improvement in the balance of payments area. And particularly Prof. Chatterjee and some others think that it is no real, that it is unreal. I can assure the hon. Members that it is real. If you look at the trade gap, it is not my case that I have been able to reach a balanced trade but that it is getting reduced from Rs. 5,800 crores in 1981-82 to Rs. 5526 crores in 1982-83, and in 1983-84 it is going to be not more than Rs. 5000 crores. And it is because of the fact of improvement in the oil production which you have admitted. But the oil production the improvement in the oil production and the performance in the oil sector is not out of heaven. It is as a result of the policy pursued by the Government. And I do entirely agree with Mr. Morarka when he gave compliment to one of the great sons of this country, Mr. K. D. Malaviva who worked out an oil map, an oil plan for this country because this is such vital and of strategic importance that if we can reduce our dependence on the imported supply to a considerable extent, the country will go towards self-reliance. And in this sector I would not say that we are reaching the target and we are going to be self-dependant or self-reliant totally, but we have been able to reduce our dependence on outside supply considerably. In the year we took over office 65 per cent of our export earning was spent on importing petroleum and petroleum products.

And today it has been reduced to about 30 per cent. This is because of our decision of making a massive investment to carry on the process of exploitation and exploration, and that strategy has paid dividends.

Regarding NRI, it is not that suddenly non-residents started depositing their money in the non-resident external account. Before the budget of 1982-83, which was my first budget, our annual deposit collection in this non-resident external account was Rs. 250 crores. And in the last nine months of the current financial year, it has gone up to Rs. 800 crores. It is not out of accident. It is as a result of the definite policy, because we have provided incentives to them. I am not talking of portfolio investment; I am talking of the deposit with the non-resident external account. There were many economists who pointed out to me—and they are justified from their point of view—"you are providing them a higher rate of interest when the international interest rate is coming down." To them my answer was that I cannot accept a policy where I will switch off and switch on my interest rate frequently and if I do so, then I will lose credibility with the non-residents and the objective of this scheme will not be fulfilled. And today you are seeing that it has been possible for us to do so. It is not a political gimmick. We have surrendered 1.1 billion SDR because we know it. There were so many doubting Thomases, and still there are doubting Thomases—I am not using the word "Cassandra" because I have already used the word in my budget speech. It is asked, if we have given up IMF, why are we going to ADB? To an elementary student of economics, it is clear that the loan from IMF and the assistance from ADB are in two completely different areas. One is to provide us assistance to solve the problem of liquidity through medium-term arrangements, and the other is developmental assistance on a long-term basis. Therefore, these two cannot be equated. There is no contradiction if, on the one hand, we are

giving up IMF assistance, surrendering 1.1 billion SDR and, on the other, we go to ADB for assistance for certain developmental projects. We are maintaining prudence in market borrowing, in foreign borrowings. That is why it has been possible for us to maintain the debt-servicing ratio within the manageable limit. But that does not mean that there is any room to be complacent or we can just have satisfaction from mutual admiration of our performance. That is an area where we shall have to remain careful and vigilant. And it is because of that reason, despite suggestions from many distinguished economists, including my good old friend, Dr. Adiseshiah, that I have not been able to reduce export subsidy to that extent, because I shall have to maintain a reasonable growth in the export area.

Somebody is tempted to point out that our performance in exports this year is because of the crude. That is why in my budget speech, I specifically pointed out that the 9 per cent growth is not of oil export because India is basically not an oil-exporting country as we do not have the refining capacity or our refineries are not in a position technically to refine heavy crudes. That is why temporarily we are to make some sort of shopping arrangement and we have to export and import. And even with the expansion of our refining capacity and its redesigning, India can never, at least in the near future, be an oil-exporting country. So when I give the export figure; I do not include the oil export. Not of oil export it is 9.4 per cent. But we should have a growth of 12 to 13 per cent so that we can maintain the position and our debt servicing ratio does not become unmanageable. And particularly when I talk of the hostile international situation—and if I do not use the word "hostile", it is "not so friendly" international situation—it not merely because stagnation is there.

It is because of the constant pressure on concessional assistance. Take the case of India in 1981. Our concessional assistance was 75 per cent and

[Shri Pranab Kumar Mukherjee]

assistance from the normal commercial window was 25 per cent. Just in one year, in 1982, that 75 per cent came down to 40 per cent and the 25 per cent increased to 60 per cent. The fate of IBRD is well known to you. It has reduced substantially and that reduced cake will have to be shared by a large number of customers. New borrowers have entered into IBRD level. Therefore, we are facing a situation where gradually concessional assistance from multi-lateral and bilateral sources will go on reducing and we shall have to depend on our own. It is true the contribution of foreign assistance, multi-lateral, bilateral, all taken together, during the Sixth Plan is not more than 7 per cent, but that 7 per cent is very critical...

Dr. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH:
Seven per cent of what?

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: Of our total public sector investment. And if you talk of that, from the rate of savings it would be 23 to 25 per cent. Therefore, we have to rely on our exports, we have to get a long-term strategy so that we can achieve the target and we can have the growth in export in the real sense of the term.

I think I have covered most of the general points which the honourable Members referred to. One more point and I have done. It has been pointed out very peculiarly and some honourable Members have said that our performance in certain important key sectors of the 20-point programme in the first six months of the current year has fallen short of. It is true from April to September the target was much less than 50 per cent. But April to September is not the working season. And that is why I am thinking of changing the financial year. The figures which we have for the first ten months show that we have reached the target of 70 per cent, in drinking water supply, bio-gas about 67 per cent, and programme for integrated child development services

100 per cent of the target has been achieved in the first 9 to 10 months of the current financial year. I do not mean that we have been able to tackle the problem in its entirety. What I want to point out is the period April-September is not correct indicator. The correct indicator should be in the latter working months. You know, after sanctioning the project it takes a few months from July to September to pick up and we cannot work because of the rainy season. I do not claim that with this budget I will be able to make miracles. It is not my intention nor can anyone do miracles with one single fiscal instrument like budget. You should appreciate the policies which we are pursuing to maintain the development tempo, to mobilise resources without taxing the people too much. And this year honourable Members should be a little grateful to me that I have not gone on increasing the administered prices of which honourable Members complained to me for the last couple of year ...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE:
Coal.

SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE: You compelled me to do so, you and your friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy. You have taken Rs. 292 crores by wage increase. What can I do? Otherwise, I could have avoided it. Where is the alternative? Tell me. If I had not done it in the public sector, if I had not increased the price, how else could I have provided for the budgetary deficit? After all, it is the public sector. There is no escape. You cannot keep it under carpet. Somewhere in the economy it has to get reflected. Except coal, I have not gone in for heavy doses of price increase to mop up additional resources. I do hope it will be possible for us to maintain the growth.

I did not touch the price situation because it is still disturbing and alarming. But one point I think you will appreciate. As on 10th August the wholesale price index was 319 and in March it is 322. I have not got

the benefit of seasonal decline. But it has been possible that there is a fair amount of stability so far as the wholesale price index is concerned. Still this is an area where we have to be vigilant. I have taken certain traditional, customary steps, such as, restricting money supply, reducing expenditure, etc. There also, Hon'ble Members will appreciate that the scope is extremely limited. If I do not pay D.A. which has fallen due, you will not tolerate. Almost every week I get more than 20 questions on that subject in this House and 40 questions in the other House... (Interruptions). Do not drag me to the point of commitment. At least I have made a provision of Rs. 300 crores for that in the budget. But I think this is an area where we shall have to be vigilant. With the co-operation of all concerned. I do hope it would be possible for us to maintain the developmental tempo, and to achieve the target and reach the goal which we have set for ourselves.

Once again I express my gratitude to all the Hon'ble Members who have participated in the debate and made very valuable contributions.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): One question. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No more question.

There is a statement to be made by the Shipping Minister.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Retheathened Indefinite Strike in Major Ports from the Mid-night of 15th/16th March, 1984.

THE MINISTER OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI K. VIJAYA BHASKARA REDDY). Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Settlement between the Government of India in the Ministry of Shipping and Transport and the four major federation of port and dock workers, namely, All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation, Indian National Port and Dock Workers' Federation, Port Dock and

Waterfront Workers' Federation of India and Water Transport Workers' Federation of India on the issues of wage revision and the liberalisation of terms and conditions of employment of port and dock workers at the Major Ports, signed on 4-1-1981, was effective for a period of four years from 1-1-1980 to 31-12-1983. To evolve a new settlement to be effective from 1-1-1984, it was decided that a bipartite Wage Negotiating Team comprising representatives of the major Port Trusts, Dock Labour Boards and the Federation of Associations of Stevedores and the above mentioned four federations should enter into negotiations.

2. Accordingly bipartite negotiations were held since August, 1983. The four federations presented a joint charter of demands. The financial implications of the main demands contained in the charter were estimated at Rs. 163 crores per annum. It was reported to Government that the federations' demands were not realistic and that they had also not given any firm indication of their expectations. As the discussions were not fruitful the matter was reported to the Government in the middle of November, 1983.

3. During the discussions held at the level of Secretary, Ministry of Shipping and Transport the federations indicated certain demands as their minimum. The financial implications of these demands worked out to approximately Rs. 78 crores per annum.

4. I held discussions with the representatives of the labour federations. I appealed to them to keep the overall interest of the national economy in view and help in arriving at a reasonable settlement. After an in-depth examination of all aspects of the issues involved, I offered an overall settlement at an estimated annual cost of Rs. 32 crores. This represented a 15 per cent increase over the estimated annual wage bill of Rs. 216.31 crores for the year 1983. During the discussions held on 23rd February,