

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE—**

Contd.

**NOTIFICATION OF THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE)**

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO): Sir, I beg to lay on the Table a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue) Notification G.S.R. No. 371(E), dated the 30th April, 1983, together with an explanatory Memorandum thereon. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-662] 83].

**THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3)**

BILL, 1983

**श्री मिर्जा इरशादबेग अयूबबेग**

(गुजरात) : मान्यवर, मैं प्रस्ताव के समर्थन में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि प्रस्तावित वित्तीय मांगें राष्ट्रीय विकास की दिशा में पूरक हैं। महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि हिंदुस्तान गांवों में बसा है और आज समय की मांग है कि गांवों का वैज्ञानिक पद्धति से विकास किया जाए। छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंतर्गत और रखी गई वित्तीय मांगों के अंतर्गत तथा बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम के अंतर्गत ग्रामीण विकास के जो कार्यक्रम रखे हैं, उससे अधिक मात्रा में और साइंटिफिक पद्धति से गांवों का विकास किया जा सकेगा। जैसा कि ग्रामीण विकास के क्षेत्र में आई० आर० डी० पी०, एन० आर० ई० पी० तथा ट्राइसेम के जो प्लान रखे गये हैं, मैं सदन से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आई० आर० डी० पी० के अंतर्गत 1980-81 में 27.83 लाख परिवार, 1981-82 में 28.29 लाख परिवार तथा 1982-83 के जनवरी तक 18.34 लाख परिवारों को सहायता मिली है। इससे यह महसूस होता है कि यह कार्यक्रम अधिक मात्रा में तेजी से आगे बढ़ रहा है।

इसीलिये मैं इसका समर्थन करता हूँ और इन्हों कार्यक्रमों के अंतर्गत में धन्यवाद करूंगा कि दो लाख युवकों को ग्रामीण रोजगार की दिशा में, उन्हें रोजगार दिलाने की दिशा में, अधिक मात्रा में उनके लिये काम हो रहा है। इसके अंतर्गत खादी कमीशन द्वारा जो कार्यक्रम चलाये गये हैं, उन कार्यक्रमों की असरकारकता लाभदायी है। लेकिन मैं सूचना देना चाहूंगा कि खादी कमीशन द्वारा चलाये गये जो कार्यक्रम हैं, उनमें कुछ ही संस्थाओं को अधिक मात्रा में जो फंड्स दिये जाते हैं, इसकी बजाए कुछ छोटी-छोटी संस्थाओं को ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में और विकास की दिशा में उन्हें और ज्यादा प्रवृत्त किया जाना है।

मैं वित्त मंत्रालय की मांगों के समर्थन में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि गुजरात राज्य में 1,13,338 पिछड़े परिवारों को 15.22 करोड़ रुपये की सहायता दी गयी है, किंतु पश्चिमी जोन में सिर्फ 7.62 प्रतिशत अर्जियां स्वीकृत की गयी हैं। जिन लोगों ने लोन मांगा है, जिन बीकर सेक्शन ने, शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स एंड शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लोगों ने अपने विकास के लिये जो लोन की मांग की है, उनकी अर्जियां जितनी आई थीं, उनमें से 7.62 प्रतिशत स्वीकृत की गयीं और तात्कालिक डिस्पोजल के नाम पर उनमें से 22.08 प्रतिशत अर्जियां टेक्नीकल बातों के बहाने पर नामंजूर कर दी गयी हैं। बैंकिंग अधिकारियों के इस अधिक्रम पर मैं मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि सख्त कार्यवाही इसके खिलाफ करनी चाहिए। यह सरकार जो भूखे, नंगे और पिछड़ी जातियों के लोगों को आगे लाने के लिये और उसके विकास की दिशा में जो कार्यक्रम कर रहे हैं, उसके बीच आने वाले जो तत्व हैं, उनके बीच जो

[श्री मिर्जा इरशादबेग अयूब बेग]

माध्यम हैं, वह अगर इस तरह का रवैया अख्तियार करना चाहते हैं, तो उसके खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही करने की मेरी विनती है। जन समूहों की उत्कृष्ट योजनाओं के खिलाफ बीच में आने वाले जितने तत्व हैं, उन तत्वों को बड़ी कड़ाई, सख्ती के साथ दबा देने की अत्यन्त आवश्यकता है और यही समय की मांग भी।

मैं वित्त मंत्रालय से यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि लीड बैंक का जो कार्यक्षेत्र है, वह कार्यक्षेत्र, आज हिंदुस्तान में देखा जा रहा है कि लीड बैंक जो कार्यक्रम कर रहे हैं, सिर्फ जहां पर उनकी ब्रांच है, उस ब्रांच के इर्द गिर्द के विस्तार में, गजदीक के विस्तार में उनके कार्यक्रम लिये जा रहे हैं। मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि ऐसे बैंक के अधिकारियों को वित्त मंत्रालय कहे कि इन्टीरियर के जो इलाके हैं, पिछड़े इलाके हैं उन में भी जाकर कार्य को आगे बढ़ाएं।

मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि देश में रासायनिक खाद का उत्पादन विशेष मात्रा में बढ़ा है। लेकिन आज किसान की जो खरीदने की शक्ति है वह कुंठित हो चुकी है, कमजोर हो चुकी है। वित्त मंत्रालय ने हाल ही में उनको दिए जाने वाले लोन में व्याज की दर में जो एक प्रतिशत की कमी की है मैं उसकी सराहना करता हूं और इसके लिये सरकार का अभिनन्दन करता हूं और सरकार से यह भी माग करता हूं कि जोन कमेटी ने जो सिफारिशें की हैं उन को तत्काल अमल में लाना चाहिये। उससे किसान की खरीदने की शक्ति में वृद्धि होगी। गुजरात में इस क्षेत्र में अधिक काम हुआ है। गुजरात राज्य में केवल 17 प्रतिशत सिंचाई की व्यवस्था है। उसके बावजूद

गुजरात में खाद की खपत प्रति हैक्टेयर 39 प्रतिशत है। गुजरात में खाद्यान्नों के उत्पादन की क्षमता 140 प्रतिशत हो गई है, जो उल्लेखनीय है।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहूंगा कि कपास बोने वाले किसान आज घाटे में हैं। मैं दरखास्त करता हूं कि काटन कारपोरेशन जो बाजार में आकर खरीद करता है उसको चाहिये कि वह मौसम जब प्रारम्भ हो तभी उसे बाजार में आना चाहिये ताकि किसान को अपनी फसल का सही लाभ मिल सके।

आज देश में काटन सरप्लस है। हमारी जो काटन की एक्सपोर्ट नीति है उस को मौसम के स्टार्ट होने से पहले ही घोषित करना चाहिये ताकि किसानों को अपने उत्पादन का सही मात्रा में लाभ मिल सके। काटन कारपोरेशन से मेरा यह निवेदन है कि वह काटन के एक्सपोर्ट का माध्यम बने, काटन की सहकारी संस्थाओं द्वारा खरीद की जाय और उन्हीं के द्वारा एक्सपोर्ट किया जाय।

आज अनाज का उत्पादन बिजली और पानी पर अधिक निर्भर है। हम ने देखा है कि देश में बिजली के माध्यम में ज्यादा खराबी आई है। बिजली की व्यवस्था में अधिक सुधार होना चाहिये। बिजली को ज्यादा कार्यक्षम बनाना चाहिये। वायरलेस सिस्टम के द्वारा उस का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन करना चाहिये ताकि उस की कार्यक्षमता को बढ़ाया जा सके।

औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में बड़े और छोटे दोनों उद्योग हैं। मेरे जो नौजवान साथी शिक्षा प्राप्त करके छोटे उद्योगों में आये हैं वह बड़े उद्योगों के मुकाबले ठीक से नहीं चल पाते। दूसरे जो आज का

अधिकारी वर्ग है वह ऐसी विलम्बकारी नीतियाँ अख्तियार करता है जिस की वजह से छोटे उद्योगकार बाजार में टिक नहीं सकते, उन के सामने कम्पटीशन में आ नहीं सकते। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह ऐसी व्यवस्था करे कि बीच में जो विलम्ब करने वाले अधिकारी हैं उन के साथ वह सख्ती से पेश आये ताकि जो छोटे साहसिक हैं उन को आगे बढ़ने का मौका मिल पाये। जब कोई बड़ा उद्योग किसी राज्य में आने की बात होती है तो उस की उत्पादन क्षमता क्या है यह देखना चाहिये। जिस राज्य में शांति और व्यवस्था हो और अधिक से अधिक मात्रा में उत्पादन हो सकता हो वहाँ पर उन उद्योगों की स्थापना करनी चाहिये। ताकि जो हमारा राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन का लक्ष्य है उस को हम पूरा कर सकें और उसमें कमी न आने पाये।

मैं गृह मंत्रालय के अंतर्गत जो अन्य मांगें रखी गयी हैं और खास तौर पर 130 करोड़ रुपये की चार्ज्ड कैटेगरी में, उस की सराहना करता हूँ और उन को मंजूर करते हुए मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि ट्राइबल्स और शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट के जो जो प्लान हैं उन के अंतर्गत यह काम होना है। इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि उस काम के लिये यह 130 करोड़ रुपया दिया जाय।

खेल कूद के लिये जो मांगें हैं उनके समर्थन में कहना चाहूँगा कि खेलकूद की प्रवृत्तियों का ग्राम स्तर से विकास करना लाभदायी होगा। जैसे जापान में डिग्री कोर्सेज शुरू किये गये हैं और वहाँ इसी तरह से जैसे डिप्लोमा कोर्सेज शुरू किये गये हैं उसी तरह से मैं स्पोर्ट मंत्रालय से निवेदन करूँगा कि अपने यहां खेलकूद की प्रवृत्तियों का विकास करने के लिये अधिक से अधिक कार्य किया

जाना चाहिये। मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर के जो खिलाड़ी हैं उन में से मैंने देखा है कि बहुत अधिक मात्रा में अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्थान और उस स्तर पर मान पा चुके हैं। लेकिन उन की कोचिंग ठीक नहीं होती है। उन को सहूलियतें नहीं मिलती है और इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाड़ी पीछे रह गये हैं। मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि उन के लिये स्पेशल कोचिंग की व्यवस्था की जाय और उन के लिये कुछ आर्थिक सहायता की भी व्यवस्था की जाय ताकि हमारे देश के नौजवान और जो अच्छे खिलाड़ी हैं वे अंतरराष्ट्रीय क्षेत्र में नाम कमा सकें।

मान्यवर, एशियन गेम्स और नान एलाइंड कांफरेंस के समय हमारे टूरिज्म तथा स्पोर्ट्स मंत्रालय ने जो व्यवस्था की थी उस का मैं अभिनन्दन करता हूँ। ऐसी सराहनीय व्यवस्था उन्होंने की थी कि जिस की वजह से सारे देश को गौरव प्राप्त हुआ है। मैं इस के लिये उन को फिर से धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

ड्रस के लिये जो मांग की गयी है उस का मैं अनुमोदन करना चाहूँगा। हमारे जो पेस्टीसाइड्स हैं उन का किसान अधिक मात्रा में उपयोग कर रहा है, लेकिन कहीं कहीं ऐसी खराबियाँ पायी गयी हैं कि उन पेस्टीसाइड्स में पोल्यूशन अधिक पाया गया है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस की कड़ी जांच की जाय। मैं ने देखा है कि कहीं कहीं किसानों ने उन पेस्टीसाइड्स का छिड़काव किया है और उस का बड़ा खराब रिएक्शन हुआ है और इस से हमारा उत्पादन बजाय बढ़ने के घटा है। इसलिये इस दिशा में सरकार को विशेष जानकारी कर के किसानों को राहत दिलानी चाहिये।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि हमारे देश में कुछ विदेशी कंपनियों के सहयोग

[श्री मिर्जा इरशाद बेग अयूब बेग]

से चलने वाली कंपनियां हैं और वह जो काम कर रही हैं उन के लिये मैं सरकार से विनती करना चाहूंगा कि वह उन की सही जांच पड़ताल करे ताकि विदेशों की रिजेक्टेड दवाइयां यहां न आने पायें। अगर ऐसी दवाइयां यहां इस्तेमाल की जायेगी तो उसका देश के नागरिकों के स्वास्थ्य पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ेगा। इस लिये मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार इस बात पर खास तौर से ध्यान दे।

स्पेस प्रोग्राम के बारे में जो मांगें हैं उन के लिये मैं सरकार का अभिनन्दन करना चाहूंगा। हमारे वैज्ञानिकों ने देश को गौरव दिलाया है और उस के मस्तिष्क को ऊंचा किया है। कहीं कहीं उनसे गलतियां भी हुई हैं, लेकिन मैं एक शेर के जरिये कहना चाहूंगा कि:

“गिरते हैं शह सवार मैदाने जंग में,  
वह तिफल क्या गिरे जो घुटनों के बल चलें।”

इसलिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि हमें अपने वैज्ञानिकों की हिम्मत बढ़ानी चाहिये और उन का अभिनन्दन करना चाहिये।

जो लेबर की डिमांड्स हैं उनके संबंध में कहना चाहूंगा कि गुजरात में अहमदाबाद में दो मिलें आज बंद हैं मास्डन और मोनोग्राम। वहां आज हजारों कामगार बेकार हैं। उन के लिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि राज्य सरकार को अधिक मात्रा में सहायता दे कर उन को चालू किया जाय क्योंकि जिनके घर में चूल्हा नहीं जलता है, रोटी नहीं बनती है उन की सहायता करने के लिये चाहे उन को सहकारी सेक्टर में चलाया जाय या राज्य सरकार उन को चलायें, लेकिन उन को जल्द से जल्द चलवाने की दिशा में प्रयास किया जाना चाहिये।

इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जो मांगें रखी गई हैं, इनसे देश और राष्ट्र विकास की दिशा में आगे बढ़ सकेगा और हम चाहते हैं कि यह ऐसा बजट लायें जो देश के गौरव को और बढ़ा सके।

मान्यवर, मैं अपनी बात इसी बात को कहकर खत्म करता हूं। हमारे सीनियर साथी श्री शिवचन्द्र झा जी ने गुरु द्रोण की याद दिलाई थी। मान्यवर, गुरु द्रोण ने महाभारत में यह भी कहा था:

“ऊर्ध्वबाहू विरौमेध्यः नैव कश्चित्  
श्रुणोति मे”

लेकिन हमारी सरकार और राज्य सरकारें करोड़ों लोगों को, पिछड़ी जातियों के लिये, बीकर सेक्शंस के लिये काम कर रही है जिससे कि वह आगे बढ़ सकें।

मान्यवर, हमारे एक साथी ने, जो यहां पर अभी उपस्थित नहीं हैं, फारसी का शेर कहा था। उनको मैं अमीर खुसरो की याद दिलाना चाहता हूं—

“नमीदानमचे मंजिल बूद।

शब जायेके मन बूदम।”

मैं इस सदन से मांग करता हूं कि वह सरकार द्वारा की गई मांगों का समर्थन करे ताकि देश और तरक्की कर सके। मैं अपनी बात इस शेर से समाप्त करता हूं—

“इंकलाबात ने यूं नज्मे गुलिस्तां बदला,  
फूल मुरझाये हैं और कांटों पे निखार  
आया है।”

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I thank you for calling me to speak on this occasion.

The Appropriation Bill is a form by which Parliament accords its approval for withdrawal of funds from the Consolidated Fund of India. Technically speaking, this House can discuss the functioning of this Government on the whole because on the appropriations sanctioned by this Bill all the functions of the Government are to be carried on. On this occasion I will concentrate only on one aspect, namely the very deplorable way in which the Government has functioned as far as the State of Assam is concerned. Speaking yesterday at Kanpur, the Prime Minister is reported to have said—I am quoting from the Times of India report:

“KANPUR, May 1...Addressing a largely attended public meeting at Phool Bagh here at the end of her one-day visit to U.P., she warned agitators in Punjab and Assam against trying to force any solution on her government.”

“She accused opposition parties of whipping up mob frenzy on petty issues and creating the impression abroad that India was a nation of violence.”

One thing she says that nobody can force a solution on the Government. The Government will not come with any solution and nobody also should seek to make the Government come to a solution. The second thing is that everything is being done by the Opposition parties which whips up mob frenzy on petty issues and creating the impression abroad that India was a nation of violence.

By making these two statements she has absolved completely her Government, especially in Assam and Punjab. Here I want to go on record that the Opposition has been very, very constructive. At least in these two States, the State of Assam and Punjab, the Opposition has given whole-hearted cooperation. Whenever meetings are held, even the Home Minister and others have acknowledged the role played by the Opposition leaders, especially persons like

Mr. Ravindra Verma and others who gave excellent solutions at every stage and tried to find some scope of a solution. It is only the impishness and ineptitude of the Government that has pushed the State of Assam into the cauldron of simmering hate and disturbance. The same thing is likely to follow in Punjab also, if the Government is not taking a cue from its past misdeeds.

In speaking about the appropriations—I think, of the misappropriations—made by the Government, as far as authority goes, as far as power goes in not handling the situation properly which has led to this serious situation.

Today morning, some friends here wanted to raise the issue when the Minister gave some information contradicting the information as supplied by Mr. Arun Shourie in 'India Today'. Sir, Mr. Arun Shourie has done in the past very commendable work to the cause of freedom of expression and for cleaner Government in this country. This Parliament and the Members of Parliament are very much indebted to him for very many pieces of correct and factual information supplied by him from time to time. Again he has come out with what has passed on within the files or under the table between the State of Assam and the Government of India. For many things talked of here in a vague way, he is giving precise and definite clues. Before I go into that, I would like to say one thing. One may dub Mr. Arun Shourie as having been a well-known and a confirmed anti-Mrs. Gandhi and anti-Congress (I) journalist. Some may accuse him of that. But I do not do that. Some may accuse him of that. For their benefit, I say that here is a statement of 5th April, 1983, of Miss Neerja Chowdhury who went there and made a State-wise tour and collected the facts there. And you are accusing the Opposition, and you are finding fault with the Opposition. Even the Prime Minister says day in and day out that

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in spite of the elections, the atmosphere of violence had been there. Yes. It is true that the atmosphere of violence was there. From which end the atmosphere of violence was started? It was done more so by the Government and the CRP and the paramilitary forces posted there. Here in her report she narrates a very heart-rending incident. She says:

"Durga Ram Barua, a school teacher of Sipajhar in Mangaldoi sub-division, sobbed as he spoke about the incidents of February 2 in which his son, Chitra, was burnt to death. The police had come in the morning, he said, and entered people's home and started beating some of them. Word spread and the thousands of villagers came out and gathered in the farms. The police fired. When the BDO's office started burning, his son, Chitra, rushed there with Prahlad Sarma, a poor young man, who was given shelter by the Baruas. Some time later villagers brought back Chitra who had severe burns. He managed to tell his father—and subsequently doctors in the Gauhati hospital—that he had been pushed into the fire by the CRP men."

Sir, it was his own child who had been burnt to death. And the dying child declared to his father as well as to the doctors in the hospital that he was pushed into the fire by the CRP people. I want to know from the Government whether this is a fact or not. If it is a fact, why was the CRP employed to do these things?

Again, in her article, Neerja Chowdhury says that according to Assamese sources, 235 people died in these firings while the Home Minister gave a figure of 137. Sir, the number, 100 or 200, does not have a meaning at all. It has crossed thousands now. And she records, "Most of these firings were not preceded by the use of tear-gas or lathi-charge to disperse mobs". Whenever there was a mob, whenever there was a crowd of people, firing has been resorted to.

Then, Sir, here is a report given by the PUCL team headed by Mr. Justice V. M. Tarkunde, the other members being Mr. Kuldip Nayar and Mr. K. G. Kannabiran. They came out saying, "The invocation of extraordinary powers to suppress the Assam movement and the other repressive laws and measures adopted by the Government only made matters worse."

Therefore, Sir, it is very clear why there was a carnage, why there was an unrest which led to an internecine war, a civil war almost between ethnic groups, between linguistic groups and between aliens and the locals. Before I come to Arun Shourie, here is another paper, Sir, namely, the Times of India, which contains a report entitled "Many Facts of Assam Carnage" written by Shri N. S. Saxena, on the 20th April, 1983. Therein he says, "No one outside the Government can say for certain what instructions written or oral, were issued to field officers but judging by their conduct it was obvious that they thought the right to vote to be more important than the right to life itself." That means that all the preparations were made in the State of Assam by the Central Government during the President's rule, during the mis-rule that when they were pushing when they were ramming, the elections in the State of Assam. All that they care for and all the preparations they made were not for conducting a process of democracy, but in the name of democracy they wanted to conduct a ritual of a poll but to the detriment of the State itself. In the process the law and order, the peaceful conditions there, were completely disturbed and destroyed.

Sir, of course, one should be thankful to the Prime Minister for having given an assurance. It is reported that the Prime Minister has told them of 'the Centre's commitment to provide security to members of all communities.' This is a good assurance that the Prime Minister is reported to have...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): How is all this relevant to the Appropriation Bill?

SHRI R. R. MORARKA (Rajasthan): The scope of the Appropriation Bill is very wide.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, the scope of the Appropriation Bill is very wide because we can discuss many matters under it. This Government functions because of the appropriations made out of the Consolidated Fund of India. I was advised by no less a person than the Deputy Chairman, that this matter can be taken up at the time of discussion on the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHAN (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, this is a question of misappropriation of authority. That is why it can be dealt with here.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): You can stretch it anywhere, I know.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: I prefaced this one by saying that if some time had been allotted to this, I would have dealt with it; but in the morning when some Members raised it here, it was said that it would not be put on record. Now is, therefore, the appropriation occasion and therefore I want to appropriate the time of the House to put it on record.

The Prime Minister is reported to have told them that the Centre's commitment to provide security to members of all communities is there. It was a very good assurance but only it came too late in the day. This assurance was made on the 31st March, 1983, whereas all the carnage, all the killings have been done months earlier. Only after the horse was stolen the stable was bolted.

Sir, I will now come only to the specific things that have been revealed by Mr. Arun Shourie in 'India Today'. In the preface to this one it has been very succinctly put, "the

story remains incomplete because it was buried deep in the secrecy of Government files now protected even more jealously by the bureaucratic machinery seeking alibis and scapegoats." Sir, many things have been said in this House and many things have been written how there was a deep conspiracy between the Government that was supposed to function in the State of Assam and the Government that was supposed to work in the Centre. These two Governments conspired, they tried to break the Gordian knot just by cutting it without going through the democratic process of a peaceful election with the approval and involvement of the people. Sir, here is a report from the Special Branch dated the 3rd July, 1982. This is Memo No. 3 P.M. DSB, XIV/1/82/129/Dibrugarh, dated 3rd July, 1982 wherein they have given a clear opinion. They have said:

"But holding of the same... the elections

"...without such a settlement may be quite difficult. Such an attempt will be strongly resisted by the organisers of the agitation. They may succeed in creating large-scale lawlessness."

Therefore, the Special Branch themselves gave a clear warning that such a thing as forcing the elections on the unwanted people against the wishes of the agitators would surely end in lawlessness. But still the Government proceeded to hold the elections.

Later on, in the month of November, 1982, the Special Branch, although they by then knew the working of the Government's mind, in spite of that fact, submitted a very big report. This is again a confidential one. This SB XI(A)/SPC/20/82, Pt. IV/94 wherein they have made an assessment. They have said:

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"In approximately 78 constituencies, the election can be held where the voting is likely to be between 30 per cent to 65 per cent of the total electorate while in the remaining constituencies where large scale troubles are anticipated, the voting will be between 1 per cent to 30 per cent."

But if you see the actual voting, in some places, it was less than .3 per cent. Out of 90,000 votes in a constituency, a person who was able to secure only 237 votes got elected and is now accepted as an MLA in the eyes of the law of the Central Government and the election rules. Such things happen. Can the Government say that they did not have any warning? They had ample warning by their own machinery, by the forebodings which were there in the State of Assam and by the warnings given by the Opposition.

Day in and day out, the disaster at Nellie and other places are being highlighted. We do not approve of, one does not approve of, the carnage which was committed in Nellie and other places. Innocent people have been hacked to death. They had the right to live. But their lives were ended by unscrupulous and devilish elements. These ghastly terrors could have been avoided had the Central Government appropriated some of its time resources and energy to prevent them when due warnings were given to them. As far as Nellie is concerned, it is on the record of Mr. Arun Shourie. He has brought out the message sent by the officer in-charge of the Nellie police station which is about 10 kms from the Nellie area. He says here:

"On the afternoon of February 15—three days before the massacre—...

This started on the 18th February:

"...Bahir-ud Din Ahmed, the

officer in-charge of Nowgong police station, sent the most specific of warnings to the Commandant of the 5th Battalion of Assam Police (stationed at Marigaon which is no more than 10 kms. from the Nellie area), the sub-divisional police officer at Marigaon as well as to the officer in-charge of the police station at Jagiroad itself."

This message which has been sent has been decoded and published here: It says:

"From O/C NWG. PS, dated 15-2-83  
Information received that last night about one thousand Assamese of surrounding villages of Nellie with deadly weapons assembled at Nellie by beating of drums. Minority people are in panic and apprehending attack at any moment. Submission for immediate action to maintain peace."

This was sent on 15th itself, 15th afternoon at 15.30 hours. The carnage took place on 18th. There was a battalion waiting there within a radius of the 10 kms of the area of Nellie. Here is an officer, in charge of the police station of Nowgong, who has sent the message, and Nellie is not far away. It is on the national highway and within 10 kms, a battalion of our army is stationed. But that force was not made available to protect the people of Nellie even though about 2½ days earlier enough warning was given by the competent authority through the messages, frantic messages, to the higher authorities. No action was taken because the Government was more keen to go through the ritual of election. It is not even to hold the election, not even to obtain results, not even to get the mandate of the people, they simply wanted to make out some sort of a ritual of an election so that they could announce it to the outside world. In some box there were not even 240 votes, but still they call it an 'election'. I am making this plea so that the same thing should not be repeated in Punjab.



Enough harm has been done in the State of Assam and I deny with all my authority for what is being said about the opposition role. Far from frenzy-ing or whipping frenzy, the opposition wants to give constructive co-operation to the Government. Otherwise, a person like myself from the opposition would not have raised the issue of misrepresentation or exaggeration of a statement made by the Home Minister on the Punjab situation. Therefore, we want to give very constructive cooperation to the Government in solving the problem. But here is a Government, as explained by Arun Shourie in 'India Today'—probably India Today itself represents such a picture—they want to cling to power, they want to conduct elections, they want to form Ministries, they want to instal Chief Ministers, not to function as a democracy, not to function as per the rules of the Constitution, not to appropriate and spend the amounts given to them but to misappropriate the authority and and the power that has been given to them to perpetuate an illegal, illegitimate and undemocratic government in the State of Assam.

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL (Gujarat): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1983. I have carefully listened to the esteemed leaders from the opposition side. For the last few days I have been listening to the discussion about Assam and Punjab also. I am not a politician and so I cannot represent the good things in a bad way or bad things in a good way, but one thing is there. Assam and Punjab problems are not the creation of the Congress rule. Most of the problems are old problems. When the Janata Party was in power, when the Akalis themselves were in power, these problems cropped up, but no one tried to solve them. (Interruptions). The Anandpur Sahib resolution was passed in 1973 and you were in power in 1977. Why did you not solve it at that time? The Akalis were in power at the Centre, they

were in the Government. They did not solve the problem at that time and now they are glamming the Congress Party. (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: Why are you disturbing him?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): You are not an Akali.

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: I have been watching the situation. They are playing opportunistic politics. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No disturbance, Dr. Mallick.

SHRI VITHALBHAI MOTIRAM PATEL: Why the country is not getting an alternative to the Congress Party? My friend, if you want to be an alternative to the Congress Party, you will have to be positive, all time negative attitude will not do. Instead of extending your help to the problems of Assam and Punjab you are instigating the agitators. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the time of electioneering in Assam the BJP, the Janata Party and the Lok Dal were not fighting elections, but a bunch of leaders from the BJP visited Assam during the election. What business had they to go there when they were not fighting the elections? It was only to instigate the agitation they had been there. They were giving speeches and addressing press conferences and instigating the agitationists. Otherwise when they were not fighting the elections, they had no business to go to Assam. It is mentioned in the Organiser itself that so many leaders visited Assam during the election period. This shows that they are not interested in solving the problem. They only wanted to instigate them and create problems for the Government. They wanted to prove that this is not a government which can govern. But my friends, it is not going to succeed. This may give you a short-term again, it will not give you a

[Shri Vithalbhai Motiram Patel]

permanent gain. You should try to be positive if you want to be an alternative to the Congress (I).

Now I would like to refer to the problems of the Ministry of Industry. Nowadays the Industry Ministry is telling the industrialists to go to backward States. I know some of the industrialists who wanted to set up industries in Gujarat were advised to go to some backward State and not to Gujarat. But if you send anybody to Bastar or any other backward area, he will not be able to put up an industry. The industry will not work. To set up an industry you need infrastructure, power, industrial peace and so many other things. So please don't force the industrialists to go to a backward State or any other State. Let him set up the industry wherever he can get production immediately. If you let him go to Gujarat, or Maharashtra, or Tamil Nadu or Karnataka or some other State, he will be able to start production as early as possible. In the textile industry, the production per worker in Ahmedabad and Bombay mills is much more than that of a textile mill worker in Madhya Pradesh or other States, because it requires some skill and a working method also. It is not good to force an industrialist not to go to Gujarat, not to go to Maharashtra and to go to some other State. Then he will not have any interest in setting up the industry. If you want to increase production, let him have his industry wherever he wants it and let the production be increased. Sometimes mention is made of Shivarajan Committee. Most of the State Governments are against that Committee's report that the industries should go to backward States because there is an imbalance. Imbalance will be there. You cannot expect, like Punjab or Gujarat, why the other States are not coming up. This is because the people of those areas are courageous and bold. That is why they are coming up. You have invested the maximum in Bihar in the public sector undertakings. But even then Bihar is

not coming up. So until the local people prepare themselves, you cannot make the State industrial one. So please change your attitude and don't force the industrialists to go to backward States.

Another thing is, I have heard a lot about corruption in this House and elsewhere. I think corruption is there. There is no doubt about it. But it is not so rampant that you should raise a hue and cry here and there. Previously when I was working as a correspondent, if one heard of some charge of corruption, it would create panic. People were talking about it. It was the talk of the town. Now it has become a fashion to level a charge of corruption. It has lost its importance. If somebody levels a charge of corruption nobody takes it seriously because it has become a fashion. I believe the corrupt people should be exposed. If you have something substantial against them, expose them. But loose talk of corruption is not going to help. On the contrary, it is spoiling the atmosphere. So charges of corruption should be made with some proof.

Sir, now I want to point out the cries of the farmers. Nowadays the farmers are not making any profit. Some farmers in Punjab where there is a canal system may be making some profit because of cheap water but it is not so in Gujarat where there is no proper canal system. In Gujarat, hardly four or five per cent in a few district may be getting canal waters but, by and large, they have to depend on the rain god or irrigation through wells. Therefore, farming becomes very costly there. Even though the purchasing price of wheat is the same in Punjab and Gujarat, we are buying wheat from abroad by paying Rs. 205 or Rs. 210 to the American farmer but we are not prepared to pay Rs. 175 or Rs. 200 to our own farmers. Our farmers are paid just Rs. 151. and they do not ask our farmers, in Gujarat or elsewhere, as to what their cost of production is. You don't ask them and I don't know what type of for-

mula is adopted for fixing the price for the farmers' produce. You can add up everything while pricing an Ambassador or a Fiat car and also give them profit and allow some wrong expenses also to be included in it, but when the question of paying to the farmers comes, you say, no, no, no, the Agricultural Prices Commission is coming in the way. The Agricultural Prices Commission consists of officials and hardly any farmer is there on that Commission. The Agricultural Prices Commission should have members, the majority of whom should be farmers, who know what they are producing, and how. But this is not fair to the farmers. You pay the industrialists everything—profit and whatever they need—but when it comes to giving to the farmers, Rao Birendra Singh says, no, no, no, we cannot give so much to the farmers. And my hon. economist friend there also says "No, because it will create inflation" as if by paying to other people by increasing their salaries and so on it will not create inflation. Why only the farmers are discriminated? If you want to apply that rule, apply it to all, or frame a national wage and income policy so that everybody can get enough.

Sir, coming to cotton, Gujarat is producing long-staple cotton. But the price of cotton has gone down because the Cotton Corporation is not purchasing enough cotton. This year they have given permission to export a few lakh bales which have been exported and therefore the farmer could get some price for it but, otherwise, every year when the cotton comes into the market the price goes down and there is no buyer also. The co-operatives and the Cotton Corporation limit their purchases and therefore the cotton prices are going down so much. The farmer thus cannot afford it because the pesticides are costly, the water is costly, the seeds are costly, everything is costly. So, the Government should take into account all these things and look after the interests of the farmers whenever

they fix the prices for cotton and other products. They should take care of the farmers first and then everything else.

Thank you very much, Sir.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA):** Mr. Mohanan. You have about 16 minutes.

**SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, at the outset I am really sorry to note that nowadays the entire financial business of the House has become a mere formality. Sir, it is an accepted principle in the parliamentary democratic system that Parliament is the supreme body which has to decide how to mobilise resources and how to appropriate them, but today we find that the procedure adopted is one of bypassing Parliament which is diluting the role of Parliament and which also strikes at the very basic principle of democracy.

**[The Vice-Chairman (Dr. (Shrimati) Najma Heptulla) in the Chair]**

Even in this year, major levies amounting to Rs. 2,000 crores have been imposed through executive orders, and it has again reduced the position of Parliament, reduced the status of Parliament. Anyhow, I would like to warn that this is a dangerous trend. Madam, now I want to go to some financial problems facing the country, and I would like to look into the last three years of rule of this country by Mrs. Gandhi. When Mrs. Gandhi was massively voted to power in January 1980, she made an additional commitment to the people of this country, namely, to establish 'a Government that works'. Two years later, on 14th January, 1982 in a broadcast to the nation, she declared that when she took over charge in 1980, the economy was in a shambles and she put all the blame on the Janata regime, for each and everything. She said that the true and tested policies had been cast aside by

[Shri K. Mohanan]

the Janata Government; she claimed that the country was once again on the move; the economy had almost regained its vigour that it had in 1976; and she asserted and proclaimed 1982 as the Year of Productivity. But, what is the reality before us? After these three years, the economic situation continues to be disquieting, there is no significant improvement in the field of agriculture or in the field of industrial production. I do not want to go into all the details and figures because we have so many times discussed those things in this House itself. Because of paucity of time, I do not want to go into all those details. The figures are tricky and of propaganda value. Self-sufficiency in foodgrains achieved, while actually pushing half of the population below the poverty-line. The reasons are very clear. The main issue is land reform itself. After the two 20-point programmes, the old one and the new one—like old wine in a new bottle, or I do not know what it is—and after all schemes of radical land reforms, the actual distribution of surplus land was 12.93 lakh acres in 1975-76, 3.59 lakh acres in 1979-80, and 1.04 lakh acres during 1980-81. This is a total of 17 or 18 lakh acres, which constitutes only 9 per cent of the potential surplus of 215 lakh acres in 1970-71, as estimated by the Planning Commission. This is the achievement in the field of distribution of surplus land to the landless poor of this country. An official assessment

20-point programme implementation showed that not even 50 per cent of the targets in all but three of the points had been achieved. Failure has been colossal in respect of implementation of minimum wages for agricultural workers and rehabilitation of bonded labourers. Besides this, the offensive atrocities by the landlords on the agricultural labourers and poor peasants is also on the increase. According to official reports, the number of such atrocities as recorded in the police stations, jumped from 7,262 in 1976 to 13,746 in 1980.

A major factor inhibiting the agricultural production is the policy of not paying remunerative prices for agricultural products. Taking the wholesale price index of manufactured products as the percentage and the price of agricultural products, we find that there has been a wide gap. For example, while the general price index for January, 1983 stands at 286.8, the index for food articles stands at 243.7, and for non-food articles at 258.1. It is well known that while the price of cotton has declined, the prices of textiles have gone up. So, the reduction of the price of the agricultural commodities is of no use to the poor consumers of this country.

Thus, the agrarian policies pursued by the Congress (I) Governments at the Centre and in the States have hampered the growth of the agricultural production, aggravated the process of impoverisation of the middle and the small peasantry and left the mass of agricultural labourers and poor peasants defenceless in the face of a steadily mounting offensive by landlords and the rural rich. This is the real picture of the agricultural sector. Fall in agricultural production combined with a fall in the prices of major commercial crops, mainly due to the wrong import policy of the Government, the purchasing power of the vast majority of the poor people has severely declined. This has further narrowed the domestic market for industries. This is the after effect.

Unrestricted imports of steel, fertilizers, soda ash and other chemicals, cement, artificial fibres, all types of machinery including some outmoded machineries and technical know-how have resulted cuts in domestic production in the industrial sector. The import-export policy recently declared by the Government for the current year is also in the same line without any major change. The Government sought to maintain and, if possible, increase the profit of big bourgeoisie in the country by depressing the cost of wage and raw materials by granting additional concessions and

subsidies and by remaining restrictions on prices and distribution of commodities.

Madam, at the same time what is the picture in the labour market? After five great Five-Year Plans, in December, 1982 the total number of job-seekers were 198 crores according to the figure available from the various employment exchanges. In 1981 one lakh technicians were registered as unemployed. The number of educated unemployed in June, 1982 were 90.4 lakhs. According to the National Sample Survey, out of the total rural population, 20.02 per cent were below the poverty-line in 1972-73. The figure went up to 25.28 in 1977-78. On a percentage basis of the assessment by the National Sample Survey, at present nearly 50 per cent of the total population is living below the poverty-line. This is the fact before us. This was the achievement made by Mrs. Gandhi's Government in the last three years. This is the Government that works. For whom does this Government work?

At the same time, what is the picture on the other side? The multinational companies have increased their assets from Rs 1,837 crores to Rs. 2,160 crores within a period of merely two years. The domestic monopoly houses increased their assets from Rs. 3,054 crores in 1972 to Rs. 7,571 crores in 1980. It was evident from these facts and figures, Sir, for whom this Government works and for whom this Government stands.

Precisely, the Indian economy under the dynamic leadership of our great Prime Minister has clearly demonstrated that the crisis of the Indian economy has deepened in almost every field. At the root of all this crisis is the crisis of the capitalist path which no bourgeois government is able to solve. Because of these anti-people policies, naturally, the protests from the people are also getting stronger and stronger. To suppress the growing trend of protests, the Gov-

ernment has enacted the black Acts like the N.S.A. and the E.S.M.A.

In the field of national politics, politics of manipulation and pragmatism have become the governing principles inside the ruling party which is getting more and more corrupted and corroded from within. The growing dissidence and revolts have become a characteristic feature of its existence. Needless to say that such a ruling party cannot become the forum for consolidating the unity of all secular, democratic and patriotic forces of this country. It is proving morally incapable of controlling communal riots whose number has increased from 213 in 1972 to 474 in 1982. The main reason for the incapacity is the ideological political degeneration of its cadres who, in many cases, got communally divided and paralysed in the face of communal riots. It is needless to say that the ruling party is responsible for the present crisis in Assam, Punjab and other parts of the country. It is because of their policy of encouraging communal and divisive forces with a political motive.

Madam, in such a grim and tarnished background the Government has no right to appropriate a single pie from the Consolidated Fund of India. So I object to this Bill.

**SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HAN-DIQUE** (Assam): Madam Vice-Chairman, it is indeed amusing that an hon. Member of the House—he is not only an hon. Member of the House, but he is the hon. leader of a national party Mr Era Sezhiyan, while giving his views on the Appropriation Bill should speak on the Assam situation. The Assam situation Madam, has been debated a number of times in this House. I understand that it is a grave situation. But what I find amusing is that the hon. leader has nothing of his own to offer. He merely quoted one journalist named Arun Shouria or more precisely read to his write up. I do not mind even that. Well, he may be a "Paigham-bar" to him a mini 'Paigambar' though,

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was his view. That was Mr. Arun Shourie's view. Incidentally it is not Mr. Era Sezhiyan's view also. It is Mr. Arun Shourie's view. There may be many points of view. There may be many views. I can also go on reading, as Mr. Sezhiyan did, from newspapers. I have got all these cuttings with me. But should I, like him, take the time of the House to read them? This is Mr. Arun Shourie's view and that is Praful Bidwai's view and no one knows which is true. Can anybody claim that Praful Bidwai's view is not authentic and only Arun Shourie's view is authentic or that only Praful Bidwai's view is authentic and not Arun Shourie's view?

Madam, since he has quoted Arun Shourie, I take the liberty of quoting Praful Bidwai and that will be, I am afraid, unpleasant to some of the hon. Members. (Interruptions) Since he has quoted one journalist, I would like to quote another journalist. I am afraid it may not be pleasant to some of the hon. Members. Incidentally I have got the paper cuttings with me; I did not bring them intentionally. In one of his write-ups, Praful Bidwai has brought serious allegations against the President of a national party. Madam, I do not want to name any person who is not a Member of the House or who is a Member of the other House. But, Madam, since he is the President of a national party, I am afraid I have to name him. He is Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. Do you know what that journalist wrote in the paper? I know, some of them will immediately say that he has contradicted it. In anticipation, I would say that that was Mr. Vajpayee's view and this was Praful Bidwai's view. There may be two points of view. The journalist had said in his write-up in the *Times of India* that he had addressed a public meeting in my home town, Jorhat, where he said that if a foreigner crosses the border in Punjab, either he lands up in jail or his body is chopped up and lies

strewn all over the fields. Is this not a direct incitement to violence? I understand that it has been contradicted. So, Arun Shourie's own view can be contradicted. It is very simple to issue a statement in the newspaper. But it is not enough. What I feel now is that they do not want the truth to come out. I give another instance. In the same public meeting, after the public meeting, that honourable leader left for a place called Titabar, about 14 miles from Jorhat. The previous night there was police firing and three persons were killed. He went straightway to the police station where the dead bodies were kept, and he accused the police officer straightway in the presence of his colleagues saying, "Why did you kill all these people? You have no right to kill these poor people." And the poor police officer said, "Sir, you have come all the way from Delhi. Won't you like to drive another five miles and see for yourself the scene of occurrence as to what actually had happened and why the police had to open fire?" In that incident they set fire to the police and a vehicle of the BSF, and even the Assamese police officers ran for their life. That is what exactly what I want to say, that they do not want to face the truth, they do not want the truth to come out. A question which was raised by me in the House earlier on 17-3-1983 when this House debated the Assam situation, a question that occurs to every sane and right thinking person, but a question that till today remains unanswered. The question is: If the Gana Sangrama Parishad always claims that it has the massive popular support, then why should it indulge in violence? An appeal to its people would have sufficed and if on that appeal, people would have boycotted the election, and the whole nation—why only the nation, the whole world—would have bowed down to such a sense of solidarity. Again, I do not want to take the time of the House on these things. Probably there will be more occasions to discuss situations like this. I shall meet them when they come. When

the leader whom I am discussing is not here, I do not like to refer to him repeatedly. When he quoted from Arun Shourie, he also mentioned Kuldip Nayar. But I believe, if I remember correctly, because I do not have the newspaper cutting here with me, there was a write-up by Kuldip Nayar where he is reported to have said, "After a tour of the whole State I have got this impression that if the people who voted formed 32 per cent of the electorate, another 32 per cent would have voted had they not been prevented from coming out to cast their vote". And Mr. Era Sezhiyan blacked out very conveniently these significant lines while quoting Kuldip Nayar. Anyway, it won't serve any purpose quoting one journalist against another. Quoting the views of different journalists and of those who have already given their opinion of the situation would not serve any useful purpose. I criticised.....

श्री कलराज मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला : आपका टाइम इनके बाद में है। वह व्यवस्था उसमें जोड़ दीजिये।

श्री कलराज मिश्र : आप मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सुन लीजिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : आप जब बोलेंगे तो पूरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न हो जायेगा।

श्री कलराज मिश्र : इस समय मैं जो व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा रहा हूँ, उसे आप सुन लीजिये। अभी हमारे वक्ता महोदय ने यह कहते हुए कि हम किसी ऐसे सदस्य का नाम नहीं ले रहे हैं जो यहाँ है नहीं। लेकिन उन्होंने यह कहते हुए भी श्री अटलबिहारी वाजपेयी, जो दूसरे सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य है, उनके नाम का उल्लेख किया है। कई बार

आपकी तरफ से यह बात कही जा चुकी है कि इस तरह से किसी का नाम कोट करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। लेकिन उनका नाम गलत तरीके से कोट किया जा रहा है। अगर अखबार की कटिंग लेकर या मुखज्वानी इस तरह बोलेंगे तो हम भी बोल सकते हैं। यह गलत तरीके से जो कोट किया जा रहा है, इसकी इजाजत क्या आपकी तरफ से है?

SHRI BIJOY KRISHNA HAN-DIQUE: As I have already said, I did not want to name anybody who is not a member of this House. But what can I do if the person happens to be the President of a national party? I have to mention his name. I have criticised others for bringing in matters which are alien to the Appropriation Bill, so that I am not also guilty of the same charge, now I come back to some of the problems which are not political, but economical. And these affect the development of Assam, not only Assam, but the whole country. Anyway it affects the development of Assam in particular.

I am very happy to take note of the steps already spelt out in the Budget to boost up the export-oriented industries. While taking note of those steps, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to decline of tea export. Besides affecting adversely the flow of foreign exchange into the country, as I have said it affects the development of Assam because tea occupies the major part of its economy. In spite of higher tea production, tea export from India suffered a sharp set back in 1982 resulting in lower foreign exchange earnings. During the year estimated exports were reported to be 185.39 million kgs. valued at Rs. 342.09 crores as against 240.18 million kgs. valued at Rs. 432.19 crores in 1981. The reason is that exports to major tea importing countries like the Soviet Union, Iran, Sudan, USA and Afghanistan were much lower during the year. The set back in exports of

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these value added items like packet tea, tea bags and instant tea could be attributed to the short-fall in exports to West Asia and North African countries. Meanwhile, the apprehension that the unprecedented cold weather that hit the North-Eastern India may delay budbreak and the commencement of plucking of the new crop in many tea producing districts are gaining ground. In a situation like this increased production is the only answer and it is time that the Government and the industry take a practical view on the output of tea keeping in view the export and internal consumption of tea in the next two decades till 2000 A.D. While going through the figures of increase in internal consumption during the last two decades, one finds an average consumption growth of 12 million kgs. every year. Now, Madam, taking the figure of 360 million kgs. as the consumption figure for 1982, one finds that the requirement up to the year 2000 AD comes to 576 million kgs. The increase in the domestic tea consumption has been estimated, to my mind, at a moderate level. But, in fact, it can be higher due to the increased industrialisation of the country. It means that a situation may arise when the total crop may eventually be consumed in the country and there may not be any surplus left for exports unless the production is increased. This massive production of 875 million kgs., according to an estimate, would meet the internal demand without jeopardising the export obligations. This, however, is a gigantic task. More so because the tea plantations are always subject to the vagaries of nature and the growth being slow, it requires a long gestation period. So, based on the data of the last two decades, it has been estimated that a yearly addition of two thousand hectares of new area under tea would increase the crop by 90 million kgs. and a yearly increase of 2 million kgs. by way of intensive cultivation would increase by 36 million kgs. thus making a total of 701 million kgs. Even

this figure falls short of the target by 174 million kgs. as the targeted figure is 875 million kgs. of tea. So, to meet the shortfall of 174 million kgs. steps have to be taken for re-plantation and it is estimated that it will be necessary for about 1,40,000 hectares to be uprooted, making for the yearly uprooting and replanting 7,777 hectares during the next 18 years. Madam, an additional crop of 175 million kgs. by replanting could only be expected if proper efforts to expand were made and adequate resources made available to the industry. But we have to bear in mind that the yearly net profitability of the industry which has been well below Rs. 10 crores during the past two decades which is too low to motivate any developmental work. In fact, the Government should not expect any substantial financial contribution from the industry. Unless the Government comes forward with substantial subsidies and soft loans left to the industry, you are not to speak of the production target on such a huge level, even the present level would go down creating a disaster in the export earnings.

Now, Madam, a few suggestions made by the industry merit attention. The first is that the immediate increase of the replanting subsidy from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 a hectare is absolutely essential and the second is to bring down the agricultural income-tax to a maximum of 50 per cent which, however is a State subject. But even then, for the sake of the industry it can be taken up with the State Government so that they may also be persuaded to accept this.

Madam, why do I raise this question today while discussing the Appropriation Bill? I asked this question in the House during the current session and I got a reply from the Commerce Minister that even till today, no specific scheme regarding 18 years' development plan for the tea industry has so far been approved by the Government. Therefore, Madam, I wish to draw the attention of the Government through you to this problems so that



the industry which brings foreign exchange to the country can flourish. Since, as you know, the future of Assam and the economy of Assam entirely depend upon tea and the tea industry, I am drawing the attention of the Government to this so that some effective measures can be taken by the Government so that the industry can not only survive, but can also flourish. Thank you, Madam.

**श्री कलराज मिश्र :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, आपने मुझे विनियोग विधेयक के बारे में अपने विचार प्रस्तुत करने के लिये आमंत्रित किया है। इसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद करता हूँ।

जब सामान्य, विनियोग विधेयक के बारे में चर्चा चलती है तो स्वाभाविक रूप से एक बार विभागों में किस प्रकार के कार्यकलाप चल रहे हैं उस पर अनायास ही सर्वेक्षण करने की दृष्टि जाती है। उस पर जब हम विचार करते हैं तो सरकार को चलाने के लिये जो विभिन्न स्रोत हैं, विभिन्न विभाग हैं, उन विभागों के कार्यकलापों के बारे में विचार करना ही पड़ता है और विचार करने के क्रम उसके अन्दर क्या कमियाँ हैं, किस प्रकार की वहाँ व्यवस्था हो जाये तो अच्छी स्थिति का निर्माण हो सकता है यह सुझाव देने पड़ते हैं और इसलिये मैं उन सभी साथियों से आग्रह करूँगा, सम्मानित सदस्यों से, कि अगर इस पर यह कहा जाये कि यह तो एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल पर चर्चा चल रही है तो भिन्न-भिन्न विषय कैसे उठाये जा रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस आपत्ति का औचित्य नहीं है। विभिन्न प्रकार के विभागों पर चर्चा करना ही औचित्यपूर्ण है। जब हम इस संबंध में विचार करते हैं तो गत वर्ष के हिसाब से या उसके पहले वाले वर्ष के हिसाब से जब चारों तरफ दृष्टि डालते हैं तो हमको यह दिखाई देता है कि जो सामान्य बजट आता है, आगे के वर्ष के बारे

में विभागों को संचालित करने के लिये, उस समय सरकार की नीयत की जानकारी होती है। सरकार लगातार घाटे का बजट पेश करके आम जनता को उस घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था के आधार पर इस तरीके से तोड़ने की कोशिश कर रही है कि अनायास ही गरीबी से निचले स्तर के जीवन बिताने वालों की संख्या बढ़ना शुरू हो जाती है और उस संदर्भ में जब हम इस वर्ष के बजट को देखते हैं तो उस चित्र से स्वयंमेव स्पष्ट होता है यह अभी जो बजट पेश हुआ है, 1555 करोड़ घाटे का बजट है। बजट पेश होने के पहले डीजल, कैंरोसीन और डाक तार की दरों में बढ़ोत्तरी करके 815 करोड़ रुपया सामान्य जनता की जेब से निकालने की कोशिश की गयी और साथ ही साथ पेट्रोलियम के मूल्य घटने के पश्चात् भी, जो आयातित पेट्रोलियम है उसके मूल्य के अंदर घटोत्तरी होने के बाद भी, 421 करोड़ रुपया आय के रूप में उससे आता है, उसके पश्चात् भी पेट्रोल या मिट्टी के तेल के दाम में कमी न करना, यह किस नीयत को प्रकट करता है और साल भर के बाद जैसे पिछली बार श्रीमना, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि 16 सौ करोड़ का घाटे का बजट था और अंत में चल करके जो सर्वेक्षण आया, उस सर्वेक्षण के आधार पर लगभग 6 हजार करोड़ रुपये घाटे का हुआ, उसी तरह मुझे आशंका है कि इस वर्ष अध्ययन सर्वेक्षण के पश्चात् साल भर के बाद यही घाटा बढ़ कर सात-आठ हजार करोड़ के आस पास होगा। इसी संबंध में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यह घोषणा भी की थी, यह बताया भी था कि देश के ऊपर 16 हजार करोड़ का विदेशी कर्जा है। पहले तो यह बताया, बाद में फिर उसको उन्होंने संशोधित करके बताया कि 16 हजार करोड़ ही

[श्री कलराज मिश्र]

नहीं बल्कि, दूसरे सदन में जो सूचना दी गयी थी, उसके अनुसार 21 हजार करोड़ रुपये के यह विदेशी कर्ज है। इस प्रकार की बात कही गयी थी। श्रीमता, मैं आपके माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि विभिन्न विभागों के माध्यम से देश की जनता को राहत देने की जो व्यवस्था सरकार की तरफ से की जानी चाहिये, उस व्यवस्था का प्रबलतम अभाव और साथ साथ घाटे की अर्थव्यवस्था के कारण, मुद्रास्फीति का बढ़ना, ये दो चीजें, एक ऐसी स्थिति का निर्माण करती है कि मंहगाई अपने आप आसमान छूती जा रही है। जरूरत की चीजें लोगों को प्राप्त नहीं हो रही हैं और जब किसान के द्वारा उत्पादित माल बाजार में उनके हिसाब से दाम तय करने की बात कही जाती है तो सरकार उसका दूसरे तरीके से उत्तर देती है और कहती है कि सरकार ने विशेषज्ञों को लगाया है और विशेषज्ञों के आधार पर दाम निश्चित होंगे। किसान अगर कहता है कि हमारे गन्ने का बकाया इतना है—पचास करोड़ रुपये के आसपास उत्तर प्रदेश में गन्ना किसान का बकाया है। श्रीमता, अभी तक उनको पैसा प्राप्त नहीं हुआ। किसान को त्रस्त किया जा रहा है। किसान को जो सामान दिये जा रहे हैं, कृषि के उपकरण जितने हैं, सारे उपकरणों का दाम 50 प्रतिशत से अधिक बढ़ गया है। किसान वह सामान खरीदने में भी अपने को अक्षम पा रहा है। एक अजीब प्रकार की स्थिति निर्माण हुई है।

इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जहां आदमी के जीवन स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने की दृष्टि से राहत देने के लिये योजना बना करके उसके अनुरूप बजट निर्धारित करना चाहिये और उसकी

स्वीति के लिये यह विनियोग की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये, वह नहीं की जा रही है और इसलिये गरीबी और अमीरी का अंतर जबरदस्त तरीके से बढ़ता जा रहा है।

इसी तरीके से मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारे देश के अंदर एक अराजकता की स्थिति का निर्माण हुआ है, वह चाहे असम की स्थिति हो, चाहे पंजाब की स्थिति हो, इसके पीछे आर्थिक कारण भी हैं।

जहां तक असम में विदेशी घुसपैठियों का सवाल है, वहां उसके साथ-साथ आर्थिक कारण भी हैं। इसी प्रकार पंजाब की समस्या है। इसी प्रकार देश के विभिन्न कौनों की समस्या है। प्रशासनिक पकड़े का प्रभाव है, जिस प्रशासनिक पकड़े का अभाव है, उसके लिये धन आवंटित करते हैं और उसका व्यापक तौर पर संरक्षण करते हुए, जिस प्रकार की प्रशासनिक क्रियाकलाप की आवश्यकता होनी चाहिये, उस प्रकार का कार्य कर नहीं पा रहे हैं। फिर यह सरकार काम कैसे कर रही है। हिन्दुस्तान का संविधान आम जनता को राहत प्रदान करने की दृष्टि से है, लाशों पर चल करके चुनाव करा के कुर्सी हथियानों की दृष्टि से नहीं है। कई बंधुओं ने कई नेताओं के नाम लिये। मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, कि असम में पांच हजार मारे गये कि बीस हजार मारे गये, इसका सवाल नहीं है, लेकिन हजारों जो मारे गये, क्यों ऐसी स्थिति निर्माण हुई जब दो साल पहले हिन्दुस्तान की प्रधान मंत्री ने इसी सदन के अंदर यह जिक्र किया था कि असम आन्दोलनकारियों की पांचों मांगों को हमने मान लिया है,

मेरे स्वयं के भाषण के दौरान उन्होंने कहा था, तो स्वीकार करने के बाद भी यह अवस्था क्यों निर्माण हुई? यह कहा गया था कि सीमा को सुरक्षित किया जा रहा है, कड़ा प्रबंध किया जा रहा है, तो भी लगातार उसमें से घुसपैठियों के आने का क्रम जारी रहा। यह कैसे हुआ?

यह दो-तीन वर्षों तक वार्ता का जो कार्यक्रम चलाया जा रहा है उससे जो समाधान निकलना चाहिये था (समय की घंटी) अभी तो पांच सात मिनट भी नहीं हुए होंगे। वह क्यों नहीं निकला?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० (श्रीमती) नाज़मा हेपतुल्ला): नहीं, घड़ी मेरे सामने है और इसीलिये घंटी दी है। तीन मिनट बाकी है, आप इसी हिसाब से... (व्यवधान)

श्री कलराज मिश्र : इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि वार्ता के माध्यम से जो समाधान निकलना चाहिये था, वह सरकार ने जान बूझ कर नहीं निकाला और मेरा सरकार के ऊपर दोषारोपण है कि हजारों लोगों की जो हत्याएँ हुई हैं, इसके लिये पूर्ण रूप से सरकार जिम्मेदार है और यह कह कर भाग नहीं सकती है कि फलां गये, इसलिये हत्याएँ हो गई, कना गये, इसलिये लडाई हो गई। वहां आखिर दो ग्रुपों में तनाव हुआ तो कैसे हुआ? मैंने उस समय कहा था कि मि० ललि-दोले कांग्रेस (इ) के प्रेजिडेंट थे, इनके नेतृत्व में जुलूस निकला था गोमालपाडा के अंदर हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही हुई थी। मैंने अखबार की कटिंग अपने भाषण के दौरान इसी सदन में दिखाई थी, हिन्दु-स्तान टाइम्स, इंडियन एक्सप्रेस, टाइम्स आफ इंडिया, सब में निकला हुआ था। इसकी जांच क्यों नहीं की गई? जिन्होंने इस प्रकार का उपद्रव किया था, उनको

दंडित क्यों नहीं किया गया? लोगों के घरों में जो हैंडग्रेनेड के कारखाने पकड़े गये, उनको दंडित क्यों नहीं किया गया था? इतना ही नहीं, श्रीमान, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि मंत्री परिषद् के अन्दर बैठे हुए जो सदस्य हैं, यह जाकर के वहां भाषण करते हैं कि अगर कोई एक आंख भी दिखाता है, तो दस लोगों की हत्या करो। उनके खिलाफ क्यों कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। वहां पर इस तरह से बदतर स्थिति निर्माण करने के लिये दोषी कौन है, इस पर कभी कोई विचार नहीं हुआ? मैं आप्रह कहूंगा कि इस पर विचार होना चाहिये और यह सनसनी कैसे नहीं फैली है, उत दुर्दशा का इस प्रकार के गैर-जिम्मेदाराना व्यक्तियों के कारण निर्माण हुआ है। इस तरह से दुर्दशा पैदा हुई है। यही स्थिति श्रीमान, मैं कहना चाहता हूं पंजाब की है। पंजाब की दुर्दशा को स्थिति निर्माण करने में सहयोगी कौन हुआ? गुरुद्वारे जैसे पवित्र स्थल पर राजनीति को प्रथम देकर के गुरुद्वारा प्रबंधक कमेटी के चुनाव के नाम पर कितने घुसपैठ की? वहां से शुद्धता हुई है। यह हरकत अगर की गई है, तो इसके लिये पूर्ण रूप से सरकार जिम्मेदार है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जहां देश की आर्थिक स्थिति इतनी भयंकर है, वहां उत्तर प्रदेश के साथ सौतेली मां जैसा व्यवहार किया गया है। श्रीमान, मैं आपके सामने कुछ आंकड़े रखना चाहता हूं और वह आंकड़े इस प्रकार के हैं कि जिस उत्तर प्रदेश ने हिन्दुस्तान को तीन-तीन प्रधान मंत्री दिये, उसी उत्तर प्रदेश को कैसे दुर्दशा को गई। इस संबंध में मैं आपको बता देना 4 P.M. चाहता हूं। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना से छठी योजना के अंतर्गत तीन वर्ष तक प्रदेशों तथा सघनात्मिक प्रथम

[श्री कलराज मिश्र]

को केन्द्र से कुल 88 011 करोड़ रुपया मिला है जिस में से 17 बड़े प्रदेशों में उत्तर प्रदेश का स्थान बहुत नीचे है। प्रथम योजना में 1951-56 में केन्द्रीय अनुदान का प्रति व्यक्ति पीछे 23 रुपये औसत था, जब पंजाब में 152 रुपये, पश्चिम बंगाल में 40 रुपये और उत्तर प्रदेश में 9 रुपये औसत था। द्वितीय योजना में 1956-61 में अखिल भारतीय औसत 25 रुपये था, पंजाब का 84 रुपये, पश्चिम बंगाल का 22 रुपये तथा उत्तर प्रदेश का 17 रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति। तृतीय योजना में 1961-65 में पंजाब का औसत 114 रुपये, पश्चिम बंगाल का 15 रुपये तथा उत्तर प्रदेश का 13 रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति तथा अखिल भारतीय औसत 55 रुपये प्रति व्यक्ति था। 1966-67 से 1968-69 तक वार्षिक योजना चली जिसमें उत्तर प्रदेश का वार-हवां तथा तेरहवां स्थान था। चतुर्थ योजना में 1969-74 में देश में प्रति व्यक्ति औसत 65 रु० था, पर उत्तर प्रदेश का स्थान नवां था। पांचवी योजना में 1974-79 में देश में प्रति व्यक्ति पीछे 84 रुपया केन्द्र से मिला। इस में पंजाब को 93 रुपये, उत्तर प्रदेश को 80 रुपये। 1978 से 80 तक फिर एक वर्षीय योजना जनता पार्टी सरकार ने चलाई जिस में उत्तर प्रदेश का छठा तथा सातवां स्थान हो गया। 1980-81 के छठी योजना काल में देश का औसत 43 रुपये उत्तर प्रदेश का 36 रुपये और स्थान बारहवां तथा 81-82 में उत्तर प्रदेश को प्रति व्यक्ति पीछे 40 रुपये और स्थान नवां था।

सन्, 1977 तक केन्द्र ने देश में जो लोक उद्योग स्थापित किये थे उन में अन्य प्रदेशों में प्रति व्यक्ति पीछे 173 रुपये की लागत थी, पर उत्तर प्रदेश में थी

केवल 24 रुपया 36 पैसा। मैं आप के माध्यम से यह बताना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश की अब तक जो दुर्गति की जा रही है, इस प्रकार की स्थिति का निर्माण करने में केन्द्रीय सरकार क्यों सहयोगी बन रही है। जहां तक उत्तर प्रदेश के विकास का सवाल है, उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री और योजना आयोग के लोग बैठ कर विचार-विमर्श करते हैं, उस में उत्तर प्रदेश का, सम्पूर्ण उत्तर प्रदेश की स्थिति को ध्यान में रख कर, किस तरह विकास हो, यह सारी बातें रखी गयी थी, लेकिन केन्द्र की तरफ से उस तरह का आबंधन नहीं होता है। उत्तर प्रदेश में जो पिछड़े इलाके हैं, विशेषकर पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश, बुन्देलखंड और पर्वतीय क्षेत्र ये क्षेत्र बहुत पिछड़े हैं। इस में जिस तरह के छोटे-छोटे उद्योगों का विकास होना चाहिये उस दिशा में कदम नहीं उठाया गया। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में कई बार सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया गया। पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश में विशेषकर वाराणसी, गोरखपुर और फैजाबाद डिवीजन के जिले पिछड़े हैं और उनको सरकार विशेष सहायता देने का विचार कर रही है। लेकिन आज तक गाजीपुर जिले में कोई उद्योग नहीं, बस्ती में कोई उद्योग नहीं। केवल एक सहकारी कताई मिल खोली गयी है और वह मिल भी बुनकरों का शोषण कर रही है। यह स्थिति है। मैं केन्द्र सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश बुन्देलखंड और पर्वतीय क्षेत्र के विकास को प्राथमिकता के आधार पर विचार कर के उस के अनुरूप अनुदान प्रदान करे।

श्रीमता, एक चीज मैं और कहना चाहता हूं। आज समाचारपत्रों में यह देखे, को मिला, इंडियन एनेसप्रेस में आया है लार्ज स्केल स्मॉलिंग आफ सिल्वर फ्रॉम इंडिया। यह बड़ी तेजी हो रही

है। इस में जो मुख्य चीज देखने को मिली है वह यह है कि—

**It is quite understandable that India has emerged as the largest exporter of silver. Though exports have been banned, smuggling activity has gone up by leaps and bounds.**

मैं इसी की तरफ ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता था। इतना सिल्वर का ज्यादा एक्सपोर्ट हो सकता है, लेकिन एक्सपोर्ट पर बैन लगा दिया गया। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जबरदस्त तरीके से स्मगलिंग चल रही है। मैं डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता, मंत्री महोदय इस को देख लेंगे। सैंकड़ों क्विंटल सिल्वर बाहर जा रही है, बड़ी तेजी के साथ जा रही है। इसकी रोकथाम के लिए सरकार को अपने ढंग से व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए इस से काले धन की जबरदस्त तरीके के बढ़ोत्तरी होती जा रही है। वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने कहा था कि काले धन को रोकने के लिये बड़ा जबरदस्त कदम उठा रहे हैं। काले धन को रोकने के लिये जब तक फिजूलखर्ची में कमी नहीं होगी विशेष कर चुनाव के दौरान, तब तक वह रुकेगा नहीं। देखने में आता है और मैं आग्रह करूंगा कि चुनाव के बारे में पुनर्विचार करने की आवश्यकता है ताकि उस के खर्च में कमी हो और इस के लिये सामूहिक तौर पर विचार करना पड़ेगा, लेकिन जैसे भी हो उस का खर्च कम होना चाहिये, ताकि काले धन की बढ़ोत्तरी कम की जा सके। आर्थिक नियमितता बनाये रखने के लिये आप कोशिश कर सकते हैं लेकिन काले धन को रोकने की दृष्टि से आप को पूरा प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। और जिस तरह से एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल की बात चल रही है मैं उसके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ और इस बात को समझता हूँ कि जब तक सरकार सही दिशा में नहीं चलेगी तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। इतना ही कह कर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त

करता हूँ और आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने के लिये समय दिया।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** श्री गुलाम रसूल मट्टू। आप के आठ मिनट हैं। सवा आठ मिनट।

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO** (Jammu and Kashmir). Madam, Vice-Chairman, I will try to conclude within the time allotted to me. Thank you for giving me time. It will start now. The clock will start now. When I made my maiden speech, I suggested the formation of an economic advisory council. Then, I was made a Member of the Consultative Committee on Planning and in two speeches over there, I made this suggestion again and again. On both these occasions, I was told that it was not possible. But now, soon after the last meeting of the Consultative Committee, the Government has formed two separate Consultative Committees. One is attached to the Prime Minister, on economic issues and the other is attached to the Planning Commission itself. Madam, there is a Persian saying—

**"Yak nashud**

**Doshud**

I just asked for only one. I was refused. But afterwards, the Government gave two. The job of those big economists is to advise the Government on various economic issues. I think, this will be an exercise in futility if certain things are not pinpointed to these economists and they are asked to give specific advice on these things. I would request the hon. Finance Minister and through him, the Planning Commission also, that right now, in both these Consultative Committees, two issues can be posed to these economists. One is, how to avert evasion of taxes. We are talking about this every day. Everybody is giving one suggestion or the other. Somebody says that he will use both the carrot and the stick, while the other says something else. But I would request the hon. Finance Mi-

[Shri Ghulam Rasool Matto]

nister and others to ask these people that in the given circumstances, **what are their concrete suggestions** so that this tax evasion does not take place. In that context, I think, perhaps, the greatest amount of tax evasion takes place in the field of **personal taxation**. They have to see that this tax evasion is avoided at all costs. They have also to take into consideration this **fundamental point that merely by brandishing threats towards the traders and the industrialists, the matter cannot be solved**. Proper schemes should be evolved under which the people can voluntarily come forward and pay their taxes. In that context, if rationalisation of the tax structure is needed, that should be done. If other measures are needed, they should be taken. If savings are to be encouraged, that should be done. There are many schemes which can be thought of for this purpose. This is one point on which both the teams of economists should advise the Government and they should give their concrete suggestions on this, instead of going through the entire canvas of the economy.

The second point which is very important and which I would like to be posed before these economists is in regard to the yield in agriculture. I was going through a paper recently, Mr. Finance Minister, and I found that the yield per acre of paddy in India is 1977 Kgs. And it is as high as 6166 Kgs. in Japan, and 4945 kgs. in USA. Similarly in the case of wheat it is only 1387 kgs. per hectare in India compared to 3779 kgs. in France. Now we would like these economists to tell us this thing. Ours is a continent in a way. Let them advise us and specify 10 per cent of the area which can compare favourably with regard to irrigation and other facilities with those of Japan or France or USA. They should tell us the solution, they should give us specific recommendations so that we could reach the goal of that production which is obtaining in other parts of the world. These are the two suggestions which the Government should put before the economists concretely. Whenever the

economists come, they can speak on all the points, but I would request the hon. Finance Minister to get clarification on these two points.

Now I come to the second important point. Under article 275 of the Constitution the Centre can give grants to certain States and it is specified therein that different sums may be fixed for different States. In other words, the discretion for giving grant to certain States lies with the Central Government. In this context, without going into the political aspect of it, I say that Jammu and Kashmir is not getting its due share. In the first place, the Central Government has itself categorised eight States as falling within a special category Jammu and Kashmir is one, which include Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. For special category States per capita development assistance is not taken as any criteria because of terrain etc. Secondly, it is picking up only one element which does not reflect the total reality. In terms of per capita plan outlay, as opposed to plan assistance, Jammu and Kashmir is lower than Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Sikkim for 1983-84. If we consider the annual step-up in plan outlay, Jammu and Kashmir has not been given its due share in the last three years. In 1981-82 the step-up, I repeat, the step-up was 8 per cent for Jammu and Kashmir as against 22 per cent for Maharashtra, 20 per cent for Gujarat, 18 per cent for Madhya Pradesh; 18 per cent for Bihar, and even 11 per cent for Himachal Pradesh. In 1982-83 the step-up for Jammu and Kashmir was only 5 per cent and was lower than all other States. In 1983-84 the step-up for Jammu and Kashmir is 10 per cent which is again lower than all the States except Manipur and West Bengal. If the step-up is compared to the annual rate of inflation which has been more than 10 per cent, it is clear that there has virtually been no expansion in terms of annual plan increases for the last three years.

I would submit to the Planning Commission and to the hon. Finance Minister that while considering the plan allocation

for Jammu and Kashmir the hill terrain and other considerations have to be taken into consideration. ( *Time bell rings* )  
How many minutes, Madam?

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. (SHRI-MATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA):** My ghanti was an indication that you have already taken 8 minutes. Whatever more you speak, it will be at the expense of other speakers.

**SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO:** Kindly allow me a few minutes more. The arguments based on per capita Central assistance also ignores the following important factors.

The terrain and sparsely distributed population means much higher costs. Costs are also higher because of long road transport haulage. Then the price increases in the State are higher than in other parts of the country. For instance, in 1980, the consumer price index went up by 14.48 per cent in Srinagar as against 11.43 per cent in the country as a whole. Similarly in 1981, the Srinagar consumer price index increased by 15.87 per cent while the all-India consumer price index increased by 13 per cent. In 1982, the comparative figure was 9.5 per cent. All these things have to be taken into consideration. The truth of what I am saying can be gauged from the fact that in a period of 35 years, only 66 miles of railway line have been laid in the State. Not a single power project has been commissioned, despite Jammu and Kashmir having a huge hydel production potential of 10,000 million kilowatts.

With regard to the Central Projects—and that is my last point if you don't give me more time—out of Rs. 18,000 crores invested in the Central public sector undertakings, the share of Jammu and Kashmir is 0.5 per cent. So when we consider that Kashmir has been given more, we have to consider it in totality, what is the centrally aided assistance, what is the Plan assistance, what is the non-Plan assistance. All these things have to be taken into consideration, the

terrain has to be taken into consideration. So I would urge the hon. Finance Minister and the Planning Commission that while considering allocation to the Jammu and Kashmir State, these factors have to be taken into consideration and not the per capita Plan outlay. In a city like Bombay, with only a few kilometres area, 80 lakh people live. With 74,000 kilometres of land in Jammu and Kashmir, it is inhabited by only 60 lakh persons. So per capita Plan outlay criteria cannot be applied to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, because it has a very vast area, we have no roads and other facilities. I have to speak a lot but because of the constraint of time, I would request the hon. Minister to take these few points into consideration while giving allocation to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Thank you, Madam.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुला] :** श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा जी, आपके सिर्फ 6 मिनट हैं। 5 मिनट में मैं घंटी बजा दूंगी।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** 10 मिनट दे दीजिये।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुला] :** आप 6 मिनट में खत्म कीजिये।

**श्री रामनरेश कुशवाहा :** माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया,—

जिस राज में रक्षित न जान-माल हो सके, जिस राज में इज्जत से कोई जी भी न सके। जिस राज में खुद देश की रक्षा न हो सके, उस राज को क्षण एक भी रहना नहीं चाहिए।

मान्यवर, किसी भी देश की सरकार की इज्जत तब होती है जब उस देश में जान की रक्षा हो, माल की रक्षा हो, इज्जत की रक्षा हो और देश की रक्षा हो। चाहे केन्द्रीय सरकार हो या प्रदेशों की सरकारें हों, लेकिन यहाँ पर खास

[श्री रामनरेश कुशवाहा]

मतलब केन्द्रीय सरकार से । यह सरकार इन चारों में से किसी की भी रक्षा नहीं कर सकी है । किसी को अधिकार नहीं है कि कोई आदमी किसी की जान ले । लेकिन हमारे यहां क्या हो रहा है ? मैं पिछले साल फरवरी की एक बात बतलाना चाहता हूं । फतेहपुर में मतोला नाम का एक डकैत जेल में था । लेकिन पुलिस ने उसको मार कर, वह भी मुठभेड़ में मार कर, इनाम ले लिया था । इस प्रकार से कितने ही आदमी मारे जाते हैं । आज सारे देश में हत्याओं का दौर लगा हुआ है । मैं आपसे यह भी कहना चाहता हूं कि बक्सर, बिहार में रिक्शा चालकों की एक यूनियन थी । उसके नेता थे श्री ज्योति प्रसाद ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : बिहार तो उनका प्रदेश है ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : उनका तो है, लेकिन आप मुझे कहने दीजिये । उन नेता महोदय को प्रदर्शन करने के नाते पीटा गया और उसके बाद तमाम रिक्शा वालों को पीटा गया । उनको घायलावस्था में तीन दिन तक जेल में भी पीटा गया । इसके बाद पुलिस वालों ने सादे वेश में जमा होकर उनको पीटा और वह भी उस वक्त पीटा जब वे आरा से घर जा रहे थे । पकड़ करके बस से खींच कर मार डाला गया । बाबू सूरज नारायण सिंह की राज नैतिक हत्या आप जानती हैं । इतने बड़े देशभक्त थे, जिन्होंने हजारीबाग जेल को तोड़ कर आन्दोलन चलाया था । उस आदमी की निमर्म हत्या पुलिस वालों ने की है । जगदेव प्रसाद बिहार के भूतपूर्व मंत्री थे, वहां के शोषितों के नेता थे, उनकी कैसी निमर्म हत्या हुई, यह आप जानती हैं । हमारे

यहां उत्तर प्रदेश में 5 हजार आदमियों को मार डाला गया । घर से पकड़ कर, रास्ते से पकड़ करके, कहीं से भी पकड़ कर मार डाला गया, आंखों पर पट्टे बांध कर और पेड़ से बांध कर मार डाला गया । देवरिया जिले में समरथ चौधरी जो राजेन्द्र प्रसाद जी के गांव के पास के रहने वाला था, भट्टे का मालिक था, उसके घर के लोग, अरब कन्टीज में भी हैं, एक इंजीनियर है वह अपनी रिश्तेदारी में आया देवरिया जिले के प्रतापपुर में । उसकी वहां मोटर साइकिल पकड़ कर 50 हजार रुपया छीन लिया गया, सोने की घड़ी छीन ली गई और वहां अकट्टी बाजार के मंदिर में उसको बंद रखा गया और रात को नोनाड़ में पेड़ से बांध कर गोली से उड़ा दिया... (व्यवधान) . हम, क्यों पैसा दें आपको, पैसा क्यों दें ? क्या जरूरत है इस सरकार की । मान्यवर... (व्यवधान) ...

देवरिया जिले के सरियामुजना थाने में गोरखलाल पुत्र राजधारी श्रीवास्तव, जाति लाला, सा० श्यामपट्टी, थाना तरयामुजान, जिला देवरिया, बाबूनन्दन पुत्र रघुबीर कोइरी, जाति कोइरी, सा० माधोपुर बुजुर्ग, थाना तरयामुजान, जिला देवरिया, बद्री पुत्र भोला सा० पियोजहा थाना तरयामुजान, जिला देवरिया । बाबूनन्दन खेत में हल चला रहा था। वह बैल पहुंचाने गोरखलाल के यहां गया । पुलिस उसको पकड़ने गई वे गोरखलाल के घर में घुस गये क्योंकि वहां के जो स्थानीय विधायक थे उनके साथ बाबू नन्दन का मुकदमा था जिसमें वह जीत गया था और वह उसी खेत में हल चला रहा था । उनके प्रभाव में मैं आकर पुलिस वाले उसको पकड़ना चाहते थे । पुलिस गोरखलाल के घर में घुस गई और उसको गोरखलाल सहित पकड़ कर ले गये । रास्ते में बद्री जो उसका रिश्तेदार था वह मिल गया, उस गांव में



उसकी बहिन व्याही है। तीनों को ले जाकर तीनों को गोली मार दी, पूर्णिमा की रात को, होली के दिन की बात मैं आपको कह रहा हूँ। इतना ही नहीं, मेरे पास यह सूची है। मैनपुरी में 75, इटावा में 35, देवरिया में 63, जालौन में 65, फतेहपुर में 48, अलीगढ़ में 31, कानपुर में 9, आजमगढ़ में 10, बाराबंकी में 5, इलाहाबाद में 32, इतनों की सूची मेरे पास है। मैं व्यक्तिगत रूप से कितना तैयार कर सकता हूँ, यह आप समझ सकती हैं। लेकिन 5 हजार लोगों को....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** उस दिन जब होम मिनिस्ट्री के वॉकिंग पर डिस्कशन हो रहा था, आप गृह मंत्री के सामने यह बात रखते तो ज्यादा बेहतर था। अब आप एप्रोप्रिएशन पर बोल रहे हैं।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** अनुदान होम मिनिस्ट्री में भी जायेगा। 383 की लिस्ट मेरे पास है। मैं पांच पहले के और पांच अन्त के पढ़ लेता हूँ। आप इसको नोट कर लें, आप इनको प्रोसीडिंग्स में जाने दें।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** लिस्ट आप दे दीजिये।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** जिला मैनपुरी में रामदत्त पुत्र श्री ज्वाला प्रसाद, निवासी नानेमऊ, थाना-नगला खेंगर, जिला मैनपुरी.....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** मंत्री जी को बाद में ये नाम भेज दें अपनी चिट्ठी के साथ। अभी एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल में इस बारे में बोलने के लिये समय नहीं है।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** महोदया, ऐसा न करें। यह सूची राज्यपाल को दी गई है, मुख्य मंत्री को दी गई है, प्रधान मंत्री को दी गई है, ऐसा नहीं है कि नहीं दी गई है। कम से कम हमको अपनी बात तो कह लेने दीजिये।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** आपका समय खत्म हो गया।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** यह बात जनता के सामने जानी चाहिए।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** आपका समय खत्म हो गया।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** हमारा समय काट कर ऐसे ही खत्म कर रही हैं। मेरी प्रार्थना है कि आप मेरी बात सुन लीजिये। जिला मैनपुरी में रामदत्त पुत्र श्री ज्वाला प्रसाद, निवासी नानेमऊ, थाना-नगला खेंगर, जिला मैनपुरी जाति यादव, मुठभेड़ का स्थान, 5-1-81 ग्राम इसाकपुर, थाना सिरसागंज, मैनपुरी।

लास्ट में पढ़ दे रहा हूँ। जितेन्द्र यादव उम्र 20 वर्ष निवासी मालवीय नगर, इलाहाबाद, वहाँ की पुलिस द्वारा मुठभेड़ के नाम पर मारा गया। मैं उसको नोट करने के लिए आपको दे रहा हूँ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] :** वस अब आपका टाइम खत्म हो गया और भी लोग हैं बोलने के लिए।

**श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा :** मैं महोदया, अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। अब मैं कुछ अर्थ के बारे में आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : अर्थ के बारे में अब आप बोलते हैं अब टाइम नहीं है बोलने के लिए । आपका टाइम खत्म हो गया ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा . थोड़ा सा समय और दे दीजिये । अब मैं अर्थ के बारे में ..

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : पहले ही बोल देते । अब आदिशेषया जी बोलेंगे ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : जितना समय टोका-टोकी में खत्म हो गया है वह आप दे दें ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : मैंने आपको 10 मिनट दिये हैं ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : आप जरा सुनिये तो ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : नहीं, मैं नहीं सुनती । अब समय नहीं है ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : जितना समय टोका-टोकी में खत्म कर दिया है वह तो दे दीजिए ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : वह तो दे दिया है ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : एक सवाल है । देखिये, हमारे यहां एक कहावत है । एक लाला जी ने एक चरवाहे को 13 भैंस पालने को दी ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : अब आपकी कहावत के लिए टाइम नहीं है । अभी तो आप अर्थ पर बोल रहे थे और अब कहावत बोल रहे हैं ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : इसको सुन लीजिये । बिना इसके कहे स्थिति साफ नहीं होगी । महोदया, मुझे बोलने दीजिये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : यह एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल आज पास करना है, अब समय नहीं है । मैंने इसलिए आपको पहले कहा था कि आपके 6 मिनट हैं और मैं पांच मिनट में घंटी बजा दूंगी । आपने 10 मिनट ले लिए हैं । पहले नाम पढ़ते रहे और अब अर्थ मंत्री से बोलना चाहते हैं । यह आप पहले बोल सकते थे ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : अच्छा आपकी आज्ञा का पालन करूंगा । मुझे एक कहावत बोलने दीजिये ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष [डा० (श्रीमती) नाजमा हेपतुल्ला] : मैंने आपको बुला रखा है ।

श्री राम नरेश कुशवाहा : यही कहावत कह कर खत्म कर रहा हूँ । उसे सुन लीजिये । सरकार की सारी अर्थ नीति जो है उसका पता आपको चल जाएगा । तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि लाला जी ने साल भर के बाद उस चरवाहे को बुलाया । साल भर के बाद उसको बुलाया और उन 13 भैंसों का लेखा-जोखा मांगा । उससे कहा कि— (व्यवधान) कर तेरह का लेखा, उसने कहा कि चार तो अखियन नहीं देखा, तो लाला जी ने कहा और ? तो चरवाहे ने कहा कि चार बाघ की कौर । तो लाला जी ने कहा ऐसा ? तो उसने कहा चार मार दिया भैंसा । उसने पूछा-क्यों ? तो उसने कहा एक चरवहिया में लेभों । तो यह 13 का हिसाब हो गया । वैसे ही 52 अरब रुपये कर्ज आया । 15.

सौ से 20 सौ करोड़ तो एशियाड में खेल में चले गये, 25 अरब कपड़ा मिलों में हड़ताल की वजह से नुकसान हुआ है और आधे से ज्यादा कमीशन में खिला दिया।

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH (Nominated): Madam Vice-Chairman, as I supported the Budget... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN [DR (SHRIMATI) NAJMA HEPTULLA]: Now don't disturb him, Dr. Saheb. Let him speak.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: ...taking into account the strength and weakness of the Budget on the whole, I will also support the Appropriation Bill.

I have some six questions which I will put briefly because of the constraint of time. The first one is that the return of the Bill before us asks for an appropriation of Rs. 1.2 lakh crores of rupees, which is about the same as our Gross National Product today. The whole country's production is equal to what has been asked for in the Appropriation Bill; and, therefore, it is an important Bill. Now, secondly, Madam Vice-Chairman, I must say that I am concerned about the eroding control of Parliament over the Appropriation Bills. In the other House, it was reported that only 12 Ministries and Departments' Demands for grants were discussed, and that 21 Departments were guillotined. And now in the Appropriation Bill three-fourths of the appropriation is under charge on the Consolidated Fund not voted by Parliament. So it is a trend of decreasing control of Parliament over the Appropriation Bills. Now relating to this I have a general question. Just as my colleague would remember, I said while speaking on the Budget...

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

Mr. Vice-Chairman, just as I said with regard to the Budget, about one-

fourth of the total revenue is being raised by the Budget so that three-fourth of the revenue is being raised outside the Budget. And we may soon come to a time when revenue may be raised throughout the year.

Now, with regard to the Appropriation Bill, I find the same problem here. I have got here the figures of the Appropriation Bills passed by Parliament over the last six years. In 1976-77 the Government spent Rs. 2,500 crores over what was appropriated; in 1977-78 it was Rs. 3,130 crores; in 1978-79 Rs. 2,772 crores; in 1979-80 it was whopping Rs. 9,225 crores; in 1980-81 it was even more, Rs. 17,142 crores; and in 1981-82 it was Rs. 8,402 crores. Now this is over and above the Appropriation Bill that is voted at this time every year. I have got these figures here. This has been done through the device of the supplementary demands. It is not illegal. Now the supplementary demands have been so developed that I believe, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that the appropriation Bill and the appropriation action is becoming more of a mockery. If something like Rs. 17,000 crores can be raised in 1980-81, two years ago, outside the Appropriation Bill, through the supplementary demands, has the time not come to look into our procedure and the time that the Lok Sabha and we are spending in discussing and approving the appropriation Bills? Am I right in this?

Then, my third question is, the second largest element here is the transfer to the State Government of over Rs. 10,000 crores in the Appropriation Bill. Now, this is in part the result of the constitutional provision for sharing of taxes and in past according to the Seventh Finance Commission's recommendations which were accepted at the time of the Janata Government. But this amount is completely inadequate for the States. In 1981-82 the deficit of the States, the deficit of the 20 odd States was Rs. 1,722 crores at a time when

[Dr. Malcolm S. Adiseshiah]

the deficit of the Union Government was Rs. 1,700 crores. The Reserve Bank has made a survey of the deficits of the States' Budgets every year, which shows that the resources of the State Governments are totally inadequate for them to carry out their functions. That is why they go in for deficits, and they go in for over-drafts with the Reserve Bank of India. Now I would call the attention of the Eighth Finance Commission—the main submission I make—to go into the reasons for these overdrafts. This is going to recur every two years, every three years because the States have been given functions but inadequate resources to carry them out. Now, the Reserve Bank in that article flays the States for not mobilising enough resources for the Plan.

Now, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to say that if you go on forcing the States to mobilise resources, you would force them to go in for more and more indirect taxes. My State, Tamil Nadu, unfortunately, had to take a retrograde decision for going in for the octroi taxes. Octroi taxes are something which we left far behind decades ago. In Europe and America they do not exist, and we seem to be going back to unindustrial stage by levying octroi taxes. Why did Tamil Nadu do that? Tamil Nadu was being forced to mobilise resources, and the only resources they have are those of indirect taxes. Now they are going in for one of the most regressive forms of direct taxation.

The fourth point that I want to make is a simple query with regard to the Defence Services. You add the appropriation items here and it comes to a little over Rs. 70,000 crores. My question to the Minister is: does this appropriation include the very large sale of armaments that we go in for with the African countries, the West Asian countries, the South Asian countries and so on? Is it

included in the appropriation or is the armament sale, which goes into hundreds of crores of rupees, outside the appropriation?

The fifth point that I have is that the interest payment is Rs. 4,700 crores and repayment of debts, Rs. 80,000 crores. Now here I want to say something that you have heard me say with regard to our debts—I want to repeat it—that I find no real economic basis, viable basis for the large amount of external borrowings that we go in for every year, as Government borrowings. Every year on an average now the Government makes an external borrowing of Rs. 2,500 crores automatically. Now I want to say that we were borrowing this from the Aid India Consortium, from other countries—Government borrowing, not private borrowing—at a time when, for four years, we were saving more than we were investing and we were, therefore investing our savings abroad I would give you the figures. In 1975-76 our investment abroad was Rs. 260 crores—0.2 per cent of our GNP—and we borrowed Rs. 2,653 crores. In 1976-77 we invested Rs. 700 crores abroad and then we contracted Rs. 1,286 crores of external debt. In 1977-78 we invested Rs. 2,300 crores abroad—1.7 per cent of our GNP—this is the excess of savings over investment and we borrowed Rs. 1,897 crores from the Aid India Consortium and others. In 1978-79, it came down. We invested Rs. 260 crores abroad and our external borrowing was Rs. 2,235 crores. In other words, this external borrowing amounting to an average of Rs. 2,500 crores every year, of which we use Rs. 1,500 crores every year, is not justified either on the ground that we are able to increase our production, or on the ground that we are able to increase our exports, or on the ground that we are able to increase our productivity. I think we are doing it as a matter of routine.

In this connection, I want to say that one of the most difficult things for me

to follow is the condition attached to the five billion SDR loan which we have borrowed from the IMF. In the official document which you know the Government has placed in some of our hands, the Government says that the IMF this year is wanting to review "the progress made by us in implementing the programme, in particular the policies and measures relating to public savings, imports and exports." Mr. Vice-Chairman, I know the Fund very well. They have absolutely no business to come and examine our policies, our measures with regard to public savings, imports and exports. This is a Government statement. Then the other thing to which I want to call attention is that the Government also says that the IMF is going to come here during 1982-83 and will limit the official contracting and guaranteeing of concessional loans with maturity up to 12 years to 1.4 billion SDRs. This is a serious thing that the IMF is forcing on us. This is a consequence of our borrowing and I, as an economist, see no justification for borrowing Rs. 2,500 crores every year. Since you have rung the bell, may I just finish with two queries? One is with regard to the appropriation for the Ministry of Commerce of over Rs. 2,000 crores. Here I regret to say that the export subsidy continues to be so large and so heavy without any review at least to report to Parliament, how this subsidy is being used and misused. Secondly, the new Export-Import Policy, as pointed out by someone who spoke before me, I think Mr. Mohan, represents no change. It is a continuation of the past, when we were, at the time of the Janata regime, embarrassed with excessive foreign exchange reserves. We are continuing that policy at a time when we are facing a very serious balance of payments deficit.

Finally, I agree with my friend who spoke from the Congress side on the problem of agriculture, and in addition to agreeing with what he said, may I say that the appropriation that

we are making for agriculture must put much more investment resources into dry farming. Eighty per cent of our agricultural land is dry farming land. Most of the States excepting Punjab and Haryana, are heavily dependent on dry farming and I see only a few micro watersheds provided for in this appropriation. I think this needs to be expanded. And one of the solutions to the cotton problem that was raised by my friend, both cotton and sugarcane which we are producing far in excess of domestic need is, we need to turn from that and help the farmer to move into cereal production, either wheat or rice which cannot be grown on dry land so much. Certainly our coarse grains could be made profitable to do so.

**SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA** (West Bengal): I am inclined to agree that the Appropriation Bill has lost much of its significance having regard to the procedure that is being followed during the last few years. I intend to speak with respect to items No. 53 and 19 of the Schedule to the Appropriation Bill (No. 3) of 1983, particularly in view of the problems which have been elaborately discussed by Mr. Era Sezhiyan. It is well known that both the CRP and the Army have been deployed in Assam. The CRP was also deployed and is still being deployed in the Punjab. There can be no question that terroristic or anti-national elements believing in violence have to be eliminated, suppressed. But that this alone would not solve the problems is also admitted by all concerned. So far as Assam is concerned, I had given expression to my views when I took part in the debate on the President's Address. This is not the first time that the Assam disturbances are taking place. Such disturbances took place in 1971-72, and also in 1961. In 1961 when refugees from Assam came to West Bengal and took shelter on the Sealdah Railway Station platforms. I was asked to look after them by Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. And in

[Shri Sankar Prasad Mitra]

this connection, I wrote a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I received a reply from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from the forest Rest House at Manali dated the 18th June, 1961. It is a long and affectionate letter which I do not propose to read out, I shall read out only two extracts from this letter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru...

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH:  
Were you a Judge then?

SHRI SANKAR PRASAD MITRA:  
Yes, and he was the Prime Minister. I will read only two extracts from this letter because I believe that what Pandit Nehru said in 1961 was vital for Assam in 1961 and it is vital even today both for Assam and for the Punjab. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said, and I am quoting:

"Where people become greatly excited about anything it is difficult to reason with them. Behind that excitement is fear, dislike, etc. One cannot get over this fear or dislike by threats. A strong attitude has to be taken to some extent, but this may well result in adding to the fear and dislike and thus making a problem even more difficult of solution.

In the next paragraph, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says:

"Anyhow we have to face these problems in the best way possible and to do so with a measure of strength and gentle reasoning and above all by putting a local problem in the larger context of India."

To my mind these observations by Prime Minister Nehru are true of both Punjab and Assam today. We condemn the violence that has been taking place in these States. I do not propose to discuss about the Assam problem today. Let us discuss about the Punjab problem.

Most of the religious demands of the Akalis have been conceded. But there is still one more demand. They say

that the Sikh Gurdwara Act of 1925 has to be replaced by an All India Gurdwara Act. Under the 1925 Act all Sikh shrines in the Punjab were placed under the management of an elected body known as Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee which is controlled by the Akali Party. After partition, this Committee has lost control of Gurdwaras in Pakistan. The current income of this Committee, I am told, is about Rs. 8 crores a year. But there are important historical Gurdwaras outside the Punjab. The Delhi Gurdwara, I understand, has an estimated income of about Rs. 6 crores per year and there are historical Gurdwaras at Patna and Nanded in Maharashtra. I know that all Sikhs are not agreed over the All India Gurdwara Act issue. But my submission to the hon. Home Minister is that this particular question that the Akalis have raised should be referred to the Law Commission as to whether there is any necessity for revising the 1925 Act, having new provisions in the Act and having new safeguards for the management of the Gurdwaras. This is a religious demand.

There are two political demands. I have got many authorities with me here, but I am not going to rely on them as my time is limited. There are two political demands. The first political demand is the division of the river waters. The Akalis say that Punjab is the only riparian State to the Ravi and the Beas. The other side is contending that Punjab is a part of India and, therefore, Punjab cannot be the riparian State, but India is the riparian State and this argument is principally based on certain recognised principles of international law—I have got the authority here, but I do not propose to quote it now—and also based on article 1(3) of the Constitution. By negotiations, at the initiative of the Central Government, with help of the leaders of the major political parties, if this problem can be settled, I shall be happy. But, if

it cannot be settled, let it be referred to an independent and impartial tribunal.

The second political demand is with regard to Chandigarh. The newspaper reports are that Punjab's exclusive right to Chandigarh has been conceded. The dispute relates to the two districts of Fazilka and Abohar which are Hindi-speaking districts, but not contiguous to Haryana. Perhaps the solution lies in giving to Haryana such districts as are contiguous to Haryana on a linguistic basis. On this point, on this particular issue, there should again be negotiations at the initiative of the Central Government with the help of the leaders of the major political parties and if negotiations do not settle this problem, let the problem be referred to an independent and impartial tribunal. (*Time Bell rings*). Let us hope that these efforts would lead to a solution of the Punjab tangle. Let us hope that we shall soon see peaceful and gradually prospering Assam and Punjab playing their respective roles in the growth and development of the Union of India and the necessity for the use of force in these two States would altogether be eliminated. Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI AJIT KUMAR SHARMA** (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose this Appropriation Bill although the opposition of the Rajya Sabha may not be ultimately effective. Now, my grounds for opposing this Appropriation Bill are these:

Firstly, if this Bill is passed, it will achieve only one object, that is, it will authorise a politically unsound and narrowly selfish party to misappropriate huge funds, public funds, for furthering its own cause at the cost of the millions of starving people of the country.

Secondly this Bill, if it is passed by Parliament, will enable the Central Government to utilise public funds to disintegrate the whole country by

engineering divisions and dissensions in the name of minorities, in the name of religion, in the name of castes and in the name of communities and so on.

Thirdly, if this Bill is passed, it will use more and more of the battalions of the CRPF and the army to suppress, to kill, to execute, and to commit all sorts of atrocities on, the weaker sections of the people, the weaker regions and the weaker States.

Now, Sir, all these I say with my direct experience of the working of the Central administration in the State of Assam for three long years. The Central rule started in December, 1979, and continued for more than three years. And during this time we found that it misappropriated not only the political power but the entire funds of the State and spent more than Rs. 400 crores only for the purpose of maintaining armed forces for suppressing the people. This very amount could have been spent in settling several lakhs of foreigners and also building effective defence of the Bangladesh-India border. Not only that. During this whole period, this Government violated all provisions of the Constitution by extending Presidential Rule and keeping in suspension the Legislative Assembly for nearly three years. It was done only for the purpose of installing the ruling party's government in the State, to the detriment of the interests of the entire population of the State as well as the whole country. It installed two governments of its own party and failed and ultimately it used this power, political power and the money power, to impose an election at the cost of the people by killing thousands of people, by maiming several thousands and also demolishing the very democratic principles and polity in the State with all its dangerous consequences for the nation. I do not want to go into the details which have been discussed already.

[Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma]

Now, I very briefly like to make three or four points in this regard. When we talk on the Appropriation Bill and the Finance Bill, we discuss the Budget provisions and appropriations so that it might lead to a sound development of the administration and the economy of the country. But we find in the case of Assam, in that region, and for that matter any backward State of India, that the money and power are utilized only to suppress the people. My friend, Mr. Handique, was pointing out to the tea industry in Assam. In the case of the tea industry, it was run by the British colonialists, and a colonial economy was started around tea. The Government of free India, instead of demolishing this colonial structure, is only re-establishing and strengthening the same colonialism in the whole tea sector of the economy of the State. At present, in place of the British companies, we find the Birlas, the Tatas and also the Swaraj Pals coming from England. This economic exploitation through the colonial regime has further created problems and will further bring dissatisfaction among the peoples of the State. All this has been done with direct assistance of the Central Government.

Now, the problem of foreigners' infiltration into Assam is connected with the colonial expansion to the State. The infiltration of foreigners has added to a new dimension to the colonial administration in the State. Unfortunately, instead of tackling the basic issue, the Government, even during the three years when the people have been fighting their battle, has been trying to evade the main issue and suppress the people. I should like to warn the Government that unless they satisfactorily settle this problem within next three months, not only the Government will face but the whole country will face more serious consequences out of it. You can fool the people for some time but not for all time. And I

beseech that the Government should cease thinking in terms of its own political interests, narrow political interests of the party, and I would also request... (*Time bell rings*). I would request the members of the ruling party to think over this matter and see that steps are taken to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the problem.

5 P.M.

Now, Sir, I do not want to extend beyond the time-limit. But I would only say one thing. Sir, when we sanction money for the Defence or the Police, we expect the Government to perform its duties in the interest of the people. But in the eastern frontier the Defence Ministry has completely failed—it failed to protect the Indian citizens there, it failed to protect them from the onslaught of a silent invasion from the foreign lands. Now, the Defence Department must re-organise itself and it must adopt a new policy, a vigorous policy for the purpose of defence of the border in the Eastern frontier.

Secondly, Sir, when we look at the Home Department and its Police we see the same sorry state of affairs. The most unfortunate incidents have been caused by the Armed battalions of the Central Forces. In one case, they rounded up seven people of a tribal village, tied their hands and feet and then opened fire to kill them. It was a barbarous act of execution. This kind of things produced a rebellious mind amongst the people. And in today's paper I find a report of a conspiracy hatched by the Police Department itself to kill all the student activists in Assam. And the President and the General Secretary of the All Assam Students' Union presented a memorandum to the Director-General of Police for giving them protection. This kind of things are going on in the State. (*Time bell rings*.) But all these must stop.

Sir, I draw the attention of the Government to the fact that merely



the provision of money is not enough. When you get the money, you utilise it only in the interest of the entire country and not for the furtherance of any narrow, group or political interests.

**श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी** (आंध्र प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका ध्यान खासकर उन विषयों की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि समय बहुत कम है, इसलिए मैं सिर्फ उन्हीं विषयों पर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ जोकि जिस स्टेट से मैं आता हूँ उससे सम्बन्धित हैं।

लेकिन इससे पहले मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो टैक्स जनता पर लादे जाते हैं, वसूल किये जाते हैं, या हर साल बढ़ाये जाते हैं तो इसके लिए जो प्रजातन्त्र प्रणाली में होना चाहिये कि जो प्रजा के प्रतिनिधि हैं, जो प्रजा के रिप्रेजेंटेटिव्स हैं, उनसे कन्सल्ट करके, पार्लियामेंट की इजाजत लेकर ही यह करें। लेकिन यहां ऐसा होता है कि बजट पेश करते हैं, डिमांड पेश करते हैं और उसके बाद जब सदन नहीं रहता, सदन बैठता नहीं तब दूसरे रास्ते में और अन्य जरूरतों से सरकुलर निकाल कर, नोटिफिकेशन के जरिए आप रेवेन्यू इकट्ठा करने की कोशिश करते हैं। यह तरीका बहुत ही गलत है। यह प्रजातन्त्र के असुलों की रक्षा करना नहीं है। यह पार्लियामेंटरी डिमोक्रेसी और सदन की अवहेलना है। तो मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि जब भी सरकार लोगों पर टैक्स लगाना चाहती है, अपने खर्चों की पूर्ति के लिए रुपया वसूल करना चाहती है तो वह लोगों के प्रतिनिधियों के सामने, सदन के सामने, पार्लियामेंट के सामने हर चीज को रख कर और मंजूरी लेकर करें। और हम यह देखते हैं कि इससे पहले कई सदस्यों ने जो पंजाब के बारे में

कहा, आसाम के बारे में कहा मैं उनसे सहमत हूँ। हमारे साथी माननीय सदस्य ने सदन के सामने पंजाब के बारे में या आसाम के बारे में शर्मा जी ने जो कहा है उनसे सहमत हूँ। मैं चाहूंगा कि यह समस्या बहुत जल्द हल हो और वह हल करने में सरकार को ढिलाई नहीं देनी चाहिये। इससे नुकसान होगा और मसला हल होने के बजाय इसमें बहुत सी पेची-दगियां पैदा होंगी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आज बेरोजगारी और गरीबी देश के अन्दर है इसको खत्म करने के लिए इसको जल्दी हल करने के लिए सरकार ने कोई ऐसी नीति आज तक नहीं बनाई है जिससे कि यह समस्या हल हो। हम कहते रहे और इस सदन के बाहर जितनी राजनीतिक पार्टियां हैं उन्होंने भी कहा सरकार से और सरकार भी वायदा करती है इन समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए लेकिन ठोस कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। दिन प्रतिदिन बेरोजगारी का मसला बढ़ता जा रहा है। बेरोजगारी दिन प्रतिदिन देश में बढ़ती चली जा रही है और गरीबी बढ़ती जा रही है और इस समस्या को हल करने के लिए कोई ठोस कदम नहीं उठाया गया है। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि जब तक ये दो समस्याएँ दूर नहीं होंगी तब तक देश खुशहाल नहीं बन सकता और देश के अन्दर कुछ न कुछ आन्दोलन चलते रहेंगे।

तीसरी बात जिसकी तरफ मैं सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि करोड़ों रुपए जो सरकार मांगती है इस सदन से मगर जो आज जगह-जगह पर देश भर में सूखा पड़ा हुआ है लोगों को पीने के लिए पानी का इन्तजाम नहीं है। कई गांव, देहात देश में हैं जहां

## [ श्री सत्यनारायण रेड्डी ]

लोणों को मीलों जाना पड़ता है पानी लाने के लिए। मुझे खुशी है कि मैं इस मौके पर आन्ध्र प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री श्री एन० टी० रामाराव ने तेलुगु देशम की सरकार बनने के तीन महीने के अन्दर इस बारे में वहां पर कुछ कदम उठाये हैं। जो काबिलेतारीफ हैं। उनको हम धन्यवाद देना चाहते हैं। मद्रास में जनता पानी के लिए तरस रही थी। आन्ध्र प्रदेश में वहां पर पहले कांग्रेसी सरकार थी कई सालों से वायदा करती रही लेकिन उन्होंने इस समस्या को हल करने की कोशिश नहीं की। तीन महीने के अन्दर एन० टी० रामाराव और तमिलनाडु के मुख्य मंत्री श्री एम० जी० रामचन्द्रन ने दोनों ने कृष्णा वाटर एग्रीमेंट करके न सिर्फ मद्रास के लोगों का पानी की समस्या को हल किया है बल्कि रायलसीमा जो हमेशा ड्राउट, सूखे से पीड़ित रहता आ रहा है उस सारे इलाके को खुशहाल बनाने के लिए, सरसब्ज बनाने के लिए, पानी का वहां इन्तजाम करने के लिए, उन्होंने इसके जरिए से यह काम किया है इसके लिए वे वधाई के पात्र है। उसके साथ-साथ मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता हूं कि न सिर्फ आन्ध्र प्रदेश की बात मैं बोल रहा हूं देश में ऐसा होना चाहिये लेकिन समय कम होने की वजह से मैं आन्ध्र प्रदेश का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। आन्ध्र प्रदेश एक ऐसा प्रदेश है जहां बड़ी-बड़ी नदिया हैं। इनका पानी फिजूल समुद्र में जाता है। कुछ प्रोजेक्ट्स बने हैं, हाथ में ली गई हैं और उनके बारे में जैसे नागार्जुन सागर प्रोजेक्ट है, श्रीसेलम प्रोजेक्ट, तुंगभद्रा प्रोजेक्ट है, इसकी कुछ तकमील हुई है और ऐसे ही बहुत से इरीगेशन प्रोजेक्ट, है, इस प्रदेश के

अन्दर। और आन्ध्र प्रदेश सरकार की भी यह मांग है और मैंने भी सदन में प्रश्नों के जरिये से सरकार का ध्यान दिलाया कि जितने बड़े-बड़े प्रोजेक्ट हैं जो न सिर्फ आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लिए लाभदायक हैं बल्कि मुकम्मल होने के बाद सारे देश के लिए लाभदायक हो सकते हैं इन तमाम प्रोजेक्ट्स को नेशनल प्रोजेक्ट्स ट्रीट किया जाए नेशनल प्रोजेक्ट ट्रीट करते हुये केन्द्रीय सरकार इनको तकमील करे, हाथ में ले। और इसमें जो सारा पैसा लगेगा, इसको तकमील कराने में केन्द्र सरकार को सहायता करनी चाहिये और इस तरफ आंध्र प्रदेश की जो सरकार है उन्होंने भी यही किया (समय की घंटी) खासकर अब मौजूदा जो काम स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के सामने हैं वे कई हैं। तेलुगु देशम सरकार ने श्रीसेलम प्रोजेक्ट के जो राइट और लेफ्ट कंन्नाल्स हैं दोनों कामों को ही हाथ में लिया है। उसके जरिए से पूरे तेलगाना को, खासकर महबूब नगर का जो पिछड़ा इलाका है, सूखा इलाका है, जहां कोई इरीगेशन का जरिया है, वहां पानी पहुंचाया जा सकता है। तो इसके लिए 200 करोड़ से भी ज्यादा रुपए की जरूरत है, 225 करोड़ रुपए की जरूरत पड़ सकती है।

इसी तरह से श्रीराम सागर है, जो करीमनगर डिस्ट्रिक्ट में पोचमपाड़ प्रोजेक्ट कहलाता है वहां भी फर्स्ट स्टेज का काम खत्म हो गया है और सेकेण्ड स्टेज का काम बाकी है उसको भी आंध्र प्रदेश की सरकार ने तेलुगु गंगा के साथ मुकम्मल करने का वादा किया है, इसको अपने हाथ में लिया है। इसके लिए भी फंड्स की जरूरत है। केन्द्र सरकार को चाहिये कि ऐसे जो प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं, जो

न सिर्फ आंध्र प्रदेश के लिए बल्कि पूरे देश के लिए काम आ सकते हैं, जैसे ज्यादा अनाज होगा तो न सिर्फ आंध्र प्रदेश का थोड़ा फायदा होगा बल्कि सारे देश का भी फायदा होगा, जैसे नागाजुन सागर है, श्रीमेलम है, तृगभद्रा प्रोजेक्ट है, श्री राममागर प्रोजेक्ट है, पोलावरम प्रोजेक्ट है, ऐलरु प्रोजेक्टस हैं, विशाखापत्तनम का स्टील प्लांट है तथा ऐसे ही दूसरे प्रोजेक्टस हैं . . . (समय की घंटी) इसी तरह से पावर प्रोजेक्ट, है, पोचमपाड़ एच० ई० सी० प्रोजेक्ट पन्नार एच० ई० सी० प्रोजेक्ट, सुपर थर्मल पिटहड प्लांट, मुत्तुगुरु, तथा अन्य कई दूसरे हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रिकल प्रोजेक्टस हैं, बड़े-बड़े इरीगेशन प्रोजेक्टस हैं, जिनसे न सिर्फ आंध्र प्रदेश का बल्कि सारे देश का फायदा हो सकता है, केन्द्र सरकार को चाहिये कि इनमें ज्यादा पैसा दे या इनको अपने हाथ में ले और इनको मुकम्मल करे ताकि सारा देश खुशहाल बने। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि खास कर इससे सम्बन्ध रखने वाले जितने मंत्रालय हैं और केन्द्र सरकार है इनको चाहिये कि इन समस्याओं की तरफ ज्यादा तवज्जह दें ताकि जो देश में हर जगह और खासकर आंध्र प्रदेश में, तमिलनाडु में, उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार जैसे इलाकों में जो हर साल सूखा पड़ता है या बाढ़ के कारण लोग हजारों की तादाद में घर बार छोड़कर जाते हैं, उनको नुकसान होता है, वह बचाया जा सके।

इसके साथ साथ जो बेरोजगारी का मसला है वह भी कुछ हद तक हल हो सकता है (समय की घंटी) तो ऐसे जो प्रोग्राम हैं, इनको मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि जल्दी हाथ में ले और इनको तत्काल करने में स्टेट के साथ सहयोग करे। यह नहीं कि किसी स्टेट में दूसरी सरकार है। ऐसे न सोचे, किसी पार्टी की सरकार रहे

मगर इन कामों को करने में केन्द्र को आगे बढ़ना चाहिये।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल जो है उसका मैं पुरजोर विरोध करता हूं। यदि हम राज्य सभा में यह ताकत होती डिबीजन कराने की, तो हम लोग डिबीजन भी कराते, लेकिन वह ताकत नहीं है।

यह जो 1,22,927 करोड़ वगैरह वगैरह के लिए सरकार आती है, हकीकत में इस सरकार को एक पैसा भी नहीं देना चाहिये। यह सरकार पैसे की पात भी नहीं है। मैं पंजाब की बात नहीं करना चाहता, आसाम की बात नहीं उठाता हूं, मैं ला एण्ड आर्डर आदि इन सब बातों को नहीं उठाता, मैं सिर्फ इनके मंत्रालय की जो बातें हैं उन्हीं को उठाता हूं जो मेसु, आर्थिक मेसु बना दिया है उन्होंने बस उसी की ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं। इस वजह से जो एक फाटक खुला है, जिसमें कि बाहर की पूजी हिन्दुस्तान की मिलों को खरीदने जा रही है, डी० सी० एम० और एस्कोर्ट्स को जिस तरह से खरीद करके, जो हवा बनी है, वह हम देख रहे हैं। एक पैरासिटिक इनवेस्टमेंट की शुरुआत हो गई है।

वित्त विधेयक का मंशा या आदर्श था कि हम टेक्नालोजिकल डेवलपमेंट के लिए बाहर से पूंजी लें, लेकिन उसका या तो वित्त मंत्री ने मतलब नहीं समझा या उनका खुद अपना इरादा था कि इस तरह का पैरासिटिक इनवेस्टमेंट शुरू हो गया। ये दो फैक्टरिया डी० सी० एम० तथा एस्कोर्ट्स नहीं है, बल्कि और भी मिले हैं आपकी जो प्राइवेट कम्पनियों के

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

द्वारा ले ली गई हैं। मंत्रियों का कहना है कि फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस सरकारी इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं और डरने की कोई बात नहीं है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इनके जो गुरु वशिष्ठ हैं आर्थिक नीति के, पं० एल० के० झा, उनकी भी मिसगिर्विग्स, उनकी जो शंकायें हैं, आज के अखबार में आ गई हैं, "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" में और साथ ही रिजर्व बैंक के, जो गवर्नर हैं, मनमोहन सिंह, उन्होंने भी कहा कि हमारी नीति साफ हो जानी चाहिये—पब्लिकली नोन—कि हमारी क्या नीति है यह हो जाना चाहिये वरना सम्भावनाये हैं कि बाहर के पूंजीपति, हिन्दुस्तानी ओरिजिन के, ये हमारी फैक्टरियों को खरीद लेंगे और कंट्रोल करेंगे, जो दुर्भाग्य की बात है।

श्रीमान, एक वक्त वह भी आ सकता है कि जो सिलसिला शुरू हुआ है उसमें यह लोग ताजमहल को भी बेच देंगे। ताजमहल पर भी कब्जा बाहर की पूंजी से होगा। आपने अखबारों में देखा होगा कि एशियाड के अपार्टमेंट्स भी बेचे जा रहे हैं। एशियाड के अपार्टमेंट्स ओवरसीज इंडियंस को बेचे जा रहे हैं। तो मैं सिर्फ दो और मिले हैं, उनका भी जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि बम्बई बर्मा ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन को 1980 वाडिया ग्रुप ने 9 प्रतिशत शेयर पर खरीदा।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम)  
पीठासीन हुए]

दो साल में 6 प्रतिशत ही उसके शेयर बढ़े, लेकिन फिर 1982 के जुलाई-अगस्त में 27 प्रतिशत पर वाडिया ग्रुप पर शेयर चला गया बम्बई बर्मा ट्रेडिंग कारपोरेशन के पास—और इसको 27 प्रतिशत पर

छलांग लगवाने में किसने मदद की। आई० डी० बी० आई० के यहां से, ऊपर से आदेश गया कि जाने तो, और चला गया उसके पास, जिसकी वजह से एन० एम० पाई को इस्तीफा देना पड़ा। यह कहते हैं कि हमारी इंस्टीट्यूशंस, हमारी संस्थाएँ उसमें हैं, इसलिए डरने की बात नहीं है। लेकिन मैं आई० डी० बी० आई० तथा दूसरी जो संस्थाएँ हैं, ये हैडनेड है, हथकंडे हैं, कि सरकारी अधि-कार में हों, तो प्राइवेट के हाथ में छलांग लगवाने में, उसके हाथ में मुपुर्द करने के।

दूसरा उदाहरण—अशोक पेपर मिल्स बिहार और असम में है। क्या उसको इंडियन टोबेको कम्पनी ने नहीं खरीद लिया है? अब खुद इंडियन टोबेको कम्पनी, क्या वह सक्सिडियरी . . . (व्यवधान) टैंड ही बिगड़ जाता है—सक्सिडियरी नहीं है इंटर्नेशनल टोबेको कम्पनी का . . . (व्यवधान) यह मेरे पास जवाब है।

एक बात और, खुद उद्योग मंत्री श्री नारायण दत्त तिवारी ने मुझको जवाब दिया है 28 अप्रैल, 1983 को क्वेश्चन नं० 304 के उत्तर में—

M/s. ITC have purchased a part of the equity share holdings of Ashok Paper Mills in September, 1982.

फिर दूसरे जवाब में 28 अप्रैल, को ही श्री राम भगत पामवान के उत्तर के जवाब में उन्होंने बताया कि इंडियन टोबेको कंपनी ने 71,63,292 शेयर खरीद लिये, बिहार गवर्नमेंट के शेयर हैं 49,50,000 और असम गवर्नमेंट के हैं एक करोड़। तो इस पोजीशन के बाद भी आई० टी० सी० ने खरीद लिया है और उसके हाथ में पहुंचाने में किसका हाथ रहा है, यह आपके आई० डी० बी० आई० के और जो सरकारी फाइनेंशल इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं, उनके हाथ हैं।

तो मैं ज्यादा न कहकर सिर्फ आज के "हिंदुस्तान टाइम्स" में जो कम्पनियां इस तरह से हड़पी गयी है आई० डी० बी० आई० द्वारा, प्राइवेट कम्पनियां जो हैं, उनका मैं जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ।

(1) Similarly the Industrial Development Bank of India sold Toshiba Anand Lamps shares to Crompton Greaves Ltd. (2) Unit Trust of India sold Bombay Burmah Trading Corporation shares to the Wadia Group, (3) The IDBI, the Industrial Finance Corporation of India, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India and LIC sold Ashok Paper Mills shares to the Indian Tobacco group of companies, (4) ICICI sold Protein Products of India Ltd. shares to Ralli Machines, W.T. Suren & Co. Ltd., and Ralli-Wold Ltd. (5) ICICI sold Uttar Pradesh Steels Ltd. shares to Saraswati Industries Syndicate Ltd.

ये पांच उदाहरण हैं, डी० सी० ए० और एक्सकोर्ट्स के अलावा, जिनको आई० डी० बी० आई० और फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस ने प्राइवेट हाथ में सिपुर्द करना दिया है। और यहां से हिदायत है कि यह जो होड़ शेर खरीदने की चल रही है उस में न्यूट्रल रही, बल्कि इशारा किया जाता है जैसे अशोक पेपर मिल चली गई थी। यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है। एल० के० आ और मन मोहन सिंह मिसगिदिगस जाहिर की है कि यह गलत तरीका है। हमें अपनी नीति साफ करनी होगी। अब सवाल आता है कि हम बाहर की पूंजी चाहते हैं फारेन एक्सचेंज के ख्याल से। कोई एतराज नहीं है, लेकिन सवाल है कि आप की नीति साफ होनी चाहिए। आप सदन को बतावें कि बाहर से जो पूंजी लायेंगे उनके मेक्सिमम 2 परसेंट से ज्यादा शेर नहीं होंगे। यह आप निर्धारित करें। दूसरे वे ही हिंदुस्तानी खरीदेंगे जो कि हिंदुस्तानी सिटीजनशिप मेंटेन किये हुये हैं, जो हिंदुस्तान के

नागरिक हो गये हैं उनको नहीं देंगे। तीसरे हम व्यक्ति को ही देंगे, कम्पनी को नहीं देंगे। मैं उसकी तफसील में नहीं जाता हूँ। व्यक्ति को पकड़ना आसान है लेकिन कम्पनी जो पेरसिटिक इन्वेस्टमेंट करेंगी उन को पकड़ना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। इसलिये आप यह एंजिण्ट करें और साथ-साथ आप के जो फाइनेंशियल इंस्टीट्यूशंस हैं, आई० डी० बी० आई०, लाइफ इंश्योरेंस कारपोरेशन वगैरह, जिन का पैसा इन कंपनियों में लगा हुआ है उन को आप नीति स्पष्ट कर दें कि जिस का मेनेजमेंट अच्छा है, प्राफिट मेकिंग है किसी भी हालत में उस को प्राइवेट सेक्टर में जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। जिसका मेनेजमेंट खराब है उसके बारे में सोचा जा सकता है। लेकिन मल्टी नेशनल की सन्सिडीयरी किसी हालत में बनने नहीं दी जायेगी। जैसा मैंने कहा, एक फाटक खोला गया है जिस से बाहर की पूंजी बल्कि पूंजी आकर हिन्दुस्तान के कारखानों को कंट्रोल करेगी; टेक्नोलोजिकल डेवलपमेंट नहीं होगा, विकास नहीं होगा बल्कि पैरासिटिक प्रोफिट लेंगे। एक वक्त आयेगा जब इसी तरह से ताजमहल भी ये लोग बेंच देंगे स्वराज पाल के हाथ में—सब मोनूमेंट चले जायेंगे। यह बहुत दुर्भाग्य की बात है। सरकार की जितनी आर्थिक नीतियां हैं वह सारी व्यवस्था को चौपट कर रही हैं। इसके कांसेक्वेंस आसाम पर आते हैं, पंजाब पर आते हैं, इसके नतीजे ला एंड आईर पर होते हैं और दूसरी जो खराबियां हैं, जैसे कम्प्युनल राइट्स हैं उन पर भी होते हैं। इस सब की जड़ में यह है कि जो व्यवस्था आप ने चलाई है फिफथ फाइव डायर 'लान के जरिये, जो सिलसिला देश में चल रहा है पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के जरिये उस से यह मास्टर इंडियन कैपिटलिज्म बढ़ रहा है। इसको आप

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

बढ़ा रहे हैं। आप देखें कि 1947 में टाटा और बिरला के अमेट्स कितने थे और आज 1982 में वह कितने हैं। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन की सारी अर्थ नीति चौपट है।

बैठने के पहले मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक फ्रेचमैन ने कहा है कि

"War is too serious to be entrusted to a soldier, let alone peace."

इसको ही मैं वित्त में लगाना चाहता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि :

"Finance is too serious to be entrusted to the Finance Minister, let alone the weaker sections' welfare and socialism."

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आखिर मैं मैं कहता हूँ कि हर मंत्रालय के लिये यह बात सही है और किसी को एक पैसा भी नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए, वक्त विजय चौक पर वित्त मंत्री की कंबल परेड करायी जाय जिन्होंने सारे देश का दातावरण चौपट किया है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस एप्रोप्रिएशन विधेयक का पूरी ताकत से विरोध करता हूँ और दूसरे मंत्रालय भी हैं जिन पर कुछ कहने जाऊंगा तो ज्यादा समय बोलना पड़ेगा, लेकिन अभी इतना ही कह कर मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Sir, I want to raise a point of submission. This is an Appropriation Bill which deals with appropriation of amounts in respect of all the Ministries. Therefore, we can raise questions on the functioning of all the Ministries in the Government of India. Technically we are entitled to it and we have raised many questions. For example, I raised a question on Assam, but I do not know whether the hon. Minister from

Finance will be able to answer it. He may not have a readymade answer to this. Therefore, I would like to have a ruling from the Chair, because, appropriately, we raised these questions. Here is a Government from which we are entitled to get the answers. If they are not able to give the answers, at least they should acknowledge the points we have raised and let them send replies to all these. I hope you could follow my argument.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): You want the other Ministers to reply?

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Those points which are not replied to by the Minister on the floor, about them some arrangement should be made to reply on behalf of the Government. Whether they are replied by some Minister or the other, I am not worried about it, but these points should be replied. The scope of the Bill is such and therefore we have raised the points on the scope of the subject-matter. Therefore, we expect a reply to be given.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): You want answers to all the points that you have raised?

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: Every question raised by every Member must be answered because they relate to one Ministry or the other. If the Minister concerned is not present to reply, the Government must answer them.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): Let the Minister reply.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, so far, sixteen hon. Members have participated in this debate and I was glad to hear them all. They raised various questions and, as Mr. Era Sezhiyan has just now said, not merely about this particular Ministry but of several Ministries. I

shall try to answer each and every Member as far as I can and, when the Finance Bill comes up, the other points may be answered, if they have been left out.

As hon. Members are aware, Shri Hukmdeo Narayan Yadav, while initiating the debate on the Appropriation Bill, said that funds sanctioned in the past have been diverted to other heads, and stressed that withdrawals being made out of the Consolidated Fund to utilised for the purposes for which they were being made. Referring to the expenditure incurred in beautifying Delhi, he said that there are still a large number of villages in the country which have not been provided with facilities of drinking water, roads, etc. He also spoke about the **welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Adivasis**, and also criticized the scheme of giving assistance for purchase of pumping sets by banks. Hon. Members are aware of the Government's concerted drive for uplift of villages. The Budget provides Rs. 480 crores for Integrated Rural Development Programme and the National Rural Employment Programme and the like. This will enable about 3 million families in rural areas to cross the poverty-line. The National Rural Employment Programme will create about 350 million mandays of work in rural areas. The provision for these programmes will be matched by the State Governments. For drinking water facilities in problem villages, Rs. 200 crores have been provided in the Budget, while the States on their part will set apart Rs. 319 crores. In all, 46,000 more villages are expected to be covered in 1983-84. (*Interruptions*) Certainly, you cannot eat all at a time. (*Interruptions*). Yes, we have been doing. You do not understand what we have been doing. You do not even understand what we say.

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:** People are thirsty and people are dying of starvation. What do you say about that?

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** Sir, when they spoke, I kept quiet. Now when I am replying, I am expecting the same from them. They should not interrupt me.

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन**

**.निगम) :** माननीय सदस्य अगर आपके किसी प्रश्न का उत्तर नहीं मिले तो उनको पहले पूरा वक्तव्य देने दीजिए उसके बाद पूछ लीजियेगा।

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** If you have any doubts, after I have given my reply, you can certainly ask me. (*Interruptions*).

Then Dr. Rudra Pratap Singh, while endorsing the Budget, made a fervent plea to curb the separatist elements which were raising their ugly heads in Assam and Punjab, and called for putting an end to the exploitation of Harijans and Adivasis and the women folk. The hon. Member did not touch any particular point in the Budget concerning the Ministry of Finance. Yet I would like to mention that the Government are fully aware of what is happening in Assam and Punjab and they are taking steps. You know, recently, elections have been held in Assam in spite of the Opposition. How the elections were held, I may say here because several hon. Members have said that it was more or less forced on them, or something like that. I may say that, though there was no propaganda from the Opposition side, the Opposition was not co-operating with the Government. They plead that proper views of Opposition were not taken; and also they were mentioning that at the right time the right decision was not taken. I might mention here a little about the history, which they might have forgotten or they might not like to tell you. In the last session of Parliament, the Government wanted to bring an amendment to extend the President's Rule, but then they said: "No question of extension of the President's Rule. We do not want an amendment of the Constitution for extension of President's Rule."

[Shri Pattabhi Rama Rao]

We will again try with them by way of negotiations. If that fails, we can see." And they did not allow us to have it. That was in the last session. Later on...

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK (Orissa): The hon. Minister is misleading the House.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Please listen. Don't disturb. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you must come to my rescue.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : आप बोलिये उधर मत ध्यान दीजिए ।

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Actually then what happened is that we negotiated with the Assam people and also involved the Opposition, Members of Parliament. Opposition leaders were there. They were all there. They all tried. Even Mr. Ravindra Verma of the Janata Party has given a solution to them. But they would not agree to that. It was all inspired by some people—I would not say 'Opposition'—surely it is outside the country or inside the country. They have their backing, the Assamese people, and they do not like to agree to an agreement. The Opposition itself knows about it. There was no possibility of a constitutional amendment. So, what could they do except to hold elections? We had to hold elections. We did hold elections. In spite of the opposition by some people there, the elections were held there, and the elected Government is now functioning there. And we expect things to improve because some of those who had opposed from their itself, are now toning down, and they are trying to come to terms. In any case that problem will be solved. It has been solved to a large extent. And firings and all that are there. As some of the hon. Members themselves mentioned, it was due to the Opposition leaders, the so-called leaders, who

went there and inspired them, and that is how there was trouble there. And I would not like to mention names of persons who did, and it is well known who has done it. And partly because of them and partly because of the journalists there who have not given the correct picture, who have inspired them, this trouble has come in Assam.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: What was the Government doing?

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Sir, I now turn to Punjab. In Punjab, as you know, our great leader, Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her Government are trying their best to see how best it could be sorted out. They are tolerant to an extent, tolerant to the extent possible, and when firings are going on from gurdwaras and the Golden Temple, you can understand what the fate is. Generally, temples, mosques and gurdwaras are used for prayers. But here is a case where killings are being done from that place. And I cannot understand the logic behind the hon. Members' saying that everything must be settled. It cannot be settled overnight. With all patience Government is trying its very best to settle the issues in due course.

Then I come to the points made by Mr. Ramakrishnan from Madras. Mr. Ramakrishnan raised many points concerning Tamil Nadu. He was mentioning about the investment by the non-residents in shares in the Indian companies. There has already been a lot of discussion in both the House, and also a public debate, but the appropriate time to deal with this will be during the debate on the Finance Bill.

As regards the State's request for drought assistance, the position is that the Central Team has visited the State to assess the drought situation a couple of months ago, and based on the recommendations of the Central team, the high-level committee, Government has sanctioned a ceiling of



Rs. 63.72 crores for expenditure. The Government of India have already sanctioned advance plan assistance of Rs. 40 crores, of which Rs. 25 crores were released in April.

I have obtained information from the Ministry of Education about the renovation of the Vellore Temple. The State Government is reported to have approached the Central Government as early as in 1968 that the Central protection should be withdrawn from the temple and it should be handed over to the State Government for maintenance. The issue was considered by the Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology and the Board also, which felt that the State Government's request could not be agreed to. The Ministry of Education are not having any further reference from the State Government in regard to the maintenance of this monument.

The other point raised by Mr. Ramakrishnan was regarding the monthly allocation of wheat for Tamil Nadu for the public distribution system. The allocation of wheat for Tamil Nadu for the public distribution system was raised from 4,000 tonnes in March, 1983 to 15,000 tonnes in April, 1983, which has further been raised to 20,000 tonnes for May, 1983. In addition the State Government were also allotted 15,000 tonnes of rice for the month of April, 1983 and that level of allocation has been continued for May also.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: What was the requirement? Eighty thousand to one lakh tonnes.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: The requirement may be anything. We are concerned with how much can be given. One State alone does not mean India. *(Interruptions)*. Let them shout, I will stop.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): Don't yield.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I am not sitting down. I am allowing them to shout. It will take some more time. That is all. *(Interruptions)*.

The Government of Tamil Nadu have also been permitted to purchase 70,000 tonnes of levy-free rice from the open market in surplus States—20,000 tonnes from Punjab and Haryana and 50,000 tonnes from Andhra Pradesh. And this is to meet my friend, Mr. Era Sezhiyan's point. The Government of Tamil Nadu is holding 2.83 lakh tonnes of rice with them as on 1st April, 1983. With the arrival of the Sambha crop in the market, the situation should be easier now. As such the State Government should not be in a desperate situation for the present.

Then Shri Mirza Irshadbaig pleaded for more benefits to be extended to a large number of small-scale industries through the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and for creation of more employment opportunities. The Khadi and Village Industries Commission is playing a very significant role in the development of khadi and village industries and in the matter of generation of employment. During 1982-83 the target of production by the khadi and village industries was Rs. 765 crores. This target is expected to be exceeded. The estimated production is Rs. 795 crores. The target for the current year is Rs. 983 crores. During 1982-83 employment generation was 36 lakh mandays while the target for this year is 40.25 lakh mandays.

Then I come to my good friend, Shri Era Sezhiyan. He referred to the Prime Minister's recent speech at Kanpur and the situation in Assam and Punjab. As the House is aware, these issues have been discussed at length and the Government's position has already been made clear. I have nothing more to add.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Shall I seek clarification now or shall I put the questions later?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): Later.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Then Shri K. Mohanan raised the question of distribution of surplus land, the 20 point programme, the unemployment problem, etc. etc. As the hon. House is aware, the 20 point programme is the programme of this Government and particularly of our esteemed leader Indiraji. The Government is taking all steps to implement them most sincerely. Recently all Chief Ministers met in Delhi to review and expedite the programme. The various programmes of employment generation like National Rural Employment Programme are being vigorously followed. Government is also regulating the industry so as to prevent the growth of monopolies by Acts like Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, MRTP Act, etc.

Shri Matto suggested that the Economic Advisory Councils recently constituted should be referred to the specific issues for advice. He referred to grants to States under Article 275 and said that much discretion lies with the Centre. He also pleaded for more central assistance for States like Jammu and Kashmir and for setting up more Central projects in the State. As honourable Members are aware, Central grants-in-aid to States under Article 275 are made on the basis of the award of the Finance Commission set up by the President under Article 280 of the Constitution. As regards Central assistance to States for their plans, allocations are made on the basis of formula approved by the National Development Council. It is, therefore, not correct to say that the Centre is having a large discretion in this regard. The formula for allocation of Central assistance to States is specially weighted in favour of hilly States including Jammu and Kashmir. The per capita Central assistance to Jammu and Kashmir is Rs. 508.81 as against all States average of Rs. 64.82. The Plan

Outlay of Jammu and Kashmir has also been going up year after year. That is Rs. 147 crores in 1980-81 Rs. 160 crores in 1981-82, Rs. 168 crores in 1982-83 and Rs. 185 crores in 1983-84.

Then comes my good friend, Mr. Kalraj Misra. He raised the question of increase in prices. In spite of very severe drought in 1982-83 prices have been kept under effective control as far as possible. The price rise during 1982-83 was only 6.5 per cent whereas by comparison you will see that in the severe drought year of 1979-80 the price rise was 29.4 per cent. Government is continuing to keep the price situation under close supervision. We have effective public distribution system which is functioning efficiently. The rabi crop is expected to be good and every effort is being made to maximise procurement. Monetary policy is also being guided by the objective of keeping the liquidity position under effective control. With these measures we expect the price situation to remain comfortable.

Then comes the learned Dr. Malcolm Adiseshiah who gave a very lengthy speech, a useful speech, with a number of facts and figures. He said that of the total amount in the Appropriation Bill of Rs. 1.23 lakh crores, about 77 per cent was charged on the Consolidated Fund. Of the total amount charged on the Consolidated Fund of India 85 per cent relates to discharge of Treasury bills; it is notional in character. This amount of Rs. 80,000 crores is being shown due to the concept of gross budgeting followed by us. An equivalent amount is shown as receipt. Article 112(3) enumerates the items of expenditure which are charged on the Consolidated Fund of India.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: If Government of India cannot follow Hindi, how can it be the national language?

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I am telling you a fact.

AN HON. MEMBER: You could have used the ear phone.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I have been using this. That also did not function well. What can I do?

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: Nobody has taken this plea so far.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: There was a communication gap.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: In any case I am not opposed to Hindi. Please note that.

Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma opposed the Bill. He said large sums of money are spent for suppressing the people. I entirely refute this. It is not a question of spending large sums of money. When there is revolution or near revolution, certainly every step should be taken to see that it is stopped. Otherwise there will be confusion and also civil war in the country which we do not want.

Now comes my good friend Shri Satyanarayana Reddy who recently converted himself to be a Telugu Desam Member overnight. He spoke something...

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: From the beginning I have been in the opposition.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I am not saying that. I am only saying about your recent action, not about the distant past. It is your choice. You said something as if Shri N.T.R. Amongst them the principal items are redemption of public debt and interest payments thereon, payment of States' share of the Union excise duty, grants in aid and revenues of States and loans to States. He also referred to our increased external borrowings. The position is that we are very selective in these matters. We go in for foreign loans only for viable projects which will lead to increased production and generate resources for meet-

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ing repayment of interest. Our debt servicing ratio is much below the average so far as our export earning is concerned. But at the same time we shall have to be careful.

Then come Shri Handique and Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma. Both of them referred to the decline in tea production and exports. Production of tea in India increased from the level of 285.39 million kgs. in 1951 to 560.72 million kgs. in 1981. Export of tea has been fluctuating and has been around 220 million kgs. in the recent past. Government have taken vigorous fiscal measures for boosting export of tea. Some of them are full excise duty relief on export from gardens, refund of additional excise duty on packet tea exports, enhancement of rate of cash compensatory support, etc.

Now I would skip a few points because I really could not follow them because of the high-flown Hindi used by some hon. Members. I am just mentioning a fact Rama Rao has done a great thing by sending water to Madras. I know the history and I was a party to it at that time. It is madam Indira Gandhi that was responsible for this scheme of sending water to Madras. Shri Era Sezhiyan might know it. If you remember correctly, you know that it was she that arranged for 5 lakh tmc to be supplied by Maharashtra.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: In 1963 it started. In 1976, Mrs. Gandhi made an assurance in Madras. But from 1976 to 1983, it remained unfulfilled.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: You just hear me. After all, there is a procedure. You know the number of Governments changing here and there. You know very well as to what was happening there and here also. (Interruptions). The point is this (Interruptions). Let me have say. Mr Reddy. You had your say and now let me have my say. I did not say anything. When you were speaking. Now let me

[Shri Pattabhi Rama Rao]

have my say. It was she who made all the three Governments, the Governments of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra agree to give 15 lakh TMC of water to Madras.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: It is not 15 lakh TMCs because that would be a very huge amount. It is only 15 TMCs.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Yes, it is only 15 TMCs.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: But you said, "15 lakhs TMCs" which is not correct. It is only 15 thousand million cubic feet.

SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY: It is only 15 TMCs.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Each State Government has agreed to give 5 TMCs, that is, Karnataka 5 TMC, Andhra 5 TMCs and Maharashtra 5 TMCs. These three State Governments had agreed to give this. There was some difficulty in that. No doubt, they have agreed. But there was some difference of opinion and so, it took sometime. It is not only that she has made them agree to this, but she has also laid the foundation-stone there. I think they are now removing it and putting it in the name of Mr. N. T. Rama Rao. I do not know whether they are doing the right thing. Mr. Sanjeevaiah, when he was the Chief Minister earlier, had himself agreed and he had laid the foundation-stone of the project for taking the water to the Rayalaseem areas from Srisailem. So, this is not a new scheme, but this is only an old scheme. But because both are film fans, both are film figures, they have come together, both the Chief Ministers, very nicely and they have agreed and they have come to an agreement. Let us see how it works and how long it will take for it to function. Anyhow, they have agreed. Mind you, you are calling it and they are calling it as the Telugu Ganga.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes, Telugu Ganga.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: But I want to correct him. It is not Telugu Ganga; it should be called the Andhra Ganga and not Telugu Ganga. As it is, it is Andhra Ganga and not Telugu Ganga. (Interruptions). I want to correct him.

SHRI HAREKRUSHNA MALLICK: You can call it as the Dakshina Ganga.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : ठीक कह रहे हैं, आप कबूल कर लीजिए। आन्ध्र गंगा है, तेलुगु गंगा नहीं है।

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: They may try to make use of it. But the people know it very well in Andhra as to who has done the whole thing and even in Madras every body knows who was responsible originally for this. But they want to take credit for this; let them take. Now, of course, they have agreed. Sir, there is a Telugu proverb. Sir, there is a proverb in Telugu. It says that a newly married man does not see the rising sun.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : उपको तेलुगु में कहिए।

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: "Kotha pellikoduku podderagadu." What I say is that a new party has come and those people do not understand what is happening and they are going in their own way and they are getting it back. They are facing many situations and they will face such situations in future. I do not know how long it will last. Only time will tell. I do not want to say anything about anybody there. But they are trying their best to improve their own stature rather than the State's interests.

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: That is all?

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** Then comes Mr. Shiva Chandra Jha. He is the last speaker.

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:** I said that irrigation projects should be assisted. (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** You have said that only in partisan interest and not in the national interest.

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:** I said it for the whole country.

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** I tell you, those schemes have been in our thoughts for several years.

**SHRI B. SATYANARAYAN REDDY:** What about the Pochampad project?

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** Pochampad project is in progress. That is in progress. There is 6 P.M. a project on Godavari. (*Interruptions*). There Mr. Anjiah, the previous Chief Minister, had laid the foundation-stone even. Where is the question now of these people talking like this? Everything is in progress. (*Interruptions*).

**DR. HARIKRISHNA MALLICK:** In Orissa nothing came up and... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** You go on like that. You are accusing. (*Interruptions*). As far as Andhra is concerned, I am coming from that State... (*Interruptions*) Shri Shiva Chandra Jha... (*Interruptions*). He raised the question and, therefore, I would like to answer him.

**SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:** Why do you deviate?

**SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:** All the schemes in Andhra will continue.

But the responsibility is of the Government there. They are not owning it. They want to take credit but they do not own the responsibility. It is the responsibility of the State Government. The schemes are progressing well. The Central aid as committed will be given.

Then Shri Shiva Chandra Jha spoke about non-resident Indians purchasing shares. Just now, I think the Finance Minister is replying in the other House. I do not want to say anything. He will himself say it here again what he says in the other House. This is a subject I cannot deal with just now.

**SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA:** Reply should be given to me. He must say something in this House also. (*Interruptions*).

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लॉडली मोहन निगम):** श्री एरा सेजियन ने जो मुझाव रखा है मैं सोचता हूँ कि वह बहुत अच्छा है। दस-पन्द्रह वर्ष पहले इस सदन की परम्परा थी कि विनियोग विधेयक पर जब बहस होती थी तो चार-पाँच मंत्री जब उनके विभाग की बात होती थी तो हिस्सा लेते थे। वह किन्हीं कारणों से नहीं हो सका यह अलग चीज है। मैं इनका ही सरकार से कह सकता हूँ कि जिन मानवीय सदस्यों ने इस सारी बहस में हिस्सा लिया है और जिन के प्रश्न का उत्तर उन को नहीं मिला है सदन की पूर्व मर्यादा और गरिमा को मद्देनजर रखते हुए वह उन को जरूर उत्तर देगी।

आ जी के प्रश्न के बारे में मुझे इतना कहना है, जैसा कि मंत्री महोदय ने कहा, कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय उस सदन में इस नीति सम्बन्धी अपना वक्तव्य दे रहे हैं और वे यहाँ भी इसी तरह का वक्तव्य देंगे। इस वास्ते आप के प्रश्न का उत्तर उस वक्त मिल जायेगा।

**SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I want to submit this.

[Shri Era Sezhiyan]

The hon. Minister said, "Regarding my good friend, Mr. Era Sezhiyan..." I also consider him my good friend. "He said something about Assam and Punjab on which we had already discussion in this House", he said. I have not raised any discussion. I raised some specific instances where there was a follow-up on the part of the Government, especially the message sent by the officer-in-charge, Nowgong Police, on 15-2-83, warning that there might be a catastrophe. The massacre happened after three days. I just wanted to know whether there was any follow-up on the part of the Government. (Interruptions). There was a failure about the specific instance. I drew the attention of the Government to this. I wanted to know the reaction of the Government whether this is correct. It is for the Government to reject it or confirm it. I challenge the Government to reject it. I will place it on the table of the House. He can answer that in his own time.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: As the subject does not concern Finance—it belongs to the Home Department—unless I verify from there, I cannot commit.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM): Just a minute, please.

SHRI SHIVA CHANDRA JHA: I want to tell the House concerning the reply given to me by the Minister that it is not that we are barred from seeking clarifications on any matter. Some changes may be made. But he must say something. (Interruptions).

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: May I say to the Minister that I thank him? The fundamental point that I made is that for the last six years the amount spent from the Consolidated Fund is far greater than what is voted in the Appropriation Bill. I gave the figures. And I take the Minister's reply to mean that this will be answered when the Finance Bill

is taken up. I called the attention to the point that Rs. 17,000 crores, more than what we voted in the Appropriation Bill was spent in 1980-81. I have got those figures. I take it that the Finance Minister will reply to it.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : श्री शिव चन्द्र झा और श्री अदिशेषया के प्रश्नों को मद्देनजर रखते हुए मैंने व्यवस्था दी है कि ऐसी परंपरा थी कि विनियोग विधेयक की बहस में दूसरे मंत्री लोग हिस्सा लेते रहे हैं और यदि बंसा होता तो शायद आप लोगों की शंकाओं का समाधान हो जाता। मैं आप लोगों की राय से मुत्तफिक हूँ और इसी लिये मैंने सरकार से निवेदन किया कि जिन प्रश्नों का उत्तर अभी नहीं मिला है वह उन के समाधान के लिये पुरानी परंपरा को कायम करें और आप लोगों का समाधान करावें डा० अदिशेषया के लिये मंत्री जी ने आश्वासन दिया है कि जब वे फाइनेंस बिल लायेंगे तो उन का जवाब देंगे।

प्रस्ताव यह है कि:—

"1983-84 के वित्तीय वर्ष की सेवाओं के लिए भारत की संचित निधि में से कृत्तिपय राशियों के संदाय तथा विनियोग का प्राधिकार देने वाले विधेयक पर, जिस रूप में वह लोक सभा द्वारा पारित किया गया है, विचार किया जाये।"

प्रस्ताव स्वीकृत हुआ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) : अब हम इस विधेयक पर खंडशः विचार करेंगे।

खंड 2 से 4 तक विधेयक में जोड़े गए।

खंड 1, शीर्षक तथा अधिनियम सूत्र  
विधेयक में जोड़े गए।

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO:  
Sir, I beg to move:

"That the bill be returned."  
motion was adopted.

*The questions was put and the  
motions was adopted.*

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री लाडली मोहन निगम) :  
मदन की कार्यवाही कल 11 बजे तक के  
लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned  
at nine minute past six of  
the clock till eleven of the  
clock on Tuesday, the 3rd  
May, 1983.