

gone into. I again appeal to my colleagues here: for heaven's sake, do not criticise the Defence Forces without knowing anything about them. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This does not require any further clarification.

### REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED CLOSURE OF BUSINESS IN ORISSA BY THE MINERALS AND METALS TRADING CORPORATION OF INDIA

श्री उपसभापति : श्री खंडेलवाल, आपका स्पेशल मेंशन है। समय पर आप मौजूद नहीं थे। दो-तीन मिनट में समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री प्यारेलाल खंडेलवाल (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, देश में वैसे ही बेरोजगारी की समस्या बहुत अधिक है, करोड़ों लोग बेकार हैं। लेकिन अभी उड़ीसा के कोझर जिला में मजदूरों के ऊपर एक नयी विपत्ति आ पड़ी है और हजारों मजदूरों के बेकार होने का डर पैदा हो गया है। अभी एक समाचार पत्र में यह खबर छपी है :

“केन्द्रीय सरकार के संस्थान खनिज और धातु व्यापार निगम द्वारा अपने व्यापार को सिमटाने के कारण उड़ीसा के कोझर जिला के खान मजदूरों को बेकारी का खतरा पैदा हो गया है। खदान में गत कई महीनों से काम ढीला पड़ा गया है। खनिज निगम का कहना कि समुचित मात्रा में रेल बैगन न मिलने के कारण अयस्क धातु की लदान नहीं हो रही है, इसी कारण खान का काम ढीला पड़ गया है। केन्द्र सरकार उन गरीब लोगों को बचाने के लिए शीघ्र उपाय करे।”

श्रीमन्, इस संबंध में वहां के मजदूरों का एक बहुत बड़ा आंदोलन शुरू हुआ है

और मजदूर इस बात के लिये चिंतित हैं कि उनके बच्चों की, उनके परिवारों की रोजी रोटी की समस्या कैसे हल होगी। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा उनकी रोजी रोटी की व्यवस्था और रोजगार की व्यवस्था इस प्रकार बनी रहे उन की मजदूरी खत्म न हो पाये और वे बराबर काम में लगे रहें और वहां पर जो काम कोयला खदानों का है वह काम बरकरार रहे।

### THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1981-82— GENERAL DISCUSSION

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, we start the Budget (General) 1981-82 General Discussion, Shri Sankar Ghose.

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, Mr. Venkataraman has presented his second budget and has got favourable headlines and a lot of bouquets for the tax concessions primarily that he has given.

श्री राक्षानन्द यादव (बिहार) : आपको पहले ही कांफ्लिमेंट देना चाहिये इतना अच्छा बजट आया है।

SHRI SANKAR GHOSE: Mr. Venkataraman is a very competent economist, but in this budget and in the last budget, he has concealed his economic skill and has shown his political talent. He has politicised the whole budget and has shown great political craftsmanship in presenting the budget. It looks as if it is a pre-election budget. But the basic problems of the economy regarding the rising prices, the mounting unemployment, the people below the poverty-line, have not been tackled. He got a great opportunity because of the massive majority that the ruling party has, because of the extreme competence that the Finance Minister has and the great economic

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expertise and experience in economic management that he has.

The Budget, with its massive deficit and the pre-Budget price rise, will generate great inflationary potential in the economy. There is no measure or no adequate measure in the Budget for controlling inflation or price rise. Secondly, the Budget has a curious unconcern for the unemployed. For the educated unemployed; there is nothing in the Budget. For the uneducated unemployed in the rural sector, in the countryside, there is no massive programme. Thirdly, for the people below the poverty line, more than 300 million as the Planning Minister, Mr. Tiwari, told this House, the Budget holds out little hope and no dent is made for bringing these people above the poverty line. Fourthly, it is unfortunate that the allocations for the rural sector, for the weaker sections, have not been commensurately raised and in some cases they have been slashed. And fifthly, the Budget and the black money bond scheme, instead of curbing growth of black money, will give an encouragement for the proliferation of black money.

On the first question of rise in prices, the total burden placed on the people by the Budget and the pre-Budget exercise, has followed the same pattern as last year, namely, that the real burden on the people was imposed immediately before the Budget, such imposition was delinked from the Budget. Last year about Rs. 3000 crores were imposed as a burden on the people by the petroleum price rise, fertilizer price rise, etc. outside the Budget. This year about Rs. 2000 crores have been imposed on the people outside the General Budget—Rs. 1100 crores by the rise in petroleum prices a little before the Budget, about Rs. 627 crores by the rise in steel and coal prices, and, of course, with the Railway Budget's contribution of Rs. 356 crores; the total burden is Rs. 2000 crores outside the budget and Rs. 2277 crores with the General Budget. The strategy that the Finance Minister has devised that the real burden should be outside the Budget before the Bud-

get, and be outside Parliamentary control and that Parliament be faced with a *fait accompli*, is a new innovation. This erodes the power of Parliament. It creates a situation where people do not know what burden they will have to bear, and it is not discussed. This naturally also diminishes the importance of Budget; it demotes the Budget; it will ultimately make the Budget a non-event.

Budget is a method, to some extent, of raising resources. We recall that Mr. Charan Singh's method primarily was to raise resources through taxes. He imposed Rs. 240 crores of tax on petroleum and became unpopular. The Finance Minister this time induced the Petroleum Minister to raise prices by Rs. 1100 crores. The result of Mr. Charan Singh's method and Mr. Venkataraman's method is the same on prices, on the economy, on the consumer, namely, price rise. But the result on the Finance Minister is different. Mr. Charan Singh's method makes the Finance Minister unpopular, Mr. Venkataraman's method makes the Finance Minister popular. But this is a simplistic approach. The Finance Minister's deputy is happy. And it is this happiness that has permeated the Budget so that the price rise that is there is concealed and delinked from the Budget and there is no strategy for controlling the price rise. Apart from the total burden of Rs. 2,000 crores outside the budget, the massive deficit finance of Rs. 1,540 crores will generate great inflationary potential, and prices will rise.

3 P.M.

I am not one who believes that deficit financing is as such bad. I honestly, genuinely and sincerely believe that deficit financing to a certain extent is legitimate and permissible in a developing economy to get resources. I do not agree with Dr. Raj Krishna that deficit financing should be nil. But there has to be a tolerance limit for deficit financing. So far as Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao is concerned, he says that it could be Rs. 500 crores a year. I shall not even go by his figure. I shall go by the figure mentioned in the Sixth Plan document that deficit financing should be Rs. 5,000 crores for a period of 5 years,

the average being Rs. 1,000 crores a year. By that test, this year, deficit financing has been above Rs. 2,000 crores. It is Rs. 1,975 crores. Next year it is said that deficit financing will be Rs. 1,540 crores and ultimately deficit financing perhaps will be almost Rs. 2,000 crores. Rs. 500 crores more as had happened this year. For these two years, the deficit financing of Rs. 3,515 crores will take away 70 per cent of the deficit financing of Rs. 5,000 crores envisaged in the Sixth Plan. This shows that excessive deficit financing is being indulged in.

During the first two years of the Janata rule deficit financing was resorted to in the belief that if we have massive food and foreign exchange reserves, prices will not rise. In the first two years the prices did not rise. In the third year prices rose and with that the theory that you can embark on any amount of deficit financing was discredited. The tolerance limit of deficit financing as set out in the Sixth Plan has been exceeded by the Finance Minister. It is more than double the tolerance limit provided in the Sixth Plan. This excessive and massive deficit financing will have a great effect on rising prices.

Even in fixing the deficit financing at Rs. 1,540 crores the Finance Minister had to take credit for Rs. 800 crores of black money bearer bonds. Today we have the sad spectacle of the Finance Minister preparing his budgetary arithmetic, relying heavily on these black bonds. What is the meaning of these black bonds? Previously there was white money and there was black money. This black bond means that there are, among black money, some legalised black money and some illegal black money. This legalised bearer bond money is another kind of parallel currency which is taxless currency. There is no income tax on it, there is no wealth tax, there is no surtax and there is no capital gains tax. The Finance Minister has taken credit for Rs. 800 crores of black bond money. If it does not materialise, the deficit finance will be more and prices will rise more. If the Supreme Court invalidates this

as discriminatory or immoral, the Finance Minister's reliance on this will not succeed and deficit financing will grow.

It is unfortunate that there is no provision in the budget for controlling black money. These black bonds will encourage those who have black money. It is a concession to black-marketeers. It does not curb black money and it could become counter-productive. I say this because the honest tax-payers are not encouraged and those who evade taxes are encouraged. Now, in arriving at this deficit of Rs. 1,540 crores, a massive deficit, not only credit has been taken for Rs. 800 crores of black money, but credit has also been taken for external assistance of as much as Rs. 1,000 crores. Sir, in the defunct Fifth Plan, that is, 1978-83, external assistance was assumed at five per cent. But, now, Sir, in this Plan, we understand that external assistance has been assumed at 11 per cent. What has happened to the goal of zero net foreign aid? We do not know. But, even in the next year's Plan, the Finance Minister has taken credit for external assistance of as much as Rs. 1,000 crores. There is the reliance of the Finance Minister on a massive deficit of Rs. 1,540 crores, we have the Finance Minister's reliance on the black money to the extent of Rs. 800 crores and we have the Finance Minister's reliance on external assistance of Rs. 1,000 crores.

Sir, so far as the taxes are concerned, no Finance Minister since independence has imposed taxes on newsprint. It is because, Sir, newspapers are so popular and a tax on the newsprint, or the import of newsprint, is really a tax on information, on education and on literacy. And this is an aberration, particularly in India where only 15 per cent of the newsprint is indigenously manufactured. The rest is imported. This tax will put a great burden on the industry, particularly on the small newspapers, the medium newspapers and the regional newspapers. This is a great burden on them. This is a great aberration and this is an unprecedented levy. For a Finance Minister, who has so much of political consciousness

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and so much of political sophistication and who tries to avoid all imposts which are unpopular it is rather intriguing why he imposes this tax knowing that it is injurious to the industry and knowing that it will be unpopular. Some people have suggested that if the newspapers become less in number, the people will have to rely more on the government-controlled media. Some others have suggested that because newspapers report all the happenings, this is the reaction of the Government towards the newspapers. But this is a question of speculation. But, Sir, I hope that even at this late hour, this impost, his aberration, this unprecedented impost on the newsprint will go

Then, Sir, on the taxes the Finance Minister has mentioned that the foreign monopolists in oil, who will come here for oil exploration, will get Income-tax reduction or perhaps exempt on. This is a disturbing feature. If the foreign monopolists in oil are completely exempted from the Income-tax, that will be a disquieting feature.

Then, Sir, on the question of taxation, we all know that there has been a heavy inflation. Particularly in the urban sector. There have been people who have become very rich as a result of this inflation. I would have expected that through these tax measures, the urban rich and conspicuous consumption in the country would be taxed. But no tax has been imposed on conspicuous consumption. As a result of this heavy inflation, some people have become very affluent and the poor people have become poorer still. And, Sir, if concessions have to be given, I would have expected that it is to the poor people, who have been hit by inflation and whose real income has been eroded, who would have got a larger support from the Government through the public distribution system. But, except in foodgrains and controlled cloth, the Government does not give any kind of support to the public distribution system. I would have expected that if concessions had to be given, apart from giving concessions to

the foreign monopolists and the large houses, concessions should have been given to the poor by strengthening the public distribution system. This is another aspect that should be looked into.

Then, Sir, so far as taxation is concerned, a development has taken place which may put some strain on the Centre-State relationship. The Finance Minister has been generous. He has been magnanimous in giving income-tax concessions, for which he has got the maximum number of bouquets. The last, Seventh Finance Commission provided that 85 per cent of income-tax revenue will go to the States and the Centre will have 15 per cent. The Finance Minister has been magnanimous in giving income-tax concessions but at the expense of State Governments who are to get 85 per cent. Sir, I recall a statement of Churchill who said: 'Without magnanimity no nation can progress, but magnanimity at somebody else's expense is not the highest form of magnanimity.' So, the Finance Minister has been magnanimous, so far as income-tax is concerned, but at the expense of States.

Another aspect is that the real tax that has been imposed is customs duty, of which the States are not getting anything. This may raise some doubts and apprehensions in the minds of the States that the sources through which the States will get some income the Centre is not taxing, and those in which the States are not getting any share the Centre is taxing. This may put some strain on Centre-State relationship.

Sir, I find that the resources to be transferred to States and Union Territories in 1981-82 will be Rs. 9,041 crores. Last year in the Revised Estimate the amount was Rs. 9,010 crores. Next year the States will be getting only Rs. 31 crores more. This, again, is a matter which needs looking into.

There are two other things so far as the States are concerned, which are of some concern to the States in relation to these budgetary proposals. I find that the assistance for Centrally sponsored schemes in the next year to the States is going to be reduced, which will be Rs. 922 crores. The revised figure last year was Rs. 1050 crores. So this assistance to the States will be lower this year. This is something which is unfortunate.

The second thing which is unfortunate to the States is that development outside the Plan last year was Rs. 157 crores. This year it will get reduced to Rs. 114 crores.

So in the distribution of taxes States will get less. In transfer of resources through the Plan the States will get less. Assistance outside the Plan to the States will be less. This may create some strain which should have been avoided.

Sir, the weakest part of the Budget is the inflationary pressure on the prices. The inflationary pressure will be of Rs. 2200 crores, the total burden, plus the deficit of Rs. 1945 crores. A total Rs. 3760 crores will be the inflationary pressure that will be injected in the economy. The Finance Minister blames oil price rise. Mr. Sethi, Minister of Petroleum, said that because of oil price rise, general price rise will be 1.35 per cent that is the extent of inflation. That cannot be made a scapegoat for the price rise. Drought will not be a scapegoat for this year we had record foodgrain production. The third scapegoat is usually the hoarder. Against hoarders the Government can take stern measures, to control prices. Therefore, these scapegoats, do not help.

But the Finance Minister has said that inflation has come down from 20 per cent last year to 13.5 per cent... (Interruptions). This was in January, 1981 I hope the Finance Minister had seen more frank with the country. He has taken point by point comparison

and not the average index which used to be taken always. Economic Survey used to go by the average index, and not point-by-point. If you go by the average index, which used to be taken, then on the basis of average index, instead of 13.5 per cent the inflation is 18.5 per cent as compared to 15.5 per cent in the past year. If you go by the average index which is the correct and true index and which is always followed by the Economic Survey and which was departed from this year, the price rise even on that basis is more. This is one of the main achievements which the Finance Minister has claimed.

Apart from that, even on the point-to-point basis, he gave out that the price rise has been 13.5 per cent this year. But after the increases in the prices of petrol and steel, by the 3rd week of February, the prices went up to 17.3 per cent, from 13.5 per cent even on point-to-point basis. Inflation has increased.

The weakest part of the budget is that while inflation is increasing, this massive deficit financing is not being controlled. The increase in prices is not being controlled. The massive subsidies which the Economic Survey said should be controlled have not been controlled and a soft and mild pre-election budget has been presented which will not control prices and prices will go up. Sir, I mention this because the Economic Survey mentions that the per capita income in 1979-80 was Rs. 145 which was lower than Rs. 156 of 1978-79. It is because of the inflation that the per capita income of the poor was eroded and if you have another inflation—a minimum of 15 per cent which the economists predict next year or it may be 20 per cent—then the per capita income will again get eroded.

The Finance Minister claimed that by his programmes 3 million people will go above the poverty line. The Planning Minister has said that more than 300 million people are below the poverty line. It means that one per

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cent of people will go above the poverty line. But if there is 15 to 20 per cent inflation, then more than 3 million people will go below the poverty line.

So far as the Plan is concerned, the increase in the central sector is 17 per cent and the total increase is 20 per cent. But the plan arithmetic is based not on the prices of 1981-82, i.e. the current year, but on the prices of 1979-80. If you take into account the inflation of the earlier year and this year, that is a minimum of 30 per cent if not 40 per cent, then in real terms there is no real growth.

So far as agriculture is concerned, if we are to raise the people below the poverty line, then this sector should have been provided for more. Agriculture is a very important sector. I find that the budgetary support for the central plan, so far as the agricultural and allied sectors are concerned, is going to be reduced from Rs. 949 crores in 1980-81 to Rs. 871 crores in 1981-82. For rural development, it is going to be reduced from Rs. 344 crores to Rs. 187 crores. I am giving the figures from the Economic Survey and the budget documents. This is the way it has been done.

So far as industry is concerned, last year the Finance Minister gave a lot of concessions and later said that the industry had not responded to him. (Time bell rings) I will take 10 to 15 minutes more.

Apart from the prices which will not be controlled, the Budget shows a great unconcern for removing unemployment. The Congress (I) election manifesto envisaged that at least one member of each family will get employment. Last year, I asked the Finance Minister on the floor of the House about it and he said that the Planning Commission will look into it. I asked the Planning Minister and he said that they were examining it. (Interruptions). So far as rural employment programme is concerned, the outlay has been reduced

to Rs. 180 crores from Rs. 340 crores of last year and there is a footnote that the States will provide matching grants. Sir, this is something incomprehensible. The Centre's contribution of Rs. 340 crores should have been maintained or enhanced and what the States have to give, that should have been in addition. The slashing of the un-employment programme is very unfortunate.

Sir, the Budget is weak so far as employment is concerned. There should have been an employment guarantee scheme like the Maharashtra pattern throughout the country. There should have been a massive allocation for irrigation. There should have been a massive allocation for schemes like the Antyodaya. There should have been a massive allocation for dairy development and for small farmers schemes. But on all these, the Budget is rather poor. In addition, we find that recently the Central Statistical Organisation has said that, let alone the measurement of poverty, even to define poverty some conceptual problems have arisen. If you have to remove poverty, let us not get entangled into this theoretical and metaphysical question of defining poverty. Poverty is tangible and living, and it is a gruesome reality of Indian life. Unless the Budget becomes a massive instrument for removing poverty, we are in for very bad days.

Sir, one of the most disquieting features of the Budget is that for rural development schemes, for agriculture, for the schemes of the weaker sections, the Scheduled Castes and the Tribes, either the allocations have not increased adequately, at least by 20 per cent, or there has been a slashing of these allocations. Sir, for command area development programme, last years Rs. 37 crores will be now Rs. 39 crores. Is it a 20 per cent increase? In addition under the command area development blocks programme, this was an additional programme, in 1979-80, there were Rs. 44 crores, and last year there were Rs. 15 crores.

That is no more there now. For the command area development programme as such the allocation has decreased. For dairy development, the allocation has decreased from Rs. 53 crores to Rs. 52 crores. That will mean, poverty will increase, unemployment will increase. So far as fertilizers are concerned, the allocation for the next year has decreased from Rs. 231 crores to Rs. 217 crores. So far as roads, are concerned, the allocation has increased from Rs. 114 crores to Rs. 119 crores. This increase is not 20 per cent and not even 10 per cent. In the rural sector, in the employment-generating sector, the allocations have been decreased.

Sir, a most unfortunate cut has been in the loans to agriculture. The allocation in the last year's Revised Budget to agricultural financial institutions was Rs. 231 crores. It is slashed, and it is less than half of last year, and it will be Rs. 111 crores. Sir, for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes component plan, the allocation in stead of being increased by 20 per cent has been reduced to Rs. 152 crores. For fertilizers it has decreased, for loans to agriculture it has decreased, for dairy development it has decreased, for command area development it has decreased.

Sir, the priority of the Budget has been a concern for the short-run, for the immediate applause and not for the basic, structural, and fundamental changes. Sir, concessions have been given to foreign oil firms and to large houses. Conspicuous consumption has not been taxed. For the black-marketeers, the black money bonds have come by which their black money is legalised. Sir, election pledges were given for the people below the poverty line and the people who are unemployed but those pledge have not been fulfilled. Sir, the Budget has been clever, but not constructive. It is more an exercise in public relations than for ensuring public good. There

is a lot of propaganda and polemics in it, but no bold thrust. This Budget only reveals the Finance Minister's image as a politician with great craftsmanship, as the first public relations man of this Government. And all the consummative economic skill the Finance Minister has, he has concealed, he has not utilised. He has tried to present a Budget by which the opportunity that the country had, the country with the third largest scientific manpower had, where 22 per cent saving is there, which few other countries in the world can achieve, where taxation is about 19 per cent, which is a high tax ratio, where there is vast foreign exchange reserves and foodgrains reserves, where a great opportunity has been lost. Unfortunately, all this has been missed for immediate Headlines, for immediate clapping and for a pre-election tie of Budget. The whole thing has been politicised and it is unfortunate that in spite of the great skill that the Finance Minister had the country did not have any opportunity of taking advantage of it.

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं बहुत ही ध्यानपूर्वक डा० शंकर धोष जी के विद्वतापूर्ण भाषण को सुन रहा था। ऐसा लगता था कि जैसे कोई चुनाव होने वाला हो और चुनाव के पहले राजनीतिक नेता अपने अर्थज्ञान की विद्वता को सारे देश के अन्दर और सारे सदन के अन्दर बिखेर रहे हों।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) पीठासीन हुए]

मुझे श्रीमन्, बड़ी हैरत हुई यह देख कर कि यह बजट जो कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने पेश किया एक ऐसा बजट पेश किया जिस बजट ने सारे देश को एक दिशा दी, आर्थिक दिशा दी और आर्थिक दिशा ही नहीं दी बल्कि श्रीमन्, उत्पादन के जितने स्रोत हैं चाहे वे कृषि क्षेत्र के स्रोत हों, चाहे औद्योगिक क्षेत्र के स्रोत हों, चाहे

[श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय]

इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को बढ़ाने वाले स्रोत हों, चाहे इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को बढ़ाने वाले स्रोत हों, सारे स्रोतों को उन्होंने एक ऐसा आवरण पहनाया जिससे कि सारे देश में इकोनामिक डवलपमेंट हो सके। श्रीमन्, तीन साल का या जो 33 महीने का इतिहास था वह 33 महीने का इतिहास जो जनता पार्टी और लोकदल का था एक ऐसा इतिहास था जिस इतिहास में यदि हम सारे देश को और आर्थिक कल्पनाओं को देखें तो श्रीमन्, आप पायेंगे कि सारा देश झकझोर उठा था। जहाँ पर अन्न का भण्डार था, जहाँ पर देश में खजाना भरा हुआ था, 33 महीने के मिसमैनेजमेंट ने सारे देश को झकझोर दिया, खजाने को खाली कर दिया। चाहे अन्न का भण्डार हो, सारी जगहों पर ऐसी अस्थिरता पैदा हो गई कि सारा देश ...

श्री आर० आर० मोरारका (राजस्थान): यह बात सही नहीं है।

श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय : यह बात सही है या नहीं, आंकड़ों से ही साबित करूंगा कि कहाँ तक सही है और कहाँ तक गलत है। श्रीमन्, ऐसे समय में इस देश की बागडोर श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में 13 जनवरी, 1980 को पुनः प्राप्त हुई। उस समय श्रीमन्, सारा देश यह समझता था कि आखिर क्या होने वाला है। हमारे देश में जो हमारे नेतागण हैं बावजूद इसके कि प्रधान मंत्री ने हमारी देश की जनता ने उनसे सहयोग की अपील की कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर बैठ कर कोई राष्ट्रीय विकल्प की बात की जाये, लेकिन श्रीमन्, आज देश के सामने उत्तर पूर्व के हिस्से में तूफान आया, जनता पार्टी के समय से, लोकदल के समय से उस मैनेजमेंट ने हजारों करोड़ रुपये आ-साम के मूवमेंट में खर्च हो गये। सारा मूवमेंट बन्द हो गया। सारे देश में

अर्थभाव पैदा हो गया। सारे जो कारखाने थे बन्द पड़ने लगे। सारी जो पैट्रोलियम की लाइनें थीं वे बन्द हो गई। सारे डेवलपमेंट का काम बन्द हो गया। क्या यह देश के साथ विश्वासघात नहीं है। एक नेता ने भी श्रीमन् खड़े होकर नहीं कहा कि राष्ट्र के हित में यह है कि बैठ कर के आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण के लिए, नेशनल इंटररेस्ट के लिए, सार्वजनिक जीवन को आज उन्नतशील बनाने के लिए सहयोग दिया जाय और आज उन पदार्थों जिनकी कि आज जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में जरूरत है, मुहैया किया जाय और आज आसाम आंदोलन को शांति का ऐसा आवरण पहनाया जाय कि नार्थ ईस्ट रीजन के लोग शांति के साथ रह सकें और आज देश के ऊपर जो आर्थिक भार पड़ रहा है वह कम हो सके। श्रीमन्, किसी भी नेता ने जो बातें कहीं अपने राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोण से बातें कीं।

श्रीमन्, आज गुजरात का सवाल है। क्या गुजरात में बरबादी नहीं हो रही है। आज एण्टो रिजर्विस्ट पालिसी को लेकर नाना प्रकार के बयानात आ रहे हैं। अभी जगजीवन राम जी ने बयान दिया। उनके बयान को पढ़ें तो ऐसा लगता है कि वह बयान एक विद्वत्पूर्ण तरीके से दिया गया है। दोनों तरफ बयान दिया गया है ऐसा लगता है। एक तो उनके हरिजन होने के नाते हरिजनों के रिजर्वेशन को कहने में कि यह तो आज मानवीय अधिकार है, यह तो संविधान में दिया हुआ अधिकार है इसको रिस्टोर होना चाहिए और दूसरी तरफ श्रीमन्, दूसरों को जगाने में भी उन्होंने कोई कोर कसर नहीं उठायी। अब तो यहाँ तक साबित हो गया है और कुछ दस्तावेज भी मिल गये कि एक पार्टी का हाथ भी है। हालांकि उसके नेताओं ने कुछ खंडन किया है। ये लोग राष्ट्रीय विकल्प की बात करते हैं कि राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर सरकार को विचार करना चाहिए "नेशनल इंटरग्रेशन कौंसिल" को फोरम प्रधान



मंत्री जो को बुलाना चाहिए बातचीत शुरू होनी चाहिए।

चलो निकलो गुजरात की सड़कों पर आदि-आदि। श्रीमन् कितनी आज बरबादी हो चुकी है। जब वहाँ कोई आंदोलन होता है तो किस पर असर पड़ता है। आज चाहे ट्रेनों को रोका जाय, चाहे बसों को लूट लिया जाय, चाहे पब्लिक प्रॉपर्टी को नुकसान पहुँचाया जाय, क्या इस नुकसान का हमारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर असर नहीं पड़ता है? श्रीमन्, आज ऐसी स्थिति पैदा हो गयी है कि कुछ राजनैतिक पार्टियों ने अपने दृष्टिकोण संकुचित बना लिये हैं और उस संकुचित दृष्टिकोण से राष्ट्रीय सरकार की जो आज समस्याएँ हैं उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा कमजोर बनाने की कोशिश वे कर रहे हैं।

श्रीमन्, हमारे शंकर घोष जी को कोई चीज समझ नहीं आती है कि कहां तरक्की हो रही है। क्या यह गवर्नमेंट आयी तो कोई तरक्की नहीं हुई? इस गवर्नमेंट ने जब 13 जनवरी, 1980 के बाद भार संभाला तो क्या एग्रीकल्चर प्रोडक्शन में वृद्धि नहीं हुई। हमारा देश श्रीमन्, कृषि प्रधान देश है। कृषि प्रधान देश होने के नाते आज सबसे ज्यादा हमारे ऊपर, हमारी जनता के ऊपर जो भार पड़ रहा है जो कन्ज्यूमर गुड्स में महंगाई बढ़ रही है वह इसलिए कि हमारा अन्न का भंडार खाली है और जब अन्न का भंडार खाली है तो उसके लिए अन्न को पैदा करना पड़ेगा। इनके तो आते सूखा पड़ गया, सारा अन्न का भंडार सूख गया परन्तु ज्यों ही इंदिरा गांधी और कांग्रेस का शासन आया तो श्रीमन्, आपने देखा कि रबी की बम्पर क्राप आयी। आज स्थिति यह है कि उस क्राप से इस देश का हमारा जो जनमानस है, जो गरीब लोग हैं वे भूखे नहीं रहेंगे। आज हमारी फसल अच्छी आयी है। श्रीमन् किसान या गांव में रहने वाले 80 फीसदी किसान इस फसल से खुश हैं। आज आम की फसल अच्छी हो

रही है, हमारी कृषि का उत्थान हो रहा है, हर चीज का उत्पादन हो रहा है। थरमल पादर आदि का दूसरी जगहों पर बढ़ावा होता चला जा रहा है।

श्रीमन्, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी ने प्रेजिडेंट एड्रेस में कहा कि 33 महीने के जनता पार्टी के शासन में जो इन्फ्लेशन की हालत थी उससे आज हालत यह पैदा हो गयी है कि हमारी इन्फ्लेमिक पालिसी पर इसका बुरा असर पड़ा है .. (समय की घंटी) श्रीमन्, पांच मिनट अगर आपकी इजाजत हो तो और थोड़ा लूंगा। श्रीमन्, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज स्थिति यहां तक हो गयी है कि हमने इन्वेस्टमेंट पालिसी को बढ़ाया, अपने इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर को बढ़ाया। आज इस बजट में किसी एक पार्टी के नेता के कहा कि 40 परसेंट आज किसानों के ऊपर, एग्रीकल्चर के ऊपर खर्च होना चाहिए। श्रीमन्, इस बजट स्पेच में है कि 40 परसेंट एग्रीकल्चर के ऊपर खर्च होगा तथा और दूसरे सेक्टर पर खर्च होगा। श्रीमन्, बजट तो कोई पढ़ता नहीं है, बजट की रूप रेखा देखता नहीं है, केवल वे आंदोलन आदि करने के लिए बोट क्लब पर आ जाते हैं। आज मैं कहता हूँ या तो राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण अपनाइये या तो यह बजट जो कि एक प्रोडक्शन ओरियेंटेड बजट है उसको सही तौर पर जनता के समक्ष पेश कीजिए। आज ऐसी हालत में ऐसा बजट कोई भी वित्त मंत्री, मैं कह सकता हूँ, नहीं पेश कर सकता। पर हमारे वित्त मंत्री आज इस काबिल हैं कि इनको मुबारकबाद दी जाए जिन्होंने एक इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर पैदा किया, जिन्होंने इन्वेस्टमेंट की पालिसी अख्तियार की, जिन्होंने विभिन्न सेक्टरों में आज सबसे ज्यादा पैसा, जो पहले था, उससे ज्यादा उन्होंने दिया। (समय की घंटी)

मुझे ताज्जुब होता है, मुझे समय नहीं है, आपने घंटी लगा दी, नहीं तो मैं सारे बजट के आंकड़े पढ़ कर सुनाता कि आज हर क्षेत्र में ज्यादा पैसा रखा गया है और ज्यादा पैसा रखने के बाद आज मैं आपसे कहना चाहता

[ श्री नरसिंह नारायण पाण्डेय ]

हूँ कि आज स्थिति यह है कि हमारे देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को आर्थिक प्रगति को, आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण को एक नया रास्ता मिला है। इस बजट के बाद मैं ऐसा सपना हूँ कि इस बजट को पेश करके माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने आज सारे देश के ऊपर बड़ा उपकार किया है। देश के सामने बजट के पहले क्या स्थिति पैदा की गई थी, टैक्सेशन का बजट आ रहा है और आज जब टैक्सेशन का बजट आया, श्रीमन्, जब आम कनज्यूमर के ऊपर इसका कोई असर नहीं पड़ा, तो अब पोस्टर लगाए जा रहे हैं।

आज भी दिल्ली की सड़कों पर एक पार्टी पोस्टर लगा रही है कि इनफ्लेशन बढ़ेगा। यह एक धोखाधड़ी है। अब धोखाधड़ी में क्या रह गया है? जनता ने आपको 33 महीने में, कनज्यूमर ने आपको अच्छी तरह समझ लिया है, अब आपको क्या समझेंगे। मैं आज भी सदन में कहता हूँ कि यह बजट इनफ्लेशन को कण्ट्रोल करेगा, उत्पादन बढ़ायेगा और औद्योगिक परिस्थिति को पैदा करेगा और इस बजट से आम आदमी खुशहाल होगा, मलक को सहायता मिलेगी और आज इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर ऐसा पैदा होगा जिससे कि सब तरफ प्रगति होगी।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Mr. Piloo Mody. You have 20 minutes, Mr. Mody.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Gujarat): I will decide how much time I will take.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I am afraid, this is not possible. You will not decide so long as I preside over here.

SHRI PILOO MODY: In that case, I will sit down. You can go on speaking.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I do not know whether you are aware of the fact that the party time is decided by the party leaders. It is on the basis of party allocation that you have been given 20 minutes. This is what the office has given and I am going to follow what has been given.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Follow it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): If you do not want to speak, it is all right. In that case, I will call upon the next speaker.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am afraid, there is some misunderstanding.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): There is no misunderstanding.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, you can insist that the party should not exceed the total time allotted to it. Let Mr. Piloo Mody take whatever share of that time he likes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): The time allotted for general discussion on the Budget is twelve hours, out of which, 51 minutes have been given to the Janata Party. Of this 24 minutes have been allotted for today. Am I right? (Interruptions) There are three speakers from your party who have given their names. It is for the party to decide. Hence, if Mr. Piloo Mody takes more time, to that extent, the other speakers will get less. Mr. Piloo Mody, you can start.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Kindly apologise.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): For what?

SHRI PILOO MODY: For having given a wrong decision.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I think, the allocation of time per speaker has been done in consultation with the Chief Whips.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Which is why I am correcting you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): This has been done in consultation with the Chief Whips. If, in your party, you have become the supreme who decides, irrespective of what has been agreed upon, then, it is for you to say so. If that is, so, I have nothing to say.

SHRI PILOO MODY: This is what I asked you to do.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): I would say again. There is no question about it. After all, there is a system in this House.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Within the system, I am pointing it out to you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): When three names are given from one party and 51 minutes are allotted, in consultation with the Chief Whip, the Chief Whip says that the first speaker should be given 20 minutes, the second speaker should be given 15 minutes and so on. To enable you to formulate your speech within this time, I said, you have 20 minutes. If you want to exceed this, within the time allotted to your party, you are at liberty to do so.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Kindly note the time when I am starting. And I will hold you to that time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Yes, yes, I will give you one or two minutes more if you like.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Thank you very much.

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, once again they have presented to the country a budget. And each year the budget seems to get more and more puerile, the exercise seems to get more and more puerile, the contents of the budget seem to be more and more puerile and each year the country has only apologies to produce for the people of this country, and no economic growth.

The last speaker was doing his duty. His duty was so painful that hardly had he completed his speech, he had to run away so that he is not there to listen to any rebuttal whatsoever of the utter non sense that he spoke about the budget giving economic direction to the country. (*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI SITA RAM KESRI): I hope Mr. Mody will not also go away after giving his speech.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): I think Mr. Mody did not remain there last year...

SHRI PILOO MODY: For this I had the courtesy to write to him ahead of time and apologise because I had to go. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): No interruptions please. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: What do you think I was speaking on?

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE (Maharashtra): You were passing remarks...

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): You were going to speak on cosmetics. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI NARSINGH NARAIN PANDEY: I am very much here.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Thank you, I now see you.

The previous speaker obviously had to go somewhere. He has said so many things that he did not believe in, for example, that this budget has given economic direction. What is the direction, I would like to know. He also said that the Janata Government exhausted the foreign exchange of the country. This is not a matter of speculation, wishful thinking or propaganda. Mrs. Indira Gandhi left this country's Prime Ministership in

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March 1977 and she left behind a foreign exchange reserve of about Rs. 2800 crores.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI (Uttar Pradesh): 2400 crores.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Shut up. It is Rs. 2800 crores. When she again took over in January 1980, she had more than Rs. 5000 crores worth of foreign exchange reserves. What is he talking about, or what are you talking about, that we depleted the foreign exchange reserves of this country?

Then he said that today queues have disappeared. I think his memory must be very short. It was the Janata Government which eliminated the queues in all commodities, in all the essential commodities. And today you have them back again. Once again there are long queues, queues in which you can spend the whole day gossiping with the people around you and at the end coming home with an empty bag. The other thing that he said is that it was the Janata Party which brought about inflation. I cannot understand the sort of level of illiteracy that exists over here. There have been only two years in the history of Independent India when prices were controlled, (Interruptions) when prices went up by only two per cent. (Interruptions). It was only in two years in the history of India, and those years were 1977 to 1979. (Interruptions), years of Janata Rule.

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE:

As the ladies, ask the women how the prices were controlled by your Government.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Anyway, I am very thankful to the Finance Minister in the sense that it now appears, after having heard me last year, that a certain element of realism is dawning on him—that you cannot produce growth in this country through excessive taxation. So, he does not tax directly. While the gestation period in his mind is going on and his development is taking

place as a Finance Minister—I am sorry he is not here to hear my comments personally—he has realised that he has to control inflation. Unfortunately, he does not know how. He is trying his best, for which I give him every credit, but he does not know how to control it. And the other thing he must realise is that taxation will not give the desired results, either in terms of resources, or in terms of controlling inflation. He has produced a budget which has neither.

Without knowing it or without wanting to admit it before the Finance Minister comes and presents his budget, the Railways have increased their fares by Rs. 360 crores, the drug and medicine industry by Rs. 300 crores, steel has increased by Rs. 400 crores, coal has increased by Rs. 150 crores and oil by Rs. 1200 crores. This is the extent of cost-push already introduced into the budget before the Finance Minister delivered the budget speech. Now you have, something like Rs. 2000 crores in price rises, already projected for the next year and you have in addition to that, added about Rs. 306 crores in taxes and postal rates which have been introduced into this budget very very surreptitiously, of which Rs. 275 crores are taxes—I am giving these in round figures—and Rs. 31 crores in postal charges. In addition to that, there is a deficit which has been left uncovered in this budget of something like Rs. 1535 crores, if I remember correctly. And this includes, Sir, credit for Rs. 800 crores that he has taken for, what is known, as 'BB'—that is, the Black Bond, or the Bearer Bond.

In the civilised parts of the world Mrs. Saroj Khaparde, 'BB' stands for Brandy and Benedictine. It is only over here that it means 'Plack Bonds'. What are these 'Black Bonds'? People have so little faith in your 'Black bonds' that so far there has only been a subscription of Rs. 35 to 45 crores. And the Finance Minister expects that by the end of this month, Rs. 200 crores will be subscribed—I do not

know by what miraculous means. And in the next year, he has taken credit for another Rs. 800 crores with which he is going to fill in the deficit that he has created as a result of his budget expenditures. Sir, I do not know how he is going to do this. But it is quite evident that it is not going to happen.

Sir, I would like to tell the Finance Minister that these days a degree of sophistication and technology has developed in the handling of black money and the issue of these 'black bonds' is the crudest of all methods in which to handle black money. That is why you find that nobody is subscribing to it, or falling a bait to this remarkable 'Black Bond' issue that has struck somebody's genius in the Government—I do not know who?

There is another thing. This lack of subscription to the 'Black Bonds' is a clear indication of the fact how much the people of this country trust your Government. They have no faith in your Government and that is why they are not prepared to buy those bonds. All that the Finance Minister can do is to hold out the threat, "Well, if I do not get it this way, I will have to bring in additional taxation". He is welcome to bring in additional taxation. Instead of prices going up by 20 per cent, next year they will go up by another 20 per cent, or upto 40 per cent. Who cares about inflation? Because nobody has understood the fundamental fact of inflation that it is a tax. Inflation is not merely a price rise; it is a tax. The most nefarious, ugly and the meanest of all taxes is inflation. And while inflation may affect a rich man only to the extent of 80 per cent as against to the poor man who is affected to the extent of 120 per cent of the inflated amount. I want you to understand that the incidence of inflation on the poor man is considerably larger than almost 50 per cent more than the incidence of taxation on better off or well-to-do persons. And what has been the inflation last year? The Finance Minister promised us last year that there would

be no inflation, that is was strictly under control. I told him then, as I am telling him now, that he was going to see 15 per cent at least, if not 20 per cent. Sir, 15 per cent is what they have already admitted to. By the 31st of March, inflation over the last year will have reached 20 per cent at least. And then he says, I have increased the Plan expenditure by 20 per cent. Well, if you have increased Plan expenditure by 20 per cent and if there is a 20 per cent inflation, well you please tell me where the growth is going to come from?

The fact of the matter is that after, a hell of a lot of tom-tomming and a hell of a lot of tom fooling, they produced a magnificent Sixth Five-Year Plan which does not vary as much as one percentage point either on the expenditures under various heads or the programmes that the Janata Government had framed and the programmes that this Government has framed. There is no variation at all. You just took 18 months to do that, and 12 months to condemn the Janata Party and fool the people. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI DINESH SINGH** (Uttar Pradesh): What is ..(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI PILOO MODY**: Where is the question of complaints? I am talking about growth, not complaints. In any case, you should have no complaint because both the Plans were made by your party.

**SHRI DINESH SINGH**: You are complaining. I am not complaining. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH** (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Piloo Mody should be the Finance Minister. (*Interruptions*)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Order, please.

**SHRI PILOO MODY**: Last year I told you there was a Rs. 5,000

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crore cost push in-built into the budget which would push prices up. Did you realise that Mr. Venkataraman has the rare distinction of being the only Finance Minister during whose tenure increases in the price index have automatically increased the D.A. three times, and is poised for another increase? This has cost you Rs. 600 crores more in this budget.

Where is this money going to come from except the printing presses at Nasik and elsewhere, and how do you bring out money which has neither goods nor gold to back it up? This creates, what is known as, hyper-sensitive inflation, and when you have this, as I told you, it is the cruellest blow that you can administer to the common man of this country. But nobody cares about this.

Nobody cares if the poor man is taxed in this fashion. And then a great show is being made that they have given relief to the middle classes. What relief have you given to the middle classes? You have given yourself some relief, I accept. I congratulate the Finance Minister wholeheartedly that he has exempted 14 lakhs of tax-payers who pay Rs. 2, Rs. 4, Rs. 10 and Rs. 20 worth of taxes from having to pay taxes because your expenditure on collecting those taxes used to be in hundreds of rupees per individual and, therefore, you have exempted 14 lakhs to save yourself this work. Whether you save yourself a commensurate amount of money or not I am not prepared to bet at all because, although you have now reduced the burden of your tax-gathering machinery by 14 lakhs of assesseees out of hardly 40 lakhs, that is a hell of a large percentage. Thirty five per cent of the tax assesseees you have been exempted. Show me a commensurate saving in your tax-collecting expenditure and I will say this Government means something, has some sense. But, Sir, on the contrary past experience shows that there will be an increase in the

tax-gathering mechanism over this year.

Then there is, of course, the question of cost push. This nobody bothers about, in this Government or, for that matter, any Government. Nobody bothers to calculate what a cost push is.

Inflation is not the result of one policy, two policies, three policies, four policies or five policies. It is a combination of policies which creates a cost push. When prices go up, when there is deficit financing, when there is greater taxation, when there is making of illegal money, when there is smuggling, all these factors contribute to a cost push. And the cost push in this Budget is going to be of the order of Rs. 6000 crores; considering that there will be another 20 per cent inflation, it may go up to Rs. 7000 crores.

I do not know what you are going to do; I do not know what the poor people of this country are going to do. You have come to the absolute brink of your economic system. Why this Budget is completely colourless is because as I said, the Finance Minister has run out of surprises. He keeps on scratching his head, but nothing comes out. And, therefore, having heard a little bit of what I said last year, he has done this. I wish he had read my speech before framing the Budget, because it would have helped him considerably in not making the same mistakes over and over again. What he has done is that he has received some sort of signal, but it is not enough. The relief which he promised to the middle class taxpayer is nominal; it will be more than swallowed by the inflation—more than swallowed. If he had not given this relief and if only he had made a substantial effort to control prices, he would have achieved a magnificent result.

What you need, Mr. Finance Minister, what this country needs, Mr. Finance Minister, what this nation needs, my dear colleagues of the Con-

gress (I) Party, is a zero deficit budget for several years to make up for the extravagance and folly of 33 years of meaningless spending.

Do you realise how much subsidy is going into your Budget? You are subsidising each and every section of the society for no reason. You are subsidising industrialists, you are subsidising producers, you are subsidising food and fertilizers. The tragedy about subsidising fertilizers is that the benefit does not go to the farmers; nor does it go to the producers; it falls somewhere in-between. And these in-between agencies are proliferating at a speed and rate which is unbelievable.

The greatest subsidy is to the Food Corporation of India. Do you realize how much subsidy the Food Corporation of India consumes? And you think that the benefit of the subsidy goes to the common man. Please see that it goes to the common man. But it is not within your competence and capabilities to see that it goes to the common man. The subsidy goes only in proliferating the bureaucracy and to the great expenses that these large corporations incur on themselves.

I will give you a very good example; and it is not an Indian example that I am going to give you because if I give you an Indian example you will say *Yeh paksha pashan ki bat hai*. I will give you the example from the United States of America, a capitalist society. In the United States of America, between the years 1966 and 1976, which is a ten-year period, they spent \$ 109 billion additional—I use the word 'additional'—on social security, medical care, uplift of the poor etc. \$109 billion additional. And there were in the United States 25 million identifiable poor. And when they say 25 million, it is not like the statistics in this country which can be cooked up in the Secretariat. There were 25 million identifiable poor there. And if they had taken the money directly from the Treasury and put it straight into the

pockets of the poor, each one would have collected \$ 8,000 per year for ten years. Given a minimum family of four, it would have meant a family income of \$ 32,000 per year which is certainly the income of an upper middle class family even in the United States. Instead there are still 25 million identifiable poor in the United States, the reason being that the money allotted for these purposes is like the subsidies that you give to the Food Corporation of India. It is invariably swallowed by the middle classes by the supervisors, the field workers, for offices, for air-conditioning, TA, DA, PA and other things—every thing except by those for whom the relief is genuinely meant.

And, therefore, you have to come to some very serious conclusions without trying to blame anybody. You must come to some very serious conclusions—that the agencies that you employ for the eradication of poverty, unemployment etc. etc. are not capable of delivering the goods. Therefore, you must find other ways of aiding the poor, of eradicating poverty, of finding employment, of controlling inflation. You cannot do these through the methods which you have been pursuing over the last 30 years. It is this realisation that has to dawn on you. But what are the chances of you people ever understanding these things?

**SHRI PRAKASH MEHROTRA:** When you are coming to power.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Pray for the day my dear fellow. If you are an Indian you will pray for that day. If you are not an Indian, by all means make fun and laugh.

A small diversion. Sir, we had a very sad incident. Mrs. Gandhi is very fond of saying that India's reputation abroad during the non-Indira rule had deteriorated rapidly and that after she came back its reputation had gone up tremendously. It so happened that the World Bank recently cancelled a loan given to us. And the World Bank cancelled that loan on two regular factors. A few months ago the World Bank announced to the

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whole world that India had slipped from the position of a Third World country to that of a Fourth World country. We enjoy this rare distinction with 15 African countries. Let us not take the opinion of the World Bank because after all it is a CIA sponsored organisation. The Planning Commission which, you know, is a preserve of the Nehru family, not yours or even Dr. Zakaria's. It has an organisation which was Nehru's great pet, known as the National Statistical Organisation. Within two hours it come out with a white paper. Have you read it, Mr. Finance Minister? It narrated 30 years of Indian planning. In that paper they demonstrated chapter and verse how the 30 years of Indian planning had damaged the Indian economy. As per today in a list of 120 countries...

**SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI:** That must be a CIA work perhaps.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** May be there are CIA men in our Planning Commission also. But in a list of 120 developing countries, our development effort and results gave us the rank of 91. The other reason is that you switched consultants for wrong reasons. Are you proud of this.

Sir? It is a fabulously rich country this India, a country endowed with all the talent, expertise, knowledge, know-how, resources that you can possibly imagine in terms of men, money and materials, but all we can produce through the agencies of our Government, has given us the 91st rank out of 120 developing countries in the world. We should hang our heads down in shame. I am not bantering with you about which party did well on such fanciful dreams such as my friend Mr. Pandey was dreaming over there. There is not even one vital sector of our economy which can produce results. We can only talk about them in our speeches. On the ground there is nothing. Look at the miserable condition of your power. Look at the miserable condi-

tion of your power-houses. In spite of every conceivable thing, depending, hanging, hinging on that, you are absolutely impotent. You cannot improve it by even 2 percentage points. The production of power or the production of coal or the production of oil or the production of fertilizers or the production of cement in this country. इन्होंने कहा कि

सीमेंट मिल रहा है । It is not

enough क्या सीमेंट आसमान से आ जायगा ।

Look at the state of your communications. I do not know about you, Mr. Minister, but you cannot use the telephone in this country any more; it is no longer an instrument of reliable communication. Your postal services are no longer a reliable instrument of communication. Your telegraph system has gone out. If you send a telegram, it sometimes takes longer than a letter to reach its destination. What sort of a country do you want to turn India into?

You must buckle down and have an effective campaign in at least one or two sectors. But there is no concentration at all—only pompous idiocies which are mouthed day in and day out by politicians over here.

You just heard my friend over here telling you about the agricultural allocation. Sir, the Janata Party had taken the allocation to agriculture to as high as 42 per cent. Do you know what the allocation this year is? It is 13 per cent against the comparable figure of 28 per cent during the Janata rule. And this 13 per cent, after you have calculated the inflation of 2½ years, really means that, as compared to the 28 per cent that the Janata Party allotted for agricultural purposes, you have allotted something less than 10 per cent. And you call yourselves friends of the farmer. I made a mistake. In the allocation for agriculture, you probably included the expenditure of the "Kisan Rally" also, because it is only by including it that you can make a credible showing on the allocation for agriculture.

Then, let us talk about subsidies, for the Food Corporation of India, fertilizers and even exports. Export-



ters in this country are also subsidised and God knows how many other people. Do you realise that out of your total expenditure, which is now getting larger and larger, you have no development funds left? Each year you are investing less in your Five Year Plans. I said this to you last time, that your investment had fallen. Why, even Mr. Charan Singh invested more during his stand by Government or whatever it was. He invested more than you have. And this year you have invested less than you had last year. And then, Sir, they say "We have made a big plan which is going to change the future of the country". I do not see how.

And then what do they go and tax finally? Charitable Trusts! This is the only "bichara bakra" that the Finance Minister could find to tax, and that also at a penalising rate of 3 per cent. It is because he has run out of charity in his own heart that he wants all charitable activities by all people in this country to cease. He has taxed charitable trusts. Do you realise what good work these trusts are doing? May be there are always a few black sheep in every category. But these are educational trusts, scientific trusts, research trusts, medical trusts. Were these trusts the only thing you could find to tax? Sir, I sometimes wonder whether it is human ingenuity that is ruling over us or it is some sort of human refuge.

Now about employment. Do you realise how much damage you have done to rural employment in this country?

SHRIMATI SAROJ KHAPARDE: Really?

SHRI PILOO MODY: You will learn some day. I do not know when. Your time is getting short. Every year you are getting older by one year, and with the amount of mischief you make over here, in your case it may be a year and a half every year. Whereas the Janata Party in its budget had provided something like Rs. 340 crores for rural employment, this year you have provided only Rs. 180 crores—and that also of the depreciated

rupee. (Interruption) You get the same papers that I get.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Mr. Mody, read the second line.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am sorry if I have made a mistake; I would be very happy to withdraw it.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: You are mistaken.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am glad that the Minister personally assures me that he is going to spend next year more than Rs. 180 crores on rural employment.

Then he has claimed credit for having put three million people above the poverty-line. I assure you that as a result of your Budget and your economic policies in the next twelve months, instead of three million people coming out of the poverty line, ten million people will go under the poverty line. You write it down, please. You don't have to rebut it. We will discuss it next year this time. And don't keep changing the definition of the poverty line. You can lift it, you can put down, like the high jumper scales, they keep on reducing the poverty line so that less people are presumed to be under it. Why is all this happening? (Interruptions)

अब मुनिये केसरी जी, हमने आपको कुछ सुनने को मिलेगा, कुछ समझने को मिलेगा।

Now about resources. Everything revolves round the fact that you want to spend more than you earn, and that the people sitting behind want you to spend more than you can earn. You have to find a way of earning more. To this you don't apply your mind at all, because you are all parasites on society. There is not one amongst you who is what I would call a producer. The world is divided amongst two species of human beings. One who produces more than one consumes, and the other who consume more than he produces. Obviously there are more people here who consume more than they produce, and obviously they represent the majority. They are all parasites on society, who consume more than they produce, and therefore, they do not

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know how to earn except that somebody had told them, may be, that you can earn more if you tax more. So they go on taxing, taxing, taxing till they have exhausted the instrument of taxation. It is no longer a means by which you can produce resources.

Then we are told that if people start saving, you can utilise or misutilise those savings, keep pumping it into Government expenditure which you have been doing irresponsibly for several decades. You find that even savings are beginning to sink. You can give an impetus to savings; you can improve the quality of savings.

You have, for instance, bank deposits. There is no reason why bank deposits should not be treated on a par with your investment in things like Unit Trust, which enjoy a certain degree of exemption. People have confidence in the banks even though you have nationalised them. You will find that you really have greater opportunities. But what are you really doing? You ask the banks to collect more investments and then you take them away from the bank. This is going against the basic concept which is going to produce resources in this country. I want you to understand that the disease of this country is that we have constantly taken the rupee away from the productive hand and put it in the hands of the less productive. This is the basic point that you have to tackle. You have to see that every rupee produced in this country is entrusted to the most efficient hand that can spend it wisely; otherwise, you get results like this.

There is a Government magazine, a Government-sponsored magazine called YOJANA. YOJANA says, "The public sector enterprises cover a wide range of manufacturing and production activities with a total investment of about Rs. 17000 crores." Rupees seventeen thousand crores—all of which surreptitiously taxed. All this saved money of the people of this country over thirty years has been ploughed in this fashion in the public sector. It also says, "The

sales of the public sector undertakings in 1978-79 were to the tune of Rs. 12,137 crores." Rs. 17000 crores of investment producing Rs. 12000 crores of goods: Is it conceivable anywhere in the world that when you invest a thousand rupees, you get out of it only Rs. 700 or Rs. 800, by way of production, not profit? As far as profit is concerned, there is none. There has been a loss of Rs. 270 crores. And this is because they have some prime monopoly items. That is why they make any profits at all. Using cost plus, value plus, inefficiency plus techniques, you produce for Rs. 100/- add another Rs. 20/- and sell it for Rs. 120-. The Indian consumer has no choice. He has to buy or do without it. He has to pay it or do without it. This is the way you are making money. The public sector continues to make losses. But there are 83 units which are good units. There are 83 public sector enterprises which are providing all manner of housing and other facilities to their employees. These are very good. They spent over Rs. 500 crores on these facilities. During 1978-79 these 83 units produced almost Rs. 500 crores of profit. So, there is good and there is bad. You have got to attack the bad and you have got to encourage the good. You cannot use the same brush to tar these things with. If there are public sector undertakings which are making profit, by all means let them invest more. But do not pour money down the drain on the bad, there are also mammoth steel plants which cannot produce any steel and which cannot produce any profit. How can they? They have a management structure which is so over-loaded. There is a private sector steel plant which happens to be run by my brother. And so it makes it a little difficult for me to talk about it. It is an absolutely old plant—seventy years old. It has been modernising now and then. Still it produces steel comparable to that of any public sector plant. It produced two years ago 105 per cent and last year 95 per cent of its rated capacity. We have beautiful steel plants. There are in India steel plants which are better than plants

anywhere else in the world. Bokaro, Durgapur and Rourkela are very sophisticated steel plants. But look at their production and profit. All these are given in this book. Mr. Finance Minister, please read them. As far as profit is concerned, they cannot produce profit; they cannot produce steel. How can they? My brother is a very ordinary manager in the context of managers. There are far superior managers in the public sector plants. But they do not have the authority my brother has. Sitting over my brother are J.R.D. Tata and Nani Palkhiwala who may disagree with him only at their own risk and cost, whereas the poor manager in the public sector steel plant has his own Board with whom he has to reckon and then there is a Board of Sale and on top of it sitting are 32 Under Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries over the Managing Director, who has to wait for 3 hours, 4 hours and 5 hours outside sitting very often along with their Chaprassis in order to see them. Then, over the Deputy Secretaries there are six Joint Secretaries, two Additional Secretaries and one full Secretary and on top there is the Minister of State and on top of him there is the Cabinet Minister and on top of everything there is the Prime Minister herself. What chance does this poor fellow have to manage anything at all? (*Interruptions*). Every time the Prime Minister's name is mentioned, one of these women must get up and say something. It has something to do with Chemistry, I do not know what.... (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBULLAH: It is because of the conspiracy by the private sector. That is what the Janata Party insisted on...

SHRI PILOO MODY: Madam, Please.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Why not ask Mr. Kedar Pande to create more second class Cabinet berths so that all this trouble will be over.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): We are after you... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: We will welcome you with open arms... (*Interruptions*). Do you mean this old man or this young man?... (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I was speaking about the public sector in the context of resources because it is resources that you need. Then you are left to foreign aid, multinationals and instruments like that for augmenting your own miserable resources which you do not know how to collect, even it exists in India. If it does not exist in India, it exists among Indians abroad. And they are willing to bring it back to this country. But you cannot create conditions for that. You are small-hearted and petty-minded people. You do not want the enormous wealth that Indians have built for themselves abroad, even though they are itching and dying to bring it here. It is because the moment it arrives here, you want to grab it and eat it up. Well, if you want to grab it and eat it up, it is not going to come back. But these people went abroad to make money precisely for this reason. They went abroad and made money and they wanted to bring it back and utilise it for the good of the country. But your genius does not permit it. Devising ways and means of doing it, genius does not permit. Devising ways and means of doing it.

But the most nefarious of all expenditures, apart from what is spent on the lady Members of Parliament, (*Interruptions*)... the most nefarious of all expenditures, is the wasteful administrative expenditure that takes place in this country. You know, we import machinery at random. There are crates of machinery lying all over the country which have not even been opened, some for some months, some for ten months, some for years, some for ten years, some for fifteen and twenty years. But they are in a fine condition, brand new, but not opened at all. Some damned tool imported it and then he has forgotten about it because the Government has changed its policy.

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Sir, there is tremendous scope for saving in administrative expenditure. I told the Finance Minister recently: "Why don't you find a voluntary retirement scheme for Government servants? If a Government servant, who is forty years or forty-five years or fifty years old and if he is given four or five lakhs of rupees by way of retirement benefits which he would have in any case earned and, in fact which you would have paid him had he continued, he may have a chance of making a new and better life for himself and stop all recruitment at the other end?". You have to cut down somewhere this enormous burden that you are carrying—the Governmental expenditure, non-performing, non-functioning, non-Plan, non-productive, expenditure. The largest scope is available there.

Then, there is one more field where resources are concealed. Do you realise that there is capacity for production worth five thousand crores which is not being utilised, but which is lying idle? There is that much of already built-in capacity for an additional production of five thousand crores or so. If you can only do that, if you can only get that going, all your deficit and all your tomfoolery in this Budget would have been washed away and you would have had a stable economy with no inflation, if you just improve your production, by utilising that unutilised productive capacity in the country.

But who is going to do it? This debate will continue and will be over and then they will pat themselves on their backs saying that they have won the debate and nobody will care for any of these things. And thus it will go on—tomorrow's political equations being talked about tomorrow. Why don't you put penalties on people who do not produce, whether it is the public sector or the private sector? Penalise them, tax them.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Should we tax you then?

SHRI PILOO MODY: You can, and you have done it from the beginning and still they have not been able to tax you. And it has nothing to do with the colour of your jacket.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: He has produced the kisan rally.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Then we should tax him. It is Rs. 100 crores and 67 per cent of that, how much? It is Rs. 67 crores.

Therefore, Sir, what you need basically are short-term goals such as I have indicated—get that much production going within the country and all your sins will be forgiven—and then pursue long-term goals such as entrusting the rupee from the inefficient to the efficient in all sectors. Whoever has the authority to spend, he must be the most efficient. It must be the most efficient possible pair of hands that must spend it. This is the only cardinal principle with which you can run the economy.

We want an honest rupee, we want an efficient rupee and we want a productive rupee. These are the two postulates around which the planning should take place and these are the two postulates around which the Budget should be framed and these are the two postulates which you should think about when you go home and sleep.

Sir, I would also particularly urge the female Members to 'sleep' happily over these sound principles. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRIMATI HAMIDA HABIBU  
LAH: I wish you had been the Finance Minister during the Janata period. Anyway, you missed the bus.

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बजट सरकार द्वारा प्रस्तुत किया गया है, मैं उसका स्वागत करने के लिए और समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

बजट प्रस्तुत होने के बाद हिन्दुस्तान के करीब-करीब सभी राजनीतिक दलों ने और इस देश की जनता ने इस बजट का समर्थन किया और देश के अंदर मुझे आश्चर्य है कि यहां तक कि इस बजट का समर्थन मानोपली प्रेस ने भी किया, जूट प्रेस ने भी किया, लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य है कि मानोपली हाऊसेज के प्रतिनिधि मोदी जी इस बजट से प्रसन्न नहीं हैं।

मुझे आश्चर्य है कि जिन लोगों ने इस देश को विलकुल अंधरे के काले दरिया में डुबो दिया, जिन्होंने इस मुल्क की अर्थ-व्यवस्था की रीढ़ तोड़ दी, जिन्होंने इस मुल्क की राजनीतिक स्थिरता को खत्म कर दिया, जिन लोगों ने इस मुल्क की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को चकनाचूर कर दिया, ऐसे लोग इस बजट का विरोध करते हैं जिस बजट का समर्थन सारे देश के अन्दर किया गया है। सवाल इस बात का है कि परिस्थितियों के अनकूल, एक सन्दर्भ में कोई बजट कैसा है ?

श्रीमन् तीन वर्ष के जनता पार्टी के कुशासन में हिन्दुस्तान का जी० एन० पी० ग्रॉथ रेट 7 प्रतिशत से घटकर साढ़े तीन प्रतिशत हो गया। तीन वर्ष के जनता कुशासन में मुल्क की पोलिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी पूर्णरूपेण खतरे में पड़ गई।

**श्री पी. नू. मोदी :** तीस साल में क्या था।

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** तीन वर्ष के जनता कुशासन में इस मुल्क का कोई भी प्लेन नहीं हुआ। इनके दिमाग में एक रोलिंग प्लेन थी और वह रोलिंग प्लेन भी यह देश को तीन वर्ष में नहीं दे सके।

दुनिया में हमारी इमेज गिरी, राष्ट्र चरमरा उठा और पूरे देश ने एक नारा दिया कि—मक्कारों के पाप की गठरी ढोने का यह वक्त नहीं, इन्दिरा लाओ, देश बचाओ, सोने का यह वक्त नहीं—और इन जैसे मक्कारों के हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की हुकूमत तीन वर्ष के बाद पुनः कांग्रेस के हाथ में आई।

श्रीमन्, किसी मुल्क के विकास के लिए पहली जरूरी शर्त है ... (व्यवधान)

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (डा० रफीक जकरीया) :** वे मिनिस्टर नहीं थे उस वक्त ...

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** नहीं वे हैं कठपूजी घादी अर्थव्यवस्था के समर्थक, वे हैं स्वतंत्र पार्टी के नेता, वे हैं समाजवाद के शत्रु, वे हैं दुनिया के इजारेदारों—वे हैं दुनिया के पूँजी-पतियों के समर्थक, सारी जिन्दगी में ऐसे लोगों ने कोई काम नहीं किया है। यह कौनसी बात करेंगे। यह कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान ने क्या किया—मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में दो अर्थ-व्यवस्थायें हैं, सारी दुनिया को लूट करके अमरीकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ है, यूरोप ने पूँजीवादी अर्थ-व्यवस्था का निर्माण सारी दुनिया को लूट करके किया है और एक कम्युनिस्ट अर्थ-व्यवस्था है जिसमें लौह-तानाशाही के अन्तर्गत 63-65 वर्षों से कम्युनिस्ट अर्थ-व्यवस्था का निर्माण हुआ है ... (व्यवधान)

हमने हिन्दुस्तान में पुनः डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट वोटों के माध्यम से ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री रीजू मोदी :** तुम भी एजेंट बन गये।

**कल्पनाथ राय :** ... हमने डिवलपमेंट की बात सोची है। मैं मोदी साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ मुझे एशिदा का या अफ्रीका का एक राष्ट्र बताएं जिसने डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिस्ट एक्सपेरिमेंटेशन के माध्यम से इतनी ज्यादा प्रगति की हो।

[ श्री कल्पनाथ राय ]

आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया की छठवीं एग्रोकल्चर पावर है ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI PILOO MODY: Even Ceylon is going better than you are.

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया में आठवीं इंडस्ट्रियल पावर है ... आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का तीसरा टेक्निकल नोहाऊ पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का छठवां एटमिक पावर है, आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया के मेजर वर्ल्ड पावर के रूप में एशिया अफ्रीका के रंगमंग पर उभर कर आया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप के सामने इस बजट के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ।

3 वर्ष के हानिडे के बाद, 3 वर्ष के जनता पार्टी के कुशासन के बाद हमने अपनी अगली पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में। हिन्दुस्तान में सबसे कम समय में छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना मसविदा तैयार हुआ जिसमें 97500 करोड़ रु० का लक्ष्य रखा गया है। सबसे कम समय में हमने अपनी प्रायोरिटीज को तय किया। हमने यह बजट अपनी छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के मसविदे की लाइट में बनाया है और हमने उस छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में प्राथमिकताएं तय की हैं। हमने प्राथमिकता तय किया है कि कृषि का विकास करेंगे; हमने प्राथमिकता तय किया है कि साइन्स एण्ड टेक्नालाजी को आगे बढ़ाएंगे, हमने प्राथमिकता तय किया है कि हम अपने देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा करेंगे, हमने प्राथमिकता दी है उर्जा शक्ति के उत्पादन को। अपनी छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से जो प्राथमिकताएं तय की हैं उसी के कांटेक्स्ट में अपने इस बजट का भी तय किया है, और उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बजट का पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर स्वागत किया गया है। यह 'टाइम्स आफ इंडिया' ने कहावेलकम बजट; यह 'स्टेट्समैन' कहता है— वेलकम बजट ...

श्री रीतू मोदी : पूंजीपतियों के पेपर हैं।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : आप तो माने हुए पूंजीपतियों के एजेण्ट हैं। आप तो फ्री इंटरप्राइज के समर्थक हैं। आप तो स्वतंत्र पार्टी वाली विचारधारा को मानने वाले हैं। इस लिए मैं आप से कोन सी बात करूं ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना की प्राथमिकता को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हमने इस बजट को बनाया है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमने इस बजट को अपने चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र को मद्देनजर रखते हुए बनाया है। हमने अपने इलेक्शन मैनिफेस्टो में कहा है :

"Congress reiterates its faith in, and determination to achieve the objective of a socialist society adopted under Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership and enshrined in the Constitution of India under Smt. Indira Gandhi's leadership. Congress will rectify the distortion introduced by the Janata Party Government in the concept of planning and once again utilise the planning process to reorganise the national economy so as to establish a harmonious balance between various sectors and to ensure full utilisation of human and material resources so as to enable involvement of the largest number of our people in economic activity free from exploitation."

Congress will resuscitate the economy and put it back on the road to recovery and self-sustained growth. The emphasis on technological development which suffered a set-back during the Janata Party regime will receive renewed attention and support.

Congress will make a two-pronged attack in respect of demand supply, in order to contain the two digit inflation unleashed by the Janata Party Government. Conspicuous consumption will be

controlled by appropriate fiscal measures and monetary management. A coordinated and effective programme will be drawn to boost the sagging levels of production by improving the investment climate and providing timely and adequate supplies of essential inputs. Full utilisation of licenced capacity in all sectors will be ensured by insistence on drastic efficiency measures. Determined efforts will be made to remove transport bottlenecks, to improve the operating efficiency of power plants and to deal deterrently with smuggling, hoarding and other economic offences. Recourse will be made on a cautious and selective basis to utilise our foreign exchange reserves for vital imports calculated to increase local production capacity and enhance export potential in the long run."

हमने अपने 1980 के चुनाव घोषणापत्र में जनता को वचन दिया था कि हम प्लांड इकानामी के माध्यम से मुल्क की समस्याओं का हल ढूँढेंगे। हमने जनता को नारा दिया था—कन्ट्रीज़ इंटीग्रिटी इज़ इन डेंजर, इसलिए देश को बचाओ और इन्दिरा गांधी को लाओ। उस चुनाव घोषणापत्र के माध्यम से मैं चाहता हूँ, उसको पूंजीपतियों के एजेण्ट यहां बैठ कर सुने, हमारी बातों को सुनें, ताकि उनके काले कारनामों का हम भंडाफोड़ कर लें। कौन हैं जिन्होंने बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण का विरोध किया था? पीलू मोदी ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिन्होंने राजा महाराजाओं के प्रिवी-पर्स की समाप्ति का विरोध किया। ये ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो प्लांड इकानामी के शत्रु हैं, ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जो समाजवाद के शत्रु हैं ऐसे व्यक्ति हैं जिन की हिन्दुस्तान के विकास में रुचि नहीं है ऐसे व्यक्ति को हमारे बजट की आलोचना करने का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। कौन नहीं जानता है कि बैंकों के राष्ट्रीयकरण के माध्यम से हम ने हिन्दुस्तान को दुनिया की एक एग्रीकल्चरल पावर के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है। हम ने बैंकों की पूंजी को भारत के कृषि विकास में खर्च किया है। हमने हिन्दुस्तान के राजा-महाराजाओं के प्रिवी-पर्स की समाप्ति करके समतामूलक

समाज की स्थापना का वचन दिया है। डेमोक्रेटिक सोशलिज्म के माध्यम से हम ने देश की समस्याओं का हल ढूँढा है। हम जनता को पोलिटिकल पावर में भी शेयर देंगे और इकोनोमिक पावर में भी शेयर देंगे। यह दुनिया की एक नयी फिलोसोफी है जिस को हमारे देश की आजादी की लड़ाई के सेनानियों ने स्वीकार किया था। हमने माना था कि पूंजीवादी और साम्यवाद की गुदगुदी गोदी से हट कर हम तीसरी दुनिया का निर्माण साम्यवाद से भी अलग होंगे और डेमोक्रेसी के माध्यम से वेलफेयर सोसायटी की स्थापना करेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान ही एशिया का पहला देश है जिसने 32 साल तक लगातार पोलिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी और डेमोक्रेटिक तरीके से विकास को ढूँढा है। हम इन्हीं रास्तों पर चल कर भारत का विकास करना चाहते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, किसी देश का निर्माण सस्ते नारों से नहीं होता। किसी देश के निर्माण के लिए टैक्स भी लगाये जाते हैं जनता संकटों का भी सामना करती है और नये और शक्तिशाली देश को बनाने के लिए इस की जरूरत पड़ती है उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय हमारे देश की नेता...

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) :** संसद भवन में पानी खत्म हो गया। कहीं पानी नहीं है। देख लीजिये बजट का नतीजा (व्यवधान)

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** मैं अपने साथियों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि मुझे बोलने दीजिये ; अगर नहीं बोलने देंगे तो हम भी उन को नहीं बोलने देंगे।

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** पानी नहीं है .. (व्यवधान)

**श्री कल्पनाथ राय :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारे देश में मिडिल क्लास के लोगों ने इस बजट का स्वागत किया है। जहां 1000 करोड़ रुपया जनता

[ श्री कलनाथ राय ]

सरकार के जमाने में एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर में रखा गया था, वहाँ वर्तमान सरकार ने 1500 करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था की है। हिन्दुस्तान के कृषि विकास, ग्रामीण विकास के लिए सभी योजनाओं को समन्वित करके सोचना होगा। यह बात उनकी वि. कुल पलत है कि हमने कृषि विकास की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया है। हमारे देश की इकोनॉमी कृषि पर डिपेंड करती है। किसी मुल्क का बजट या इकोनॉमिक डेवलपमेंट उस मुल्क की पोलिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी पर काउन्ट करता है। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि पिछली जनता गवर्नमेंट की हुकूमत पोलिटिकल इनस्टेबिलिटी का दौर था। हिन्दुस्तान एक अंधेरे रास्ते गुजरा, हिन्दुस्तान एक रोशनी की दार से गुजरा। अब हम विकास की हरियाली घाटी की तरफ प्रवेश कर रहे हैं।

विरोधी दल के आदरणीय विद्वान सदस्य ने यह कहा कि इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ गया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वर्तमान बजट के माध्यम से मुद्रास्फीति घट गयी। क्योंकि देश में इतना जबरदस्त प्रोडक्शन होना आ रहा है, अनाज का 36 मिलियन टन उत्पादन होने आ रहा है। इस मुल्क में इन्फ्लेशन अमेरिका के स्तर से नहीं होगा। हिन्दुस्तान में इन्फ्लेशन निर्भर करता है अनाज के उत्पादन के ऊपर। अगर कृषि का उत्पादन बढ़ गया तो इन्फ्लेशन घटेगा। हमारे देश के अन्दर इतनी शानदार और जानदार कृषि की फलन होनी आ रही है कि पिछले 32 सालों में भी इतनी अच्छी कृषि की पैदावार कभी नहीं हुई होगी। इसी कृषि विकास को और अनाज के उत्पादन को मद्देनजर रखते हुए, अगले एग्रीकल्चरल एक्सपेंडिचर, एग्रीकल्चरल रेवेन्यू, मिनिस्टर एग्रीकल्चर और प्लानिंग कमिशन की रिपोर्ट को देखते हुए हम ने इस बजट को बनाया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन्फ्लेशन घटा है। हमने जनता

सरकार के गुनाहों की फातल काटी है। पिछले तीन वर्ष के अन्दर जो जनता सरकार ने इस मुल्क को लावा किया उन गुनाहों की फातल हमें पिछले साल भर काटनी पड़ी। लेकिन इन्फ्लेशन अब 22 परसेंट से घटकर 15 परसेंट पर आ गया है और मैं आत को कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह इन्फ्लेशन और घटेगा और हिन्दुस्तान समृद्धि और सुख की हरियाली घाटी में प्रवेश करेगा। क्योंकि सभी सेक्टरों में हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है। कोयला सेक्टर में हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, स्टील सेक्टर में हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ रहा है, पावर सेक्टर में हमारा उत्पादन बढ़ा है, एग्रीकल्चरल सेक्टर में हमारा उत्पादन बहुत ज्यादा होने वाला है। ऐसी हालत में हमारे देश में चतुर्दिक क्षेत्र में, अनाज के क्षेत्र में, इंडस्ट्रियल क्षेत्र में प्रोडक्शन बढ़ने आ रहा है और जितना ही ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन बढ़ेगा उतना ही हमारे मुल्क में इन्फ्लेशन कम होगा। इसलिये विरोधी दलों का यह कहना कि इन्फ्लेशन बढ़ेगा, सही नहीं है। हमारे इस बजट के माध्यम से हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने एक्सपोर्ट ओरियेंटेड जितनी भी चीजें हैं उनपर 100 परसेंट एक्साइस ड्यूटी माफ की है। जितना हम विदेश में एक्सपोर्ट करेंगे उस पर एक्साइस वी.कुल नहीं होगी इस तरह से देश के उन व्यक्तियों को जो एक्सपोर्ट करना चाहते हैं और जो स्माल स्कैल इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स हैं उन को राहत दी गयी है। इस बजट के माध्यम से स्माल स्कैल इंडस्ट्री चलाने वाले छोटे-छोटे उद्योगपतियों को दस लाख की जगह 20 लाख रुपया देकर उनको इंकरेजमेंट दिया गया है कि छोटे बजट के लोग आगे बढ़ें और देश का उत्पादन बढ़ाने में सहयोग प्रदान करें। इसके माध्यम से 15 लाख टैक्स एक्सेसिज को फ्री किया गया है। 15 लाख लोगों को टैक्स से राहत दी गयी है और दूसरी तरफ उनसे कहा है कि देश के उत्पादन बढ़ाने में यह हिस्सा बटायें और बचत कर के मुल्क के उत्पादन को बढ़ाने में हमारे सहयोगी बनें। इस तरह यह बजट हमारे मिडिल सेक्टर के लोगों को बढ़ाना देने वाला है और इस लिये सारे देश



में इसका स्वागत किया गया है। पिछले 4, 5 सालों में ऐसा अच्छा बजट हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में कभी प्रस्तुत नहीं किया गया। हमें तो अपने बजट को देश के अनुसार बनाना होगा, हमें अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र को, उसके उद्देश्यों को मद्देनजर रखना होगा, अपनी अर्थ व्यवस्था को भी मद्देनजर रखना होगा, देश की छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना को मद्देनजर रखना होगा। हमने प्लान्ड इकोनामी के माध्यम से देश के विकास का हल ढूँढा है। प्लान्ड इकोनामी के माध्यम से हम देश के विकास की बात सोचते हैं। इस लिये हमारी सरकार प्रथम, द्वितीय, तृतीय, चतुर्थ, पंचम और अब छठी योजना के रास्ते को अपना कर चल रही है और हम ने अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान को आज दुनिया का एक बड़ा मुल्क एग्रीकल्चर के मामले में और शक्ति के मामले में बनाया है। इंडस्ट्रियल क्षेत्र में हिन्दुस्तान आज दुनिया का एक शक्तिशाली देश बन गया है और उस रूप में वह उभर कर सामने आया है। आज हिन्दुस्तान टेक्नालाजिकल इकाई के रूप में काफी आगे है। साइंस की दुनिया में यह आगे है और हमारा देश आज दुनिया में छठा एटॉमिक पावर बन गया है। हमारा मुल्क आज संसार में छठा स्पेस पावर बन गया है और प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है कि साइंस और टेक्नालाजी के इस्तेमाल से हम भारत की गरीबी को दूर करेंगे। अभी हम ने इनर्जी कमीशन बनाया है। देश की प्रधान मंत्री ने साइंस और टेक्नालाजी को प्राथमिकता दी है और कहा है कि साइंस और टेक्नालाजी के माध्यम से भारत की सदियों से चली आ रही गरीबी को हम दूर करेंगे। जितना ही साइंस और टेक्नालाजी का विकास होगा उतना ही इंडस्ट्रियल और एग्रीकल्चरल क्षेत्र में हम देश का विकास कर पायेंगे।

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आखिरी बात कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करूँगा। हमारे देश में विकास हुआ है, तरक्की हुई है प्लान्ड इकोनामी के माध्यम से हमारा देश लगातार तरक्की कर रहा है लेकिन हमारी तरक्की के शिशु को जनसंख्या के राक्षस ने दबोच लिया है। हमारी तरक्की के उगते हुए सूरज को जनसंख्या के बादल ने ढँक लिया है। 22 करोड़ का अमरीका ढाई सौ वर्ष तक दुनिया को लूटने के बाद बना। 24 करोड़ का रूस 24 वर्ष की कम्युनिस्ट तानाशाही में बना। हिन्दुस्तान से अमरीका का क्षेत्रफल 4 गुना बड़ा है। रूस का क्षेत्रफल हमारे देश से सात गुना बड़ा है। सदियों की गुलामी के बाद भारत आजाद हुआ। 1947 से 1980 के बीच में 30 करोड़ जनसंख्या हमारी बढ़ी है। हमने रूस और अमरीका के डेढ़ को अपने अन्दर जोड़ लिया है। तो इस बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के राक्षस ने हमारे मुल्क की तरक्की को, इस के शिशु को दबोच लिया है और सब से बड़ा सवाल जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण कैसे स्थापित किया जाये। हमारे देश की नेता ने, प्रधान मंत्री जी ने जनसंख्या को युद्ध स्तर पर रोकने की दिशा में एक कदम उठाया था। तो इस देश के विरोधी दलों ने जनघाती और राष्ट्रघाती विरोधी दलों ने उस जनसंख्या वृद्धि रोकने को मजाक की चीज बनाया।

सारी जनता को भड़काकर 1977 में नसबन्दी और नजरबन्दी के झूठे नारे लगाकर सत्ता में आये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस देश के नेताओं और जिस देश की राजनीतिक पार्टियों का एक ही उद्देश्य हो केवल राजनीतिक सत्ता को प्राप्त करना, जिस देश में राजनीतिक पार्टियों के सामने

[ श्री कल्पनाथ राय ]

राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न मुख्य न हों, जिस देश के विरोधी दलों के सामने राष्ट्रीय समस्याएँ मुख्य न हों वह देश विकास नहीं कर सकता। आज जो जरूरत है, उसको देखते हुए इसीलिए देश की नेता ने अब की बार सत्ता में आने के बाद कहा कि हमें भूल जाना चाहिए उन तीन वर्षों को जिन लोगों ने हमको सताया या हमको यातनायें दीं या हम पर मुकदमें चलाये। हमें भूल जाना चाहिए हमारे शत्रु वे नहीं हैं जिन्होंने हमको तीन वर्षों तक सताया बल्कि हमारा और देश का शत्रु है गरीबी और उस गरीबी को हटाने के लिए हम सब को, विरोधी दलों को मिल-जुलकर राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर गरीबी को हटाना चाहिए और भारत को आधुनिक विकसित, समाजवादी, शक्तिशाली देश बनाना चाहिए। मगर उस महान नेता के आह्वान को इस देश के विरोधी दलों के लोग नहीं सुनाना चाहते हैं। वे पुनः टकराव की राजनीति करने पर तुले हुए हैं। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि टकराव की राजनीति आपने की थी, चरित्र हत्या की राजनीति आपने की थी। आपने सारे मान मूल्यों को नष्ट किया था। मैं आपसे हाथ जोड़कर विनती करता हूँ, सारे विरोधी दलों से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह शत्रु इंदिरा गांधी को न मानें, भारत की गरीबी को शत्रु मानें और भारत की गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण पाने के लिए आधुनिक विकसित शक्तिशाली हिन्दुस्तान बनाने के लिए राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य के आधार पर राष्ट्रीय समस्याओं के हल ढूँढ़ें। तभी हम छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लक्ष्य को पूरा कर भारत को शक्तिशाली देश बना सकेंगे।

धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (IRAFI ZAKARIA): Dr. Bhai Mahavir. According to your party's Chief Whip you have been given 20 minutes.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I understand it. I hope what was decided in the case of Mr. Pilloo Mody, applies to me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFI ZAKARIA): Mr. Pilloo Mody's party has 51 minutes; he has taken 40 minutes. So, 11 minutes only remain. He was told that there were two more speakers from his party. Now they will not get it. In your case also....

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: If I take a couple of minutes more....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFI ZAKARIA): I don't mind five minutes more. Shri Jaswant Singh also has to speak. This is in order that you do not eat into your own party's other speakers' time. And the time is allotted by the Chief Whip notified by the presiding officer.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, it is very interesting to hear some of the arguments which are being advanced from the Government side in defence of the Budget. It is more interesting than normally because I find a very curious similarity between what was said at corresponding time last year and what is being said at this time this year. I remember, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister replying to the debate last year said: "Budget proposals would not add to the inflationary spiral; on the other hand they would be able to control it." And he followed it up with a personal commitment saying: "I have taken a risk. If I fail I go. I have no qualms about it."

Sir, after this was said the country is aware that prices have risen by 18.4 per cent..... (Interruptions). May I request that there may be some silence on the Treasury Benches. The Parliamentary Affairs

Minister talks so much about the decorum and I think he should apply the same a little to himself also.

SHRI SITA RAM KESRI: I am not talking. I was only saying about the speeches.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: What he is talking about is not relevant. Why should he disturb?

SHRI SITA RAM KESRI: I have not disturbed Sir.... (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Kesriji, order please.

मैंने समझाया था, पीलू मोदी साहब से साफ कह दिया था, फिर भी उन्होंने नहीं माना ।... (व्यवधान)

डा० भाई महावीर : आप हर बार डिस्टर्ब करते हैं और हर वक्त यही कहते हैं ।

श्री सीताराम केसरी : मैं क्षमा प्रार्थी हूँ ।... (व्यवधान)

डा० भाई महावीर : क्या आप चुप नहीं रह सकते हैं ?... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): He has apologised. Now, you can proceed.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR: He is not apologising.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): He says.

DR BHAI MAHAVIR: He is insisting....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): He has said it.

श्री सीताराम केसरी : अगर मेरी वजह से कण्ट हुआ है तो दुबारा कहता हूँ, क्षमाप्रार्थी हूँ ।

श्री संयुक्त सिन्धु रजि (उत्तर प्रदेश) : समय ले गये मोदी साहब और गुस्सा कर रहे हैं इन पर ।

डा० भाई महावीर : देख लें मेरा जो समय लिया गया है ।

श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) : लाठी कहीं और सांप कहीं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA): Please do not disturb the speakers. I think everybody has his own point of view and we should listen to what is being said. (Interruptions) Mr. Bhai Mahavir, you can proceed now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir after this commitment by the Finance Minister, prices have risen by 18.4 per cent. My friends on the other side can certainly be naive enough to keep on repeating that prices have not risen and inflation has not taken place. But Sir, unfortunately, the facts are independent of any high-sounding jugglery or any great oratory. Sir, the hon. Finance Minister has been a very astute judge of human psychology and, therefore, this Budget, as the last year's Budget, had has one quality and that is, it is couched in a very clever form and an effort has been made to keep the very vocal sections of the society a little satisfied. On this particular occasion, Sir, the benefits given in the form of Income tax exemption to the middle classes have been made much of. To the extent these concessions have been given, I would like to compliment the hon. Minister. But only on the ground that it could have been worse. He could have denied it and even then, he could have come forward with a Budget. But Sir, the fact remains that these concessions have been given because the Income-tax rates have reached the point of diminishing returns. Not only that, What has been done is only to com-

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pensate in part the tax-payer for the fall in the value of money. Sir, Rs. 10,000 was the limit which was fixed in 1977. Today Rs. 14,500 would be the equivalent of this Rs. 10,000.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Bishambhar Nath Pande) in the Chair]

Similarly, the allowance in respect of standard deduction was Rs. 3,500. Now, this has been raised to Rs. 5,000. If you take into account the purchasing power of the rupee in 1974 and its value now, its equivalent would be Rs. 5,140. That is, the tax-payers have only the satisfaction that they have been partly compensated for the loss in the value of money. But Sir, the Finance Minister has been clever and very astute in another way also.

At no time in the earlier surveys, a point to point index was taken for the assessment of the rise in prices. This time, this has been done merely because it gives a slightly lower record in the matter of rise in prices which has taken place. Why this statistical trickery was necessary, I do not know. He could very well have come and said 'Well, this is what we have been able to achieve'. In any case, the approach which has been adopted now is different from the approach which was adopted by Shri Charan Singh. When he was the Finance Minister, he came forward with a tax on petroleum products to the extent of Rs. 200 odd crores. But Mr. Venkataraman advised the Petroleum Ministry to increase the prices just before the Budget. As a result of this approach, coal prices have been raised, Steel prices have been raised, the prices of petroleum products have been raised. Even drug prices have been raised. On the top of this, a deficit has been kept. If the total burden is taken into account, we find that Rs. 4,500 crores is the value of the load which has been passed on to the ordinary tax-payers. Then, Sir, there is the

hope that there will be Rs. 1000 crores coming from black money bonds. The public sector is hoped to contribute Rs. 2,300 crores. Sir, it would be really a miracle if the public sector can contribute Rs. 2,300 crores! And it would be a very welcome miracle. But Sir, when the public sector had caused—all told—a loss of something like Rs. 1100 odd crores last year, it would be rather naïve to expect that we will be having a net positive accumulation of resources to the extent of Rs. 2,300 crores from the public sector. We wish the hon. Finance Minister Godspeed in this. I am afraid that however, shortfall in this sector will only mean more of deficit and, therefore an even greater burden on the taxpayer. Sir, the reason for this is the inefficient functioning and the unproductive working of the public sector undertakings. It is no use treating it just as a sacred cow and asserting that not a word of criticism should be said against it. After all, the resources put into it are the commitment of the nation and if it does not give a return for the huge amounts of capital investment made, it is the tax-payer, the citizen, who suffers for it. We do not know if the hon. Minister has got some Alladin's lamp in his pocket with which he will be able to turn this sector in a rapidly revenue yielding one. If that is so, we would certainly be happy, but what are the realities we find here? Here is a report by the Statesman correspondent on the power plants, the most crucial public sector undertakings. It says that there are plants in this country which exist only on paper. Of the total of 29000 megawatts installed power capacity 4000 megawatts exist virtually on paper and no in actual fact. Not only this he says the single greatest factor of instability in the thermal generation seems to be the plants installed in the last three years whose PLF declined from 38 per cent in May 1980 to 29 per cent in June 1980. I would commend this for the consideration of my friend Shri Kalpnath Rai, over there because he talks so boastfully of what has been achieved under the

leadership of the Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi. He would do well to go into the question of why in one month the average plant load factor (PLF) fell from 38 per cent to 29 per cent in 1980. Such a sharp decline is there only because of two responsible factors, one: the poor equipment supplied by the BHEL and the ILK and the other: the operation and maintenance being of a poor order. Not only that we have here another very interesting report which I would like to quote with your permission Sir. It says I quote:

"It is common knowledge among the highest bureaucratic and political circles that the power industry is perhaps the single biggest source of patronage and fund collection. The system was perfected in the late sixties and early seventies in States which suddenly embarked on massive electrification plans though the necessary power was nowhere in sight. This meant granting contracts worth hundreds of crores of rupees and yielded large amounts of 'commissions' and 'kickback' funds allegedly used to fight elections and build up patronage. Electricity Boards became semi-political bodies with their technocrat members changing with every change of government. The practice is believed to be continuing and is playing havoc with the entire power system. It also leads to the production and purchase of sub-standard equipment."

This is an independent assessment of the things going on, I do not know how the Finance Minister will be able to get the maximum results from our plants, from the public sector undertakings, in this state of affairs.

Prices, as I said, have been sought to be reduced through window dressing. Such window dressing would not have been permitted to a private limited company, but the Government has indulged in a type of jugglery. Again the comparison that is usually given is for the year 1979-80. Sir, the

year 1979-80 was a year of drought. Instead of 1979-80, if 1978-80 is taken for bengi compared with the last year, what you would find is that agricultural production increased only by .05 per cent, industrial production by 2.5 per cent, GNP by 1.7 per cent and per capita GNP actually fell by 2.2 per cent during this year of 1980-81. What does all this show excepting that we are trying to cook up figures and draw conclusions which actually have no relevance to realities?

5 P.M.

Apart from this, the increased duty on customs, the duty on stainless steel which will lead to higher prices for stainless steel utensils, the likely increase in electricity rates by the State Electricity Boards, the increase in duty on textiles, and we are on the verge of increase in rates in Delhi itself by the Delhi Milk Scheme, the Delhi Transport Corporation—with all these increases, Sir, it would be very cheeky of anybody to claim that the current proposals will lead to 3 million people coming up from below the poverty line to become 'non-poor'. The fact of the matter is that many more are likely to be pushed under the poverty line what is important to consider is this. Is it not true that the income-tax-payers though a vocal section, they are only a limited section of society. What has the budget for the people of the poorer sections? They are interested more in the prices of essential goods which they need. They do not pay income-tax, they do not know what exemption limit is; they do not know what the higher rate of lower rate slabs mean. Among the unemployed we have 3 lakh scientists and technically qualified people who have not been cared for in the budget, for whom there is no worthwhile scheme for providing employment or generation of jobs.

So far as the poorest sections are concerned, from the records available

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I have the price indices of the things which are used by farmers and other poorer people. Comparing January '80 with February '81, for kerosene the price index rose from 272 to 293, for fertilisers from 168.4 to 259.5, for diesel from 191 to 339, petrol from 373 to 409. Sir, these are the index figures. We are talking so much about increase in agricultural production. My friend Shri Kalpnath Rai was very eloquent about agricultural improvements. During 1980 for wheat the index was 168.8 and now it is 200.5. In the case of sugar 192 has increased to 274; for rice 191 has increased to 207; for vanaspati 201 has increased to 2.22, and petroleum, crude and other products from 1828 to 2162. Sir, is this the way to provide relief to the poorer people. The tallman which Gandhiji advocated was, whenever you want to know whether you have succeeded or whether you have failed, look at how it has affected, or how it will affect the very poorest of the people. Now I would like the hon. Members on that side, or the hon. Finance Minister to apply this to the present picture.

Sir, after collecting all these people for the Kisan Rally and telling them that the Government had done something which had never been done for them, 25 per cent is said to be the allocation for agriculture. Actually, the Janata Plan had 40 per cent allocation for agriculture.

SHRI KALPNATH RAI: No.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, apart from that, this year's "Budget at a Glance"—I hope Shri Kalpnath Rai will not greet this also with "No"—for "Agriculture and allied services", during 1989-81, it was Rs. 949 crores. The revised budget for the last year was Rs. 972 crores, and now has been brought down to Rs. 871 crores. In this we have also to provide for a re-

duction of 18.4 per cent because of the fall in the value of the rupee. If this is the great improvement we are promising to the agriculturists and in allied services in the rural areas, it is for my friends there to justify it. Sir, there has been a reference to the total value of foreign exchange with us and other things, but I am not referring to them for want of time. I wish to refer only to the black money bonds. Is the Government really serious in trying to do something about the solution of the problem of black money or are they interested only in institutionalising the black money that is circulating in the country? The present effort seems to be to institutionalise it—keeping it alive, using it for the purpose of party work, institutionalising it and rewarding the people who are guilty of cheating the exchequer, the Government, cheating the tax-collecting machinery for their personal profit. Generation of new black money goes on at the same time. Sir I have got here a case which I would like to present through you for the consideration of the Minister. In Delhi, right under the nose of the Central Government, something like 35,000 to 45,000 tonnes of wheat are given to the mills at controlled rates, at the rate of Rs. 125 per quintal. Now, 40,000 tonnes means 40 lakhs of bags of wheat what are the rates? The rates, officially fixed, are for maida/suji Rs. 176 per bag, atta Rs. 121 per bag and chokar Rs. 75 per bag. But in actual practice, in the market, the wholesale rate of Rs. 200 per bag of atta, Rs. 275 per bag of maida/suji and Rs. 100 per bag of 'chokar.' Now, these are the wholesale rate. The retail rates are much higher. The ordinary consumer has to pay Rs. 2.25 per kilo of atta. For one thing, the way the ordinary consumer is being cheated is that 'resultant atta' is being sold as whole wheat atta and while actually it is not whole wheat atta at all. That is one thing. The other thing is that these mills, whereas they should have got Rs. 372 a quintal each for maida, atta and chokar put together—bags of all these three—they

are getting Rs. 575 which means a difference of Rs. 203. Let us take Rs. 200 as the difference. If we take two bags to be sufficient for making one bag each of these, there will be 10 lakhs of bags available of these things with the result that Rs. 400 crores of black money is passing into the hands of 11 flour mills in Delhi every month. One may say Rs. 400 crores is an exaggeration. So let us say it is Rs. 200 crores or even Rs. 100 crores. Even if it is Rs. 100 crores of illegal earning per month, that is a stupendous amount in one city. If that is going on how is it that it is not in anybody's knowledge?

\*During last month, on 28th of January, the Office of the Commissioner of Food and Supply, Delhi, issued a circular. I have got a copy here with me. Its reference number is F.4(2)/81-CFS (D)/220—Most Immediate/Out Today. It says, "Complaints of inadequate supply of the maida have been received from different bulk consumers like Britannia Industries and other consumers which in turn has created shortage of bread in this winter season." Therefore, they decided for the issue of permits and they give details how the permits will be issued, how to apply, where they will get it and so on. They mention immediate some temporary arrangements also. They have even given a proforma on which to apply. Just three days after that, on the 31st of January, without ascribing any reason there is a second "Most Immediate/Out Today" memo which says, "Attention of the F.S.O is invited to this office memo No. F.4(2)/CFS(D) 81/220 dated 28th January 1981 wherein the F.S.O. were required to issue permits to all the bulk consumers for their requirements of maida. It has now been decided that these instructions should not be implemented for the time being and status quo should be maintained." It means that the flour mills were to be permitted to continue fleecing the ordinary consumers and earning black money through this nefarious game. Why was this

withdrawn after three days? What had happened? It should have given some reasons. Are there no complaints now? Are people are getting satisfactory supplies of maida and everything else? There is no such explanation. When some of our lady workers gheraoed the Civil Supplies Commissioner, he said, "Wait till the kisan rally is over and then we will re-impose the permit system to regulate the supply." The kisan rally is over, but this loot is being continued. What has happened? What has been the consideration? There are rumours that two local MPs had received for personal use or personal benefit two Ambassador cars and a lot of money for the party funds for the kisan rally. It is for the Minister to justify whether there was any justification first for the issuance of this circular and then for its sudden withdrawal. If these things are done, there have certainly to have sufficient causes; otherwise, people will be entitled to draw their own conclusions with regard to black money.

Lastly, Sir, 90 million jobs are to be created in ten years if the country is to be saved from the biggest curse that we are suffering from—unemployment. But we do not have any worthwhile proposals to create jobs in this Budget. About the wasteful expenditure the Economic Survey talked about an "all out effort by eliminating wasteful expenditure both at the Plan and the non-Plan level of expenditure." But there is no word here as to what the Government is doing or intends to do. The Minister talked of an Import-Export Bank last year. Where is that proposal? Do we have eternity of time at our disposal? And do you think things will wait endlessly for taking a decision like this? Agricultural development has been given a step-motherly treatment. With all this, the Budget is poised to push the country into a new inflationary spiral.

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Sir, with these words, I hope that the hon. Minister will at least give a second thought to some of the proposals which he has made and openly accept that he does not intend or hope that prices will be kept in check. My good friend here has been saying that the inflationary spiral has stopped and that prices will not rise. But the fact of the matter is that inflation is going to keep up. This can be the biggest problem which the country will not be able to overcome through any such cosmetic type of Budget. My friend Mr. Kalpnath Rai said that the whole press has welcomed it; and he mentioned the Indian Express in that connection. He does not seem to have read the editorial in the Indian Express which termed it as "A deceptive Budget". Even the Hindustan Times described it as "A public relations Budget." With all this trickery and subterfuge aimed at deceiving the ordinary people, I do not think the interests of the economy are being served well. The Government owes it to the people to come with clearer and less clever measures to improve the growth of the economy.

Thank You.

**श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) :**  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बोलने के लिए समय देने के लिए धन्यवाद ।

जब जब इस सदन में बजट पेश होता है तब जनसाधारण में यह धारणा व्याप्त हो जाती है कि अब टैक्स लगने बढ़ेंगे या नये टैक्स लगाये जायेंगे । कर कानूनों को सरल रूप देना हमारे देश में अति आवश्यक है । कराधान को उत्पादन विरोधी नहीं होना चाहिए विशेषकर जब कि हमारे देश की मूलभूत समस्या उत्पादन की ही कमी है । दोषपूर्ण कराधान मूल्य स्थिरता पर भी विपरीत प्रभाव डालता है । बजट का घाटा पूरा करने के लिए बिना सोचे समझे बिना गम्भीर

विचार किये जल्दी में जो कर थोप दिये जाते हैं उन अल्पकालीन उपायों से आगे चलकर बड़ी परेशानियां पैदा होती हैं । हर्ष की बात है कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बार बजट बनाते समय इस बात का ध्यान रखा है और कहा है कि वे बजट के ढांचे को मौजूदा ढांचे से ही पूरा करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे ।

इसी तरह से बढ़ती हुई महंगाई से पीड़ित मध्यम वर्ग को इस बजट में अन्य उत्पादक वर्गों की भांति ही राहत और छूट का अधिकारी माना गया है । कर योग्य आय सीमा 15 हजार रुपये कर दी गयी है । इसमें अन्य विभिन्न मदों पर मिलने वाली छूट को शामिल कर लें तो 24 हजार रुपये सालाना वेतन पाने वाला वेतनभोगी आयकर से मुक्ति पा जायेगा । यह छूट गैर वेतन भोगियों को भी मिलेगी । इनमें डाक्टर, वकील, प्राध्यापक, वैज्ञानिक और छोटे व्यापारी आदि शामिल हैं । पिछले वर्षों में महंगाई के कारण दो ही वर्ग अधिक त्रस्त हुए हैं । एक निश्चित आय वाला वर्ग है और दूसरा है छोटे किसानों और भूमिहीन मजदूरों का वर्ग । इस बजट में जो राहत वेतनभोगी वर्ग को दी गई है वह तो प्रशंसनीय है ही, ग्रामीण समाज के कमजोर वर्ग को भी "राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण रोजगार कार्यक्रम" में पचास प्रतिशत केन्द्रीय सहायता घोषित की गई है जो लगभग एक अरब रुपये की है । इस कमजोर वर्ग में भूमिहीन मजदूर सीमांतक किसान, ग्रामीण दस्तकार अनुसूचित और आदिवासी जातियां हैं ।

कमजोर वर्गों के लिए ही (समानित ग्रामीण विकास कार्यक्रम) है, इसे 19.8 करोड़ रुपये मिलेंगे । मरू विकास और सूखा क्षेत्र कार्यक्रम भी इसमें चलेंगे



तथा राज्य सरकारें इन कार्यक्रमों पर बराबर की राशि खर्च करेंगी।

आशा की गई है कि "विकास समन्वित कार्यक्रम" से इस वर्ष 30 लाख परिवार गरीबी रेखा से उपर उठ जाएंगे। इसी प्रकार अनुसूचित जातियों की विशेष योजनाओं के लिए एक करोड़ रुपये से कुछ अधिक राशि रखी गई है।

बचत खातों पर अधिक व्याज की व्यवस्था 13 से 24 महीने की सावधि जमा राशि पर 7 की जगह 7.5 प्रतिशत; 25 से 36 महीने पर 7 की जगह 8.5 और तीन वर्ष से ऊपर की अवधि पर 8.5 की जगह 10 प्रतिशत व्याज दिया जाएगा। स्पष्ट है कि इससे मध्यम वर्ग बचत के लिए प्रोत्साहित होगा।

देश की औद्योगिक उन्नति के लिए सरकार सचेत है। विशेष कर पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में उद्योगों को अनेक प्रकार की राहतें पहले से ही प्राप्त हैं। इस बजट में सभी वर्गों की कंपनियों के आयकर पर लगने वाले अधिभार में पांच प्रतिशत की कमी की गई है। अब वह केवल 2.5 की दर से लगेगा। इस से छूट कंपनियों को विकास के लिए निजी साधन अधिक प्राप्त हो सकेंगे।

बिजली, पंखा, प्रेशर कुकर, रंग पेंट, बार्निश, चीनी मिट्टी, कृत्रिम डिटर-जेंट, थर्मस आदि 14 उद्योगों को कर निवेश संबंधी रियायतें दी गई हैं। यह प्रावधान भी मध्यम वर्ग को ही राहत पहुंचाएगा।

मुक्त व्यापार क्षेत्र स्थापित इकाइयों को पांच वर्ष तक कर नहीं देना होगा। पुस्तक प्रकाशन पर लाभ का पांचवां भाग पांच वर्ष तक कर मुक्त रहेगा।

शारीरिक या मानसिक रूप से बीमार आश्रितों की चिकित्सा पर वर्ष में 4,800 रुपये तक कर में छूट मिलेगी।

अंधों के लिए ब्रेल कागज पर उत्पादन शुल्क नहीं। ब्रेल घड़ियों और श्रवण सहायक यंत्रों के निजी आयात पर सीमा शुल्क नहीं।

इलेक्ट्रानिक उद्योगों में काम आने वाले कच्चे माल और पूंजीगत साज सामानों के आयात पर सीमा शुल्क में कमी की गई है।

बजट के घाटे को पूरा करने के लिए न्यू स्पेशल बेयरर बाण्ड का एक बड़ा आश्रय लिया गया है। यह काले धन को बाहर खींचने का रास्ता है। काले धन ने देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को किस प्रकार चोट पहुंचाई है, यह किसी से छिपा नहीं है। काला धन रखने वाले यह आशा करते हैं कि जब यह धन बाहर आवे तो उन पर कोई खतरनाक कार्यवाही न हो। न तो वे कानून के अंतर्गत दण्डित हों और न कोई टैक्स उन्हें देना पड़े। आयकर अधिकारी पुराने खाते खोलने और पुरानी जांच-पड़ताल करने के लिए उन्हें मजबूर न करें।

उन्हें इस विषय में जब तक पूर्ण रूपेण आश्वस्त नहीं किया जायेगा तब तक उनका पूरा धन बाहर नहीं आयेगा। उन्हें केवल इस विषय में आश्वस्त ही नहीं वरन् प्रोत्साहित किया जाना चाहिये कि वे अपना काला धन देश में उद्योगों की स्थापना में लगायें आवास व्यवस्था में उनका धन लगाने की योजना उन्हें देना चाहिये। वे मकान बनाने में धन

[श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी]

का उपयोग करें। इस धन की जांच-पड़ताल नहीं की जायेगी, ऐसा उन्हें विश्वास होने पर ही यह धन बाहर जायेगा। हम जिस परिमाण में इस धन को निकालने की आशा करते हैं उसके लिए बड़ी सतर्कतापूर्वक प्रयत्न की आवश्यकता है।

बान्ड्स पर व्याज भी बहुत कम है। व्याज बढ़ाने से इसकी ओर खरीदार का आकर्षण बढ़ सकता है। वाणिज्य बैंकों से इन बान्डों की जमानत देकर ऋण लेने का जो प्रावधान है उसे और सरल किया जाना आवश्यक है, जिससे उन्हें आवश्यकता के समय नकद रुपये मिल जाने का विश्वास हो जाये।

बिना हिसाब वाला धन जब देश की आवश्यकता पूर्ति में काम आयेगा तब इसका असर मुद्रा स्फीति पर भी पड़ेगा जिससे बढ़ी हुई कीमतों से आवश्यक वस्तुओं को कुछ मुक्ति मिलेगी। मेरा स्पष्ट मत है कि काले धन का उपयोग बेलास प्रसाधनों से हटा कर उत्पादक कार्यों में लगाने हेतु सभी प्रभावी कदम उठाये जाने चाहिये ताकि रोजगार बढ़े और राजस्व में भी वृद्धि हो। साथ ही विषय में और काले धन का सृजन न हो सके। हमारी नीतियां बड़ी अच्छी होती हैं परन्तु उनका कार्यान्वयन भी सी भावना से होना चाहिए।

मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देती कि उन्होंने इस समस्या को ठीक पहचाना है और इसके मूल कारणों को दूर करने की कोशिश की है।

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, apart from the jargons of figures, let us coolly analyse the direction this budget has taken. Sir, the real malady in today's economy is the sickness of infrastructure. Unless the sickness of infrastructure is attended to, no amount of budgetary machinations can do any help, can do any good. Now, Sir, see the infrastructure position. The infrastructure position is like a complete circle. But the first starting point is the transport. As you may kindly see, if there is no transport, coal cannot go to the power stations. If coal cannot go to the power stations, there cannot be any power. If there is no power, industry cannot run. If there is no power coal cannot be there. If there is no coal even transport cannot move. The starting point of this circle is transport. Sir, which is the important mode of transport in this country? The railways. Now, let us see the Economic Survey which has been presented this year. That Economic Survey clearly says that the reason for the shortage of wagons and other things, the reason for this transport bottleneck and shortage is the lack of proper investment for the last one decade. If that is the reason, then what credit can the ruling party take? In the last one decade, the period of Opposition rule was only three years. Your own document is saying that due to lack of investment in railways, this difficulty regarding infrastructure has arisen. Now, let us see what the investment this year is. This year also there is no proper investment for meeting the shortage of wagons or for repairing the tracks or for the other necessary things. Therefore, you have not gone into the real disease. You are only trying to do some patch-work and you are trying to get laurels by giving certain-tax concessions. You cannot always do only clever things. That does not help to solve the country's problems. It is a very serious matter. Every time you are taking populist measures. Populist measures are important, but they are important in a given set of circumstances. When the health of the economy is in such a bad condition, now

can you have populist measures to cure the disease?

Then comes power. Where is the investment on power? I do not want to quote figures because figures can be produced on both sides. But what is undisputed is that the figures which are available today also say that the investment on power has been inadequate for the last three Plans.

Investment in power is not adequate. What is the investment in this Budget? The investment in this Budget also is less than what it was before. You have no provision for power improvement, you have no provision for improvement of transport. How then do you want to solve the problem? By this gimmick? There is some method in madness also. What is this method? First try to aggravate a situation. When you have aggravated the situation, then there will be mass discontent. When there is mass discontent. Then you will come out with repression. When there is repression, you will say there is a law and order problem; therefore, we want more power. More power means to have an authoritarian regime. This is a clear direction. In that what have you added? Sixteen per cent levy on newsprint. Why this levy? There is so much on official censoring of newspapers. Still they are not satisfied. Sixteen per cent levy; You take any public opinion on this one issue. They will say medium and small newspapers will stop. Big papers are in their control, in their pocket. It is the district level and medium and small newspapers which voice local opinion, that will be stifled. So this is a Budget which will only increase the already high inflation. People's misery will only increase by this method of 16 per cent levy on newspapers. It means you are gagging the people's voice. On the one hand there is misery, on the other hand you are gagging the people's voice. These are the ways of bringing about totalitarian regime.

They are saying about kisan rally. All right. Immediately thereafter you levy on import of fertilizer. That has not been exempted. Fertilizer will cost more...

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Subsidy has been given.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA: Subsidy is not going to help by a single naya paisa. You have already announced and you are again going to announce increase in prices of fertilizer. Therefore, by imposing a levy or increasing the price of fertilizer, you are cutting at the very root of agricultural development. Anyway, I am not going to deal with investment in agriculture and other things, because whatever investment you make in agriculture, it will not be able to have any impact unless the other infrastructure of agriculture is properly developed. Without the proper infrastructure even if you can manage to get a few thousand tonnes more of production, that is not going to help. You have to improve your production techniques. If at all there is an increase in production now, I attribute it to the good monsoon, I attribute it to the nature's kindness. Today the per capita consumption has gone down. You are increasing wheat. For whom? The per capita consumption of standard cloth has gone down. You are doing it, for whom? Therefore, this Budget has not taken into consideration the fate of the common people; the common people will be the worst sufferers and they continue to suffer because of inflation, because of other things. What I was going to point out was this. Many speakers have thrown light on many other aspects. The whole thing is this. What have you done to strike at the very root of the disease? You should have improved the infrastructure. You should have forgotten everything else. If only you had given sufficient thought and sufficient attention to the development of infrastructure, you would have done something for restoration of the health of Indian economy.

[Shri G. C. Bhattacharya]

Sir, now about the public sector. I was sorry to hear Mr. Piloo Mody attacking our public sector. Of course, I expected him to do that. I wish he was here. Today 99 per cent of corporate sector finances come from public financial institutions. And what is the state of affairs in the corporate sector today? Most of the sick industries are from the corporate sector. The corporate sector has not been able to fulfil any target in the last five Five Year Plans. They have just gambled with public funds. Whichever line offered some profit, they chose it. And they have been operating without any restriction. This Government has come out with an Industrial Policy Resolution in June 1980. What is the Resolution. Whatever restriction was there on them previously has been given a go by. They are allowed automatic expansion. They can regularise illegal capacity. They are allowed 100 per cent export. What is this Industrial Policy Resolution? You are taking so much credit for starting the Sixth Plan. Which target of the Plan can you achieve with this industrial policy? These are factors which control industrial production. You have diluted FERA and you have diluted MRTP Act. With this sort of attitude, whom are you trying to bluff? This Plan will remain on paper. It is like the Munimji keeping his accounts with pluses and minuses. The Government is not at all serious to deal with the basic problems of the economy. You are promising remunerative prices for the producers and you are promising cheap goods for the consumers. The irony of fate is that this Government is responsible for cultivating the middlemen's culture. I ask our Minister of Supplies, Mr. Shukla, how many middlemen are there between the producer and consumer. They themselves admit that the ratio is 1:4. I say it is 1:6. If this middlemen culture is not given a go-by, how can you improve your public distribution system? What have you done in this field? You are talking of public distribution system. You have

been doing it for the last so many years. You allow the producers to raise prices and consumers have to pay four times the price the producer is getting. Therefore, looking from any angle, nobody who knows A, B, C, D, of economics will say that this budget will meet the requirements of the people.

Sir, I cannot resist the temptation of mentioning something about the Special Bearer Bonds, the black Bonds. This is a thing which will ruin whatever is left out.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: It is the Special Bearer Bonds.

SHRI G. C. BHATTACHARYA. Kalp Nathji, you think for yourself and think of the consequences. You might have seen that even some of the important economists, some of the important industrialists and some of the important commentators have also come out with their opinions against this. At least you should respect them—I do not know whether you respect anybody at all—and you should have some consideration for the views of these persons. More can be said for hours together about the disastrous consequences of these Bonds and this also has got some implications regarding the security of the country. (*Time Bell rings*). Therefore, at least I hope that you will not do something which will endanger the security of the country, what to talk of ameliorating the lot of the poor people. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget presented by our Finance Minister. Our Finance Minister has done a wonderful job. Contrary to the expectation of a number of persons in India that he was going to impose heavy taxes, he has taxed only a little. This is a boon to the common man in India. But the Indian people are aware of the pre-Budget rise in the prices of petrol and petroleum products, coal, steel, etc. and also of the rise in the railway fares and freight

charges. These affect them very heavily. But one has to think as to how he is going to fill the budgetary gap of Rs. 1,533 crores. No Finance Minister of India has, in recent years, presented such a heavy-deficit Budget. This shows his boldness. Then, Sir, recently, the Railway Minister has also burdened the common man and our Finance Minister has also now imposed taxes to the tune of Rs. 271 crores. This will be welcomed by the middle-class people because he has raised the exemption limit of taxable income in the case of Income-Tax from Rs. 12,000/- to Rs. 15,000/- and, in one go, the Finance Minister has removed from the Income-Tax net about 14 lakhs of people. But, Sir, despite these concessions, it is doubtful if the economic position of the middle-class people will not deteriorate in view of the very heavy rate of the current inflation with no possibility of any abatement in the foreseeable future. Sir, in India, the problem is not only the problem of the salaried people, but it is also the problem of the unsalaried businessmen who avoid taxes on a large scale. Now, by removing from the Income-Tax net, the Minister has given immunity to lakhs of traders, who make profits, to make profits and not to disclose them. Besides the middle class, two other groups are there who are going to benefit by this Budget and they are the companies and the big landlords. The surcharge payable by the companies has been reduced from 7.5 to 2.5 per cent. This is understandable. But he has also given certain concessions to industries which would be established in the Free Trade Zones. The raising of the limit, in the case of the small-scale industries, to Rs. 20 lakhs for tax purposes, is another line of concession given to the small-scale industries. On top of it all, incentives have been given, new incentives have been given, for savings and investment, which are a welcome feature and these will help in starting new industries. But, Sir, as far as the small farmers are concerned, the Finance Minister has totally forgotten about them. Most of the kisans are suffering because of loans and debts due to the Government as

also to the private persons. But they are not getting any remunerative prices for their commodities. In every State, Sir, now the kisans are waging a war against the Government. What is the present Government going to do for them? Even though they have organised a kisan rally in Delhi, it is not known what they are going to do for them.

Sir, in this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of this House that in Tamil Nadu, the Chief Minister, *Puratchi Thalaivar* MGR gave concessions to the farmers to the tune of Rs. 80 crores.

While we approached the Central Government for help to extend help to the farmers of Tamil Nadu, the Central Government flatly refused to help the Government of Tamil Nadu. The Government should come forward to wipe off all the debts of the farmers. The Government should increase the procurement price of paddy immediately.

The increase in the rate of interest would surely generate higher flow of savings towards productive interest. The reduction in surcharge on corporate taxes, allowing 40 per cent participation to promoters of new industries, tax holiday for exporting units and benefits to small units, electronic industries, will go a long way in reviving industry and creating new jobs. Higher investments industry and development at which the budget aims also mean higher production and more jobs. And it is only by stepping up production and putting more goods in the market that over-abundant money can be mopped up and inflationary price rise contained. Besides, more jobs means more purchasing power for family groups. The Government should have taken much care to reduce subsidies to some of the sectors, to curtail non-developmental and wasteful expenditure by Government agencies and tax surplus income of the rich farmers.

[Shri U. R. Krishnan]

The decision to reorganise L.I.C. into five independent units is a welcome feature. One corporation had grown into a huge white elephant, roaming about the country and widely consuming enormous resources which would have gone in part at least for reduction of premium rates. The defence expenditure does go up to Rs. 4200 crores from Rs. 3800 crores, which is inescapable with cold war going on nearabout our borders.

Only Rs. 10 crores is allotted for the Salem steel plant. It is a very meagre amount. Sir, there is a persistent demand that Salem Re-rolling plant should be made a full-fledged steel plant. I request the Minister to take necessary steps to fulfil the desire of the people of Tamil Nadu.

Power crisis is one of the major factors which affects our industrial development. More investment should be made in this sphere, and Ocean thermal energy should be developed. More thermal power plants should be set up, and National Power Grid should be set up. The clearance for Shannmugha Nadi Hydro-electric Project in Tamil Nadu should be given immediately. Rivers should be nationalised and the Government should come forward to persuade the Kerala Government to give more water to the Government of Tamil Nadu. The Government should also play an effective role in settling Cauvery water disputes among different States, and see that Tamil Nadu's legitimate rights are protected in this respect.

It is really distressing to see that our foreign exchange reserve is reducing. we must try to export as far as possible. Our handloom garments once were commanding a good market abroad. Now we have lost its market. We should find a good market for it.

The proposed increase of exemption in estate duty up to Rs. 1,50,000 is

good. But the exemption limit should be increased to Rs. 2,50,000.

Regarding employment opportunities to educated masses of our country, who are looking forward to a bright future, nothing was mentioned. According to official estimates, 90 million jobs are required to be created within the next ten years, an average of 9 millions a year. Only about 4 million jobs were created in the Fifth Five Year Plan, and the budget is silent how the target is going to be achieved.

Sir, recently the Consultative Committee attached to the Law Ministry has recommended for abolition of court fees, since the income derived from it is very low. Justice should reach the poor freely, and I also support the abolition of court fee.

I would like to urge the Government to set up a Supreme Court Bench in the South. Litigants from the South are finding it very difficult to come to the Supreme Court, since it is in Delhi. In this connection I would like to mention one thing. Recently the Chief Justice of Madras High Court was transferred, and the Chief Justice of Patna High Court was posted at Madras. The Chief Justice of Madras High Court took objection to it and he has gone on leave, seeking voluntary retirement. Why should this happen? A Chief Justice of High Court should know the language of the place, its customs and practices. I would urge upon the Government to reconsider the issue and appoint a Chief Justice to Madras High Court who knows Tamil. Tamil Nadu Government has also asked for increasing the number of Judges in the Madras High Court and I request the Government to concede this demand.

Sir, during the past one month, in Tamil Nadu, the D.M.K. is creating a law and order problem regarding some allotment of rectified spirit to Kerala. As soon as it was brought to the notice of the Tamil Nadu Government, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister immediately appointed Justice P. S.

Kailasam, a former Supreme Court Judge, to probe into the matter under the Commission of Enquiry Act. There are some allegations that Justice Kailasam is a family friend of M.G.R., the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of the House that Justice J. S. Kailasam was recommended by Mr. Karunanidhi for the Supreme Court. I would like to inform the House that as far as M.G.R. is concerned, his hand always used to be on the upper side and it would never be on the receiving end as that of Mr. Karunanidhi. I would like to ask my D.M.K. friends whether they have accepted the findings of Justice Sarkaria regarding the scandals of which Mr. Karunanidhi and others were charged and which were proved. Justice Sarkaria was a Supreme Court Judge when he gave the findings.

Regarding the 15 per cent levy of Customs Duty on imported Newsprint, it is unwarranted and it will affect the newspapers heavily and ultimately the newspapers will increase the price of the papers or they will increase the advertisement charges which will ultimately fall upon the common man. The Minister to reconsider it. Regarding the increase in local call rates and trunk call rates of Telecommunications, it will also affect the common man. I earnestly appeal to the Minister to withdraw this increase in the tariff.

While the Minister was dealing with income and expenditure he was expecting Rs. 600 crores through the Special Bearer Bonds during 1981-82. This is only his dream and it is not going to become a reality. So, there is every possibility of inflation rising further and the deficit going up more than expected.

Regarding the development of Hindi, Rs. 1.5 crores have been allotted in the Plan budget for 1981-82. I do not know why special attention should be shown to Hindi alone. This step-motherly attitude of the Government has to be condemned and every langu-

age should be treated equally. I request the Government to allot Rs. 3 crores for the development of Tamil. I would emphasise that any indirect attempt to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking States would be resisted forcefully.

With these words, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

**डा० हर प्रताप सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आका इस बात के लिये हृदय से आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे सन 1981-82 के बजट पर अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया है। मुझे इस बात का दुःख है कि इस सम्मानित सदन के विपक्षी दलों के नेतागण जब उन्हें हमारी लोकप्रिय सरकार पर कटाक्ष और प्रहार करना होता है तो वे सभी उपस्थित रहते हैं। मगर इस मर्यादा का पालन नहीं करते हैं कि जब सत्ताह्व दल की तरफ से भी उनके द्वारा उठाई गई आपत्तियों का उत्तर दिया जा रहा हो तो वे भी सम्मानित सदन में उपस्थित हों।

श्रीमन्, मैंने बहुत ध्यानपूर्वक उनके विचारों को सुना। मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि "जाकी रही भावना जैसी, प्रभु मूल तिन देखी तैसी"। जैसी उनकी भावना है, वैसे ही उनको बजट दिखाई पड़ रहा है।

श्रीमन्, समाजवाद की प्रगति, प्रतिक्रियावादी शक्तियों और उग्रपंथियों को कैसे अच्छी लग सकती है, समाजवाद की कल्पना उनको कैसे अच्छी लग सकती है। श्रीमन्, जहाँ तक मैं समझता हूँ, यह बजट हमारी अखिल भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस (आई) की जो परम्परागत नीतियाँ रही हैं, उसकी मर्यादा के अनुरूप है। यह बजट भारत की महान जनता की आव-

## [डा० हर प्रताप सिंह]

श्यकता, भावना और उनकी आकांक्षाओं के अनुरूप है। यह बजट छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना के प्रारूप के अनुसार बनाया गया है। यह बजट समाजवाद की दिशा में एक महत्वपूर्ण कदम है। यह बजट आर्थिक निराशा की बदली में समृद्धि की एक किरण है। यह बजट विश्व के सबसे अधिक लोक-प्रिय नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में भारत के लिये एक आकाशदीप है। श्रीमन्, सन 1977 में कांग्रेस (आई) की पराजय और जनता पार्टी की विजय का केवल यह कारण था कि हमारी एक नीतिविशेष के कार्यान्वयन के कारण कुछ निहित स्वार्थी शक्तियों ने एक ऐसा भयानक षडयंत्र रचा, जिसके गड़बड़ी के कारण उनको सफलता मिली और देश की बागडोर उनके हाथ में आ गई। श्रीमन्, जनता पार्टी के स्वार्थपूर्ण, यथस्थितिवादी, प्रतिक्रियावादी, दक्षिण पंथी अनुचित और अदूरदर्शिता की नीति के कारण भारत का राजनैतिक, सामाजिक और आर्थिक स्वरूप नष्ट हो गया। सन् 1980 में कांग्रेस (आई) पुनः भारी बहुमत से सत्ता में आई। भारत की महान जनता ने इस बात को विगंध लिया कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ही अकेली ऐसी नेता हैं, जिनके नेतृत्व में भारत की आत्मनिर्भरता, भारत का विकास और भारत की प्रगति संभव है। श्रीमन्, मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को इस बात के लिये बधाई देना चाहता हूँ, जिन्होंने यह बजट प्रस्तुत किया है और यह निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि कुछ वर्ष पूर्व जो निराशाजनक परिस्थितियाँ थीं, उनमें सुधार हुआ है। श्रीमन्, प्रस्तुत बजट में राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन में वृद्धि, अर्थ व्यवस्था में स्थिरता और वृद्धि बिजली, कोयला, लोहा और सीमेन्ट के उत्पादन में वृद्धि कृषि और औद्योगिक उत्पादन के क्षेत्र में विकास, कीमतों पर नियंत्रण, मुद्रा-स्फीति पर नियंत्रण, काले धन को निकालने

का प्रयास, 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम को कानूनी रूप देने का प्रयास, कारोबार के क्षेत्रों और बैंकों की सेवाओं का विस्तार, तेल और प्राकृतिक गैस की खोज की नवीन योजनाओं की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया गया है। श्रीमन्, मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि सरकार का ध्यान कृषकों की ओर विशेष रूप से गया है। उन्नतशील बीज, उत्पादन और सिंचाई के क्षेत्र में विस्तार और उर्वरकों की अधिक उपलब्धता और छोटे और सीमान्त कृषकों, मजदूरों को विशेष राहत दी गई है और उसी के साथ साथ कुटीर तथा लघु उद्योगों को अधिक से अधिक प्रोत्साहन देने का प्रयास किया गया है। इसके साथ ही अनुसूचित जातियों और जनजातियों, निम्न वर्गों और निर्धन वर्गों की ओर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिया गया। यह कार्य प्रशंसनीय है।

मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि सरकार का ध्यान परिवहन और यातायात की सुविधा बढ़ाने की ओर गया है। संचार सुविधा की ओर भी सरकार का ध्यान विशेष रूप से गया है। उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्र के लिये परिवहन की सुविधा की जो विशेष व्यवस्था की गई है और वहाँ के लिये जो हवाई सेवा की व्यवस्था की गई है, वह प्रशंसनीय है। इस उत्तर-पूर्वी क्षेत्र की ओर हमारी सरकार में जो विशेषरूप से ध्यान दिया है, उसके लिए मैं सरकार को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, हमारी सरकार ने, चिरस्मरणीय श्री संजय गांधी ने जिस समस्या की ओर उनका ध्यान गया था और जो किसी देश की सबसे बड़ी समस्या है, जनसंख्या की समस्या, उधर ध्यान दिया है। मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि सरकार अमर संजय गांधी जी के बताये हुए



मार्ग पर चलने के लिये कृतसंकल्प है। श्रीमन्, असंतुलित क्षेत्रों के विकास की ओर सरकार का सदैव ध्यान रहा है। उत्तर प्रदेश भारत का बहुत पिछड़ा हुआ प्रदेश है और उत्तर प्रदेश में अमेठी संसदीय क्षेत्र सबसे पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है। मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अमेठी संसदीय निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में एरोनाटिक्स कम्प्लेक्स, एधियेनिक्स प्रोजेक्ट और फटिलाइजर फैक्टरी अवश्य लगाये जाये। अमेठी संसदीय क्षेत्र में 1800 एकड़ भूमि कृषकों से अधिग्रहण की गई थी। इस 1800 एकड़ भूमि में एक विशाल औद्योगिक क्षेत्र के विकास की परिकल्पना की गई थी। इसलिये जो परिकल्पना की गई थी, उसे अवश्य पूरा किया जाना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, मैं बहुत अधिक समय नहीं लूंगा। मैं केवल थोड़ा सा समय और लेना चाहूंगा। प्रस्तुत बजट में वित्त मंत्री जी ने करों में छूट दी है, मैं उनकी घोषणाओं का स्वागत करता हूँ। उन्होंने जो नवीन कर प्रस्तावित किये हैं मैं, सभी का समर्थन करता हूँ। बजट में जो एक बड़ा घाटा दिखाया गया है, उस घाटे को किस तरह से पूरा किया जाये, इसके संबंध में भी मैं अपने विचार प्रकट करना अपना नैतिक उत्तरदायित्व समझता हूँ। श्रीमन्, जब हम समाजवाद की कल्पना करते हैं, तो हमारे मस्तिष्क में एक चित्र बनता है कि जिसमें इस देश के प्रत्येक परिवार के पास एक निश्चित सीमा की सम्पत्ति हो और उसकी एक निश्चित आमदनी हो। मुझे इस बात की प्रसन्नता है कि इस बात को दृष्टि में रखते हुए हमारी लोकप्रिय सरकार द्वारा पिछले दिनों भूमि-सीमा संशोधन विधेयक विधानसभाओं में पारित किया गया और इसके द्वारा इस बात की व्यवस्था की गई कि अतिरिक्त भूमि को हरिजनों में और भूमिहीनों में बांटा गया। श्रीमन्, इसमें दो लाभ हुए। एक तो देश की जो

सामाजिक और आर्थिक क्षमता है उसको कम करने की दिशा में मजबूत कदम उठाया गया और दूसरा जो भूमिहीन लोग थे, जो अनुसूचित जातियों के भूमिहीन लोग थे, जिनके पास कस्बिस्तान की जगह भी नहीं थी, उन्हें भूमि मिल सकी। दूसरी ओर, श्रीमन्, यह भी हुआ कि कृषकों की भूमि जो थी, यह कृषकों की सम्पत्ति थी और आय का साधन भी थी। उत्तर प्रदेश में मैं आपका एक उदाहरण पेश करना चाहता हूँ ....

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिश्वभर नाथ पांडे) :** ऐसा करें, आपको अभी और बोलना है, तो आप बोल बोल लीजिये।

**डा० रघु प्रताप सिंह :** जैसे आपकी व्यवस्था हो।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिश्वभर नाथ पांडे) :** आप कितना समय लेंगे ?

**डा० रघु प्रताप सिंह :** दो मिनट में समाप्त कर देता हूँ, क्योंकि अधिक समय नष्ट न हो। इस सम्मानित सदन का, तो मान्यवर मैं केवल यह मुझाव देना चाहता था कि उत्तर प्रदेश में 18 एकड़ पर सीलिंग की गयी। वह धरती किसानों की सम्पत्ति भी थी और वह धरती आय का एक साधन भी थी। मैं ऐसा अनुभव करता हूँ कि जब हमने इस बात का निश्चय किया कि 18 एकड़ पर सीमा लगायेंगे, तो 18 एकड़ का जो मूल्य होता हो, उससे अधिक फिर किसी परिवार के पास सम्पत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये और 18 एकड़ से एक कृषक परिवार की जो आय होती है उससे अधिक फिर इस देश के अंदर किसी वर्जितपति को आय नहीं होनी चाहिये, तभी सही समाजवाद की बात हम कर सकते हैं। तो यह मेरा मुझाव है और इस प्रकार से जो हमने अपने सन्

[ डा० खर इतिहास ]

71 के घोषणापत्र में कहा था कि हम पांच लाख की शहरी समाप्ति की सीमा करेगे तो हमारे सुयोग्य वित्त मंत्री जी इस दिशा में अगर एक मजबूत कदम उठाये तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो बजट में घाटा दिखाया गया है, यह तो बड़ा छोटा घाटा है, इससे 10 गुना घाटा बजट में होगा तो यह भी पूरा किया जा सकता है। अंत में, श्रीमान्, मैं आपका आज्ञा से एक हवाई पढ़कर अपनी बात को समाप्त करता हूँ।

“पंडे मुसीबत मुझ पर इतनी, सभी मुसीबत कम हो जायें;

थके न दिल कभी ज़खाने, चाहे सांसे कम हो जायें।

दुख को ज्वाला में तप-तप कर,  
इतना खून गर्म हो जाये;

परंतु पर भी पांच घंटे तो वह भी जरा नरम हो जाये।”

मैं ऐसी महान प्रधानमंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की सरकार और हमारे सुयोग्य वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो यह एतिहासिक बजट प्रस्तुत किया है, उसका पूरे हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ और आपका पुनः धन्यवाद देता हूँ जो आपने मुझे अपने विचार प्रकट करने का अवसर दिया।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BISHAMBHAR NATH PANDE): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at two minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 10th March, 1981.

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