

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

आपने यह तो माना है कि पिछले साल बम्पर क्राप था, लेकिन पिछले साल और इस के पहले के साल में कुल आरजेस के लिए कितने वैगंस की जरूरत पड़ी ? और क्या यह बात सच है कि उम्मेद आधे वैगंस भी इस बार प्रोवाइड नहीं किये गये जिनकी वजह से यह शार्टेज पैदा हुई। मेरा दूसरा सवाल यह है जैसे माननीय सदस्य ने अभी बताया कि वैगंस मिलने के बाद भी सूवमेंट स्लो है और ट्रान्शिपमेंट में पैरिशेबल गुड्स रैरिश हो जाते हैं, तो क्या रेलवे पैरिशेबल गुड्स को रेलवे रिस्क पर बूक करेगा ?

यह एक प्रश्न है, नहीं तो ओनर्स रिस्क पर जब यह बूक किया जाता है तो at the mercy of God ट्रान्शिपमेंट होता है। जिस सॉल्विमेंट से आप ट्रान्शिपमेंट की व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं, क्या आप रेलवे रिस्क पर इसको ट्रान्शिपमेंट करेंगे ?

श्री मल्लिकार्जुन : मान्यवर, यह जो गुजिश्ता साल में 2,574 वैगंस लोड किये जब बम्पर क्राप था, अब इस साल जनवरी से मार्च तक 1,755 और गुजिश्ता साल आउटस्टैंडिंग जो है 256 था और अब इस वक्त सिर्फ 36 वैगंस आउटस्टैंडिंग हैं।

श्री भा० दे० खोबरगड़े : यह इंडेंट की बात कर रहे हैं।

श्री मल्लिकार्जुन : हाँ, इंडेंट की। इंडेंट पर ही बेस करता है ट्रान्शिपमेंट। बिना इंडेंट के हम गैर-जरूरी जाकर हम ट्रान्शिपमेंट करे, ऐसा किसी को बोलने का नहीं रहता। अब ग्राम, गोयर्ज और जो सरकार के रेप्रेजेंटेटिव्स को रेलवे के रेप्रेजेंटेटिव्स, यह सब प्रतिनिधियों का ही मीटिंग होता है तभी on the basis of the production availability, programme will be made and we are meeting the demand. Now only 37 indents are pending as compared to the 256 indents in the previous year. Last year we had loaded

2,576 wagons and this year upto March 8, it is 755.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: What about booking at railway's risk?

श्री मल्लिकार्जुन : जहाँ तक रिस्क का मामला है, इसके बारे में कोई गारण्टी न लेते हुए भी रेलवे विभाग पूरी हिफाजत करता है कि ताकि जो पैरिशेबल गुड्स है वह नष्ट न हों जो भी ऐसे पदार्थ होते हैं उन के बारे में ट्रान्शिपमेंट करते समय पूरा ध्यान दिया जाता है।

श्री ब.पूरावजी माखतरावजी देशमुख (महाराष्ट्र) : माननीय मंत्री जी मैं एक जानकारी हासिल करना चाहता हूँ कि ये जो खराब हो जाने वाली चीजें हैं, जैसे केला, संतरा और सब्जी है, इनके ट्रान्शिपमेंट के संबंध में कुछ कमिशन थे, पिछले साल 25 परसेन्ट कमिशन था स्टेशन टु स्टेशन उस कमिशन को इस साल विदड़ा कर दिया है और उस पर सेन्ट-पर-सेन्ट पैसा लिया है, क्या यह बात सही है ?

श्री मल्लिकार्जुन : मान्यवर, जैसा माननीय सदस्य जी कहते हैं वह सही है। असल बात यह है कि कई परिस्थितियों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए कभी नीतियों में परिवर्तन करना पड़ता है।

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1981-82  
—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now we start the discussion on the General Budget. Shri Satya Paj Malik. You have ten minutes more.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक : मान्यवर, इस वजह को देखने के बाद एक खतरनाक नतीजा निकलता है कि सरकार जो इस देश की सबसे ज्वलंत समस्या है रोजगार की, उस के बारे में जरा भी चिन्तित नहीं।

अगले 10 वर्षों में हमको करीब 90 मिलियन जाब्स क्रिएट करने चाहिए अगर हम को मुल्क को ठीक तरह से चलाना है लेकिन पिछली पंचवर्षीय योजना में सिर्फ 4 मिलियन रोजगार पैदा किए जा सके हैं। जो टैक्स इंसेटिव्ह आपने कहा, कि इससे रोजगार पैदा होंगे—ऐसा मुझे लगता नहीं। आज, मान्यवर, स्थिति यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के तमाम गावों में जो दस्तकार थे, जो गैर खेती पेशा लोग थे उनके सारे धंधे आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता खत्म होते जा रहे हैं और वे सारे लोग शहरों की तरफ रोजगार के वास्ते दांड रहे हैं। 4 करोड़ लोग बेरोजगार हैं और जो छोटा किसान है वह साल में नौ महीने बेरोजगार रहता है। उसकी तादाद अलग है। 1857 के गदर के पहले ब्रिटिश पार्लियामेंट एक डेलिगेशन आया था सन् 1853 में मोटगोमरी नामक एक मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट के नेतृत्व में जिन्होंने एक रिपोर्ट दी थी कि हिन्दुस्तान कभी भी कृषि-प्रधान देश नहीं था। हिन्दुस्तान उद्योग प्रधान देश था। लेकिन अंग्रेजों ने आहिस्ता-आहिस्ता उसके उद्योग धंधों को चौपट कर दिया, उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि 4 साल बाद हिन्दुस्तान में गदर हुआ। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ अर्थ मंत्री को कि बहादुरशाह जफर जब दिल्ली का बादशाह एक-डेढ़ महीने के लिए हुआ तो उनके घोषणा-पत्र में भी लिखा गया था कि जो धंधे चौपट हुए, जो हमारे कारीगरों को अंग्रेजों ने बेरोजगार किया हम उनको बहाल करेंगे, लेकिन बजट से, या जो आपकी योजना का प्रारूप उस में कहीं नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान के दस्तकारों के लिए, छोटे धंधे करने वाले लोगों के लिए या गावों के बेरोजगार लोगों के लिए कोई व्यवस्था करना चाहते हैं। एक शेतावनी में देना चाहता हूँ। इस मुल्क में क्रांतिकारी हो या न हों लेकिन यह बेरोजगार लोगों की फौज 1857 के

गदर की हालात पैदा करेगी। आपके बजट में इस बड़ी फौज के लिए कोई प्रावधान या कोई सोच मुझ को दिखायी नहीं देता।

इसके अलावा मान्यवर, इस देश की कुल राष्ट्रीय आमदनी में, इस देश की दौलत में जो सबसे ज्यादा शिरकत करता है, हिस्सा करता है, वह वर्ग खेती का उसको आपने कहा तक नेगलेक्ट किया है उसकी कोई मिसाल हो सकती है? अभी अभी आप की किसान रैली का जो जुठन और कबाड़ा दिल्ली में फैला था उसको बटोरा भी नहीं था, 10 दिन बाद जो आपने बजट दिया है उसमें टोटल प्लान आऊटले में तो 20 सैकड़ा की वृद्धि करते हैं लेकिन खेती में 16.7 परसेंट से 16.8 परसेंट आपने किया है। कुल मिलाकर यह स्टेगनेशन है। खेती पर खर्चा जब कि टोटल लान आउटले में आपका 20 परसेंट बढ़ा है आपने बहुत खुश-फराहमी के साथ कहा कि उत्पादन बढ़ने वाला है। खेती में जब फसल खराब होती है तो उसकी शिकायत आप कुदरत से करते हैं जब बारिश से बेहतर फसल होने की संभावना होती है तो आप आपस में पीठ ठोकते हैं। इसमें भी खतरा है कि उत्पादन खाद्यान्न का कितना होगा? फर्टिलाइजर्स के इस्तेमाल से हिन्दुस्तान में उसकी ग्रोथ थी लेकिन जिस तरह से पिछले सालों में फर्टिलाइजर्स का इस्तेमाल हो रहा है, वह लगातार गिरा है। और एशिया में नेपाल को छोड़कर हिन्दुस्तान एक मुल्क है जिस में सब से कम खाद इस्तेमाल होती है पर हेक्टर हम से जापान में 20 सैकड़ा ज्यादा खाद का इस्तेमाल होता है। तो हिन्दुस्तान के किसान की जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था है और आप की खाद के जो दाम हैं उस में खाद का इस्तेमाल गिरा है और आप के खाद्यान्न के उत्पादन का सपना पूरा होने वाला नहीं है और कृषि के लिये

[ श्री सत्यपाल मलिक ]

जो टोटल आउट ले आप ने किया है वह किसान के साथ आप ने चालाकी की है और यह भी कहना गलत है कि पिछले 30 साल में हम ने खेती के मामले में बड़ी क्रान्ति की है। एक तो वर्ल्ड बैंक की रिपोर्ट छपी है जिस में जो टर्म्स आफ ट्रेड है खेती के मामले में, जो किसानों के लिये बाजार की शर्तें हैं उन का सर्वे किया गया है आप के बाद एशिया के कुछ ही देश हैं कि जिन में टर्म्स आफ ट्रेड किसानों के ज्यादा खिलाफ है। इसके अलावा उत्पादन की बात लें तो जो यील्ड पर हेक्टर पर उस में जो वृद्धि हो रही थी वह बराबर नहीं है। अगर आप 195-52 के ले कर 1964-65 को एक हिस्सा मान लें और 1964-65 से लेकर 1980-81 को दूसरा हिस्सा मान लें तो जो कल्टीवेटेड एरिया था उस में 1.7 परसेंट इंक्रीज हुई पहले हिस्से में और बाद में वह 6 परसेंट रह गयी, वह गिरी है। इसी तरह से सिचाई की वृद्धि का मामला है। यह पर हेक्टर उत्पादन का मामला है उस में बराबर गिरावट हिन्दुस्तान में आ रही है। खेती के मामले में मैं इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता था।

यह जो खुशफहमी है कि हमारे यहां हरित क्रान्ति हुई उसके लिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सिर्फ एक दो फसलों के बीच में हम ने कुछ तरक्की की है। यह मानना पड़ेगा कि उस में कुछ अच्छे नतीजे निकले हैं, लेकिन कुल मिलाकर खेती की जो पैदावार हुई वह उस का हिस्सा है। बाकी फसलों में हम ने कोई कमाल हासिल नहीं किया और आप का बजट आने वाले साल में किसान के लिये किसी किस्म की खुशखबरी ले कर नहीं आया है। इसके अलावा आप ने कारपोरेट टैक्स में कमी कर के कंपनी सरचार्ज घटा

कर, 14 उद्योगों को इंकम टैक्स ऐक्ट के 11वें शेड्यूल से हटा कर, फ्री ट्रेड जोन की जो पाबंदी थी उस को खत्म करके कुल मिला कर देश के बड़े लोगों को जो छूट दी है और उसकी हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े लोगों में जो प्रति क्रिया हुई है। विहानियां से लेकर बिरला तक जितने चेम्बर आफ कामर्स हैं या जितनी बड़े लोगों की संस्थाएँ हैं वह सब आप के इस बजट से बहुत ही खुश हैं। यह आप को मुबारक हो।

मैं अंत में आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्रशासनिक खर्च भी जो अनुत्पादक खर्च है आप के इस बजट में और आयोजना पर जो बढ़ा है वह भी एक बहुत खतरनाक बात है इसको आप को रोकना चाहिए आप इसके अलावा एशियायी खेलों पर जो खर्चा करेंगे उस के बारे में सलाह तरीके से तथ्य पेश करने की कोशिश की गयी है। एशियायी खेलों पर बूत कितना खर्च होगा इस पर एक खुली बहस होनी चाहिए कि किन मदों में एशियायी खेलों के लिये कितना कितना किन किन विभागों का खर्च हो रहा है यह लोगों को पता लगाना चाहिए। ऐसा अंदाजा है कि वह खर्चा 700 करोड़ रुपये तक भी जा सकता है। मान्यवर, सिर्फ एक बात से आप अंदाजा लगायें हमारी सरकार के काम करने के तरीके का कि सारे मुल्क के गरीब लोगों की जेब से निकले हुए दाम इस तमाशे में खर्च किये जा सकते हैं। भाखड़ा नंगल बांध को बनाने के लिये जिस की दज्जह से हनियाणा और पंजाब में आप के सारे अन्न के भंडार भर गये और दुनिया में जो आप भिखारी की तरह से घूमते थे उस से आप को मुक्ति मिली और आप की इज्जत बढ़ी उस भाखड़ा नंगल बांध की कुल लागत का दुगुना रुपया आप इस एशियायी खेलों पर फूँक देंगे। और राजस्थान नहर कोरी पड़ी रह जाएगी।

आप के देश के बच्चों को खाना नहीं मिलता, आप की बीमार औरतों के लिये अस्पताल नहीं है, आज भी देश में 80 सैकड़ा औरतों के लिये शौचालय नहीं है लेकिन 700 करोड़ की फिजूल खर्ची कार के आप कहेंगे कि हमने 4, 5 करोड़ इस के लिये रखा है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस पर एक खुली बहस हो कि एशियायी खेल क्यों हो रहे हैं हिन्दुस्तान जैसे गरीब मुल्क में। तो कुल मिला कर आप का बजट 5, 7 सैकड़ा हिन्दुस्तान के उन लोगों के लिये बनाया गया है जन्हीं को दृष्टि में रख कर बनाया गया है मामूली लोगगरीबी की रेखा के नीचे ही है और हर साल उन की तादाद बढ़ती जाती है। हिन्दुस्तान में लाख, डेढ़ लाख लोग हर साल फ्रिज और टेलीविजन वाले हो जाते हैं लेकिन कई करोड़ आदमी दो रुपये रोज की आमदनी से कम वाले लोगों में खिसक जाते हैं। तो मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि बजट आप के इरादों का द्योतक है। मैं आज सत्तारूढ़ पार्टी के जो सदस्य हैं उन से कहना चाहूंगा कि वह इस का विरोध करें क्योंकि इस सदन में हम किसी का दयालुतामा लगा कर नहीं आये हैं। इस देश की क्या दिशा है? इस मुल्क को बदलने के लिए क्या दिशा है उसको स्पष्टकर और जो सबसे गरीब आदमी है जिसके लिए महात्मा गांधी ने आपके लालकिये पर खड़े होकर कहा था उस गरीब आदमी की बावत कि उसको निगाह में रखो उसको निगाह में रखकर देखो तो सही कि यह बजट उसके पक्ष में है या विरोध में है? मेरी राय यह है कि यह बजट उसके बारे में देखता और सोचता नहीं है। बहुत बहुत शुक्रिया।

SHRIMATI SUSHILA SHANKAR ADIVAREKAR (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is the second Budget of our hon. Finance Minister Shri Venkataraman, that has won the laurels and admirations from

almost all the corners and from various sections of the people of India. And I would like to add my voice to the chores of congratulations that he must be receiving this time. This certainly proves the point that the Government is now getting a grip over the economy, of the country which was in doldrums and which was deriled. But now, Sir, the economy has got the necessary mild push to come out of all these difficulties. Although many things are yet to be done, the best part is we have started in the right direction. And for that I would once again congratulate the Finance Minister for his slowly adopting a non-conventional and new pattern of approach to the economic problems facing the country today. And this, Sir, has given the Budget a realistic and practical look.

Sir, the most important thing is to know your priorities and to know and visualise the imminent dangers to the economy in the future. After realising this, the hon. Finance Minister has cast his die to help the growth and production and also to reduce the inflation. It is very necessary to concentrate on a few areas, which are most vital to help the economy. If this could be emphasised and implemented properly, the rest of the remaining areas can to a certain extent automatically be looked after.

Sir, there is a criticism that in certain areas of minimum needs, the Government has scaled down its targets or its allocations. But it does not seem to be true. Although I am not a statistician or an economist, I can see that as far as the fields of elementary and adult education and nutrition are concerned, or the field or rural programmes of electrification, road-building, water supply, there is no scaling down. In fact, care has been taken to have a good infrastructure which is essential for expanding industries in rural areas.

In the present situation, we need a more specific and business like Budget as well as planning and it should

[Shrimati Sushila Shanker  
Adivarekar]

have an intensive approach on the emerging problems related more with balancing the economy rather than scattering away the valuable available resources in not so crucial areas. The Budget has definitely taken care of those crucial areas which in the present context are: Petroleum, Railways and Energy. Sir, nobody can deny the fact that the Government is all out to be—and has to a considerable extent been—successful to improve the situation in increasing power generation, rail movement, availability of petroleum products and also industrial relationship.

Sir, these are all the command posts of our economy. The hon. Finance Minister has taken enough precautions with an eye to the future that they are not neglected; an extra attention is being paid. Sir, it has been predicted that a serious crisis in oil is imminent and in all likelihood the prices may go up. This is a global phenomenon and we are left with no alternative but to exploit our own natural resources like coal, water, sun, etc. along with upgrading our technology to meet this new challenge. It should be such that these types of projects should not take much time in completing so that we can derive quick benefits out of it. Sir, we are all concerned about the longer term implications of the energy crisis. The hon. Finance Minister exhibited his awareness of the energy situation last year by helping reduction of taxes on bicycles and pressure cookers. This year also he has announced his intention to help development of alternative energy resources. Sir, here I would like to make some observations and suggestions firstly as a housewife and secondly as a citizens who is interested in this energy problem of the country. I would like to make these suggestions for the consideration of the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister may have given more allotment for the

Energy Department for generating more power and energy. But it is escaping his notice that there is one more aspect to obviate the present day energy crisis. That is, the fundamental theory that energy conserved is equal to energy produced. Less consumption of energy will definitely have its bearing on our oil imports as well as it will help our coal and power producing undertakings. So, Sir, I would request the Finance Minister that he should consider that there should not only be less taxes on energy saving devices like the pressure-cookers, the Nuthan type of kerosene wick stoves etc. but the Government should be directly giving subsidy towards the manufacture and also for the marketing of such equipment and goods. Simultaneously the Government should indirectly try not to encourage and motivate such electric consuming domestic appliances which are not that much necessary. Another aspect which requires special Government encouragement for energy saving is the manufacturing of 2-wheelers and 3-wheelers. And along with the cycle-carts, improved model of the bullock-carts should also be popularised to save the energy. It has now become very necessary that the Government should think of having a new public undertaking for the manufacture of the solar collectors to supplement the work of the Central Electronics Ltd., and the Government should provide incentives to the users of the solar devices like the Gujarat Government which has announced some subsidy as far as the solar cookers are concerned in order to make them available to the consumers at a very cheap rate.

Sir, you will be surprised to know that the consumption of electricity by the entire Indian Railways for electrified routes in this country, is less than that of the public and the domestic lighting. And so there is much need and there is much scope in saving of power in homes. So, another suggestion that I want to make for the consideration of the hon. Finance Minister is that the Government

should abolish the duty on the tube-lights and the fluorescent lights and its accessories, as it is an established fact that the tubes consume less electricity than the ordinary lamps.

Sir, in our country it is not that we are facing only one oil crisis, but we are facing two oil crisis. One area of crisis is that of the mineral oil like the petroleum and petroleum products, while the other oil crisis is in the field of the edible-oils. Year after year we are importing various kinds of edible oils, and we are trying to supplement our growing demands. The Government should help in the manufacture of more oil, and it should also adopt a positive programme to reduce the consumption of the edible oil. And like saving energy, one should try to save the edible oil also. Here, Sir, again like a good housewife I would like to give a suggestion for the hon. Finance Minister to consider. Sir, I am a housewife, and so, I am quite aware that there are certain utensils like the non-sticking sauce-pans etc. which are extremely good in almost eliminating the use of oil or ghee for cooking. So, Sir, why should the Government not encourage this type of appliances by giving them some reduction and also actively help in popularising them? Thereby we can also save edible oil. Therefore, Sir, I sincerely request the hon. Minister to take the National Energy Economics into account before presenting his final proposals and to consider these homely suggestions that I have given. Let every drop and every ounce of effort be valued.

Sir, there is one more thing which I feel one has to consider seriously. The most alarming statistic that we see today is that almost more than 70 to 80 per cent of our exports are going to be eaten away by our petroleum imports and there is all likelihood that the figures might increase every year. There is no doubt that you have made all efforts and you have correctly emphasised that we should give all encouragement to develop exports which in the Janata rule were almost forgotten. Sir, our

domestic markets is slowly expanding and so is the production. Let us make an all-out effort to export as much as possible. We can substitute our needs of certain items by small-scale and cottage industry products and help the country in this crisis. Let the people accept these products as a necessity because we are fighting to improve our economy on a war-footing and for that no sacrifice will be too great. And to do that, the first step is to have a complete overhauling of bodies like the Khadi and Village Industries, Handloom and Handicrafts and small industries Boards. They must change their outlook, their approach, their functioning methods and evolve new innovative ideas and designing programmes and make it appealable to the people. And to meet our needs, we have to involve as many persons as possible. It will be a challenge. It will provide jobs for the millions and it will save and earn millions of rupees of foreign exchange.

Sir, I am sure the budget has helped not only in creating a right climate for growth but in setting the tempo of the people to produce and grow more. I once again welcome the budget and I congratulate the Finance Minister on the presentation of this budget.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, in the background of massive unemployment and lengthening columns of the jobless, terrific rise in prices, particularly of essential commodities—Vanaspati, textiles and soda ash—widening gap between the rich and the poor massive tax evasion, increasing might and power of the black money, constant blackmailing by the private sector, particularly by the big houses and monopolists as they are getting concession after concession without any significant investment or development, constant rise of the so-called sickness in the private sector where over Rs. 2,000 crores have been sunk in sick industries by the public sector banks and term-lending institutions, the bulk of which will have to be treated as bad debt, an atmosphere of confrontation bet-

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ween labour and capital, crisis in education, deteriorating living standards of the majority of the people, unhappy and sometimes even bitter Centre-State relations, rampant corruption and mismanagement in the public sector, particularly in the core sector, the Coal India Limited and the companies under it which force miners to work underground for seven days without rest, violating all laws to the detriment of safety and conservation—and even then the production target could not be reached—serious and growing open conflicts between one caste and another, rise in the feelings of provincialism, linguistic fanaticism and all kinds of communalism, which basically are the result of socio-economic causes and which are threatening to spread throughout the country, threatening the unity and integrity of the country which has been built up after so much sacrifice, which again have brought the Army, the CRPF and the BSF in the streets in many parts of the country, the budget of Shri R. Venkataraman, Sir, is a pathetic attempt of a clown to divert the attention of the audience who were sick and tired of a third-rate show and were showing signs of going totally out of control. The Budget has no answer to the problems I have mentioned. Mr. Venkataraman wanted to escape from the grim reality of utter stagnation all round and rising bitter conflicts. But even in his escape there is a method, because he has understood that the earlier bluffs would not work; so he has stopped using the words which were pronounced loudly in the March and June Budgets last year. In March, 1980 he said, "Our commitment for removal of poverty and social inequalities is firm and irrevocable." In June, 1980 in presenting the Budget he said, "Development will have no meaning to the vast majority of our people if the poor in rural areas are not able to secure a livelihood through satisfactory productive work." He further stated, "The process of economic growth will be incomplete unless the

benefits of such growth reach the weaker sections of the society." Now, he talks only about growth and growth of profits of the affluent classes. At the end of Part B in June 1980 he told the truth. He said, "Its success..."—the success of the General Budget—"...however depends upon the cooperation of all people who work in fields or factories, power stations or ports, railways or coal-mines." These words are missing now. Is it a mere omission? Or, does it not clearly indicate that within the present institutional framework removal of poverty and social inequalities are just not possible as Government hasn't got the slightest inclination to bring about any basic structural changes and it is better not to use these words any more? The omission is a confession of the aim. Now he does not talk of cooperation. There are threats there is advice and ultimately, in the end, he says, he leaves it to the good sense and hard work and discipline of the people. He repeats it. Work, yes. I agree; hard work, yes, we entirely agree with you. But may I ask most humbly the Finance Minister who is sitting before me how much opportunity you have and your capitalist friends have created in the country in the last two years? Youth have gone to jail in State after State demanding work only they were marched to prison vans or subjected to brutal lathi-charge. This kind of a crisis which we are facing is nothing new in a capitalist country. But even those capitalist countries in the long past took some definite steps to help the common man on the street. In a similar crisis I am reminded of President Franklin D. Roosevelt who came with a new deal. And here Mr. Venkataraman has come with a raw deal. The Budget is a surrender to the affluent classes. It is Regan, and Thatcher who were the inspirers of this Budget. He gave all-out concessions last year and in even in this year's Budget: income tax, depreciation allowance, sur-tax, wealth tax,

investments, special bonds, and so on—a sordid dilution of the Industrial Policy Resolution. And to whom? Have the conditions of the businessmen and industrialists and the companies deteriorated? If so, let us see the famished and starving faces of the industrialists. According to the Economic Times Research Bureau Studies of 863 companies—December 2, 1980—the overall dividend payments in the private corporate sector showed a distinct all round improvement. The dividend paying units worked out substantially higher at 12.4 per cent in 1979-80 as against 11.3 per cent in the previous year. The number of companies not paying the dividend declined from 252 in 1978-79 to 220 in 1979-80; 243 companies in 1978-79 paid 10 to 15 per cent dividend; that went up to 250 in 1979-80; while 138 companies paid 15 to 20 per cent, their number went up to 148 in 3 P.M. 1979-80. While in 1978-79 forty companies paid dividend between 20 per cent and 25 per cent during 1979-80, under the dynamic leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the number of companies went up, and 60 companies paid dividend between 20 per cent and 25 per cent. In 1978-79 21 companies paid dividend more than 25 per cent and during 1979-80 the number of companies that paid dividend more than 25 per cent went up to 23. In 1979-80 the plantation industry had the highest dividend paid, namely, more than 25 per cent. And this year the plantation industry got liberal investment allowance.

The Reserve Bank have made a study of the finances of 1,720 medium and large public limited companies of 1977-78 and of 421 large public limited companies in 1978-79. The ICICI has also published its balance sheet analysis of companies in its loan portfolio for the five year period from 1974-75 to 1978-79. This analysis shows faster growth of corporate sector. The analysis shows clearly that corporate sector thrives on some of the difficulties faced by economy. For instance, its growth and profitability are generally the best in

periods of high inflation. This analysis also shows that larger companies have higher profits and build larger assets because they bear a lower tax burden and lower cost of production.

In other words, this analysis shows that the top three groups representing 421 large companies had the lowest tax burden. Ultimately the analysis shows that the broad picture of private corporate sector is that its growth has been faster than of the economy. Within the corporate sector there is growing concentration, with large companies generally registering fastest growth of assets, sales, profits, etc., and they enjoy the distinct cost advantage including in interest cost as a proportion of the value of production. They build inventories in expectation of rise in prices and finance them through bank borrowings and take credit, generally squeezed from the smaller companies.

And what is most astonishing is this. It may be noted that the remuneration of highly paid employees drawing Rs. 36,000 and over per annum rose from Rs. 115 crores in 1977-78 to Rs. 140 crores, representing 22.3 per cent increase, while the remuneration of other employees rose by over only 10.8 per cent. This is the face of the industrialists.

Then there are subsidies, soft loans and bank credit which is not to be paid back at all. And you all know the scandalous position of the bonus shares. Even taxes on bonus shares are withdrawn. They are not restored by Mr. Venkataraman. Guide lines have been relaxed and ceiling is gone. In textile industry alone, if you leave bonus shares out, then dividend in the last two years over the original paid-up capital would be 200 to 300 per cent. With the Commerce Minister's textile policy, there will be a further rise in textile prices which he calls reasonable. Bonus shares, as I said, are scandalous. Upto 1979 when the Janata Government was these the bonus issued was eighty seven crores and sixty four lakhs of rupees. When Mr. Venkataraman stepped in, in one year alone from eighty crores the bonus shares



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issued went up to one hundred thirty-one crores and sixty three lakhs of rupees. This year, in three months, the Minister of Finance has allowed bonus shares to the extent of Rs. 13 crores. And these are the industries which needs your support.

About provident fund the less said about it, the better. All the multinational companies and monopoly houses and big companies pay interest on provident fund at rate which is less than what is given by the public sector. There is an analysis showing 139 exempted establishment and less than 7 per cent is paid by 132 companies. From 7 per cent to 8 per cent interest is paid by 800 companies. And, who are they? They are, the Tatas, the Birlas, the Bajajs, the Kamanis, the Thapars, all the drug companies, the Dunlops, the Guest Keen and Williams, the Liptons, there is the whole list. You could have increased the interest on provident fund and got more money out of it. But you did nothing of the sort. And, Sir, what is the response? Of the industrialists, the entrepreneurs, of the companies, whom are you appealing? Did your anticipations succeed?

Sir, the Economic Survey for 1978-79 says: "Direct information regarding private industrial investment is not available. In the absence of more direct and extensive information, reliance has to be put on various factors indicative of investment." So, we do not know what they are investing. The 1979-80 Economic Survey pointed out "The available indicators of industrial investment are at best partial in coverage and in any case not available for the full year 1979-80. The lower rate of growth of disbursement compared to sanctions of 1979-80 is perhaps indicative of slowing down of investment." And, this year, the Economic Survey points out, after getting all the concessions from the Government, it is pointed out, Sir, and I quote: "However, the issue of consents have not been matched by capital actually raised during the period. During

1979-80, the capital raised showed a decline of 1 per cent as compared with the corresponding figures given during 1978-79. The data available for the first two quarters of 1980-81 however, showed a sharp decline, in capital raised as compared with that in the corresponding two quarters of 1979-80 reflecting the significant fall by 47.8 per cent in consents during last two quarters 1978-79. The data available for the come in the way of the industrial you are getting. No wonder, Mr. Venkataraman stated in the Forum of Financial Writers and I am quoting him, Sir, "I am a little bit puzzled about the way the industrial community has been responding to the various concessions given by the Government to rectify the industrial investment in the economy. Whatever problem they have faced in the past are being looked into and are being redressed. Steadily the industrial licensing has been made more simple by cutting out a lot of red tape and automatic increases in capacity up to a certain extent have been allowed. In many cases excess capacity over licensed capacity has been regularised. Soft loans have been sanctioned for rehabilitating and modernising certain crucial industries, and variety of rebates, exemptions and tax holidays have been given. Therefore, I do not know what exactly come in the way of the industrial community coming forward to take advantage of the incentives and increasing investment."

After all this concession, this is the response, and he goes on giving them concessions to the utter shame of the toiling masses of this country. But when it is the workers, the unemployed youth, there is erosion of their wages and if they demand a little more, they are met with ruthless resistance. Sir, there is the strike by over a lakh workers in the Bangalore companies in spite of an attempt to physically liquidate the leadership. It is now there for three months. Tomorrow there is going there to be strike in all the public sector units all over the country.

Sir, all the principles of collective bargaining have been buried. The

LIC and the GIC employees are being treated as if they are in some South American banana republic.

Sir, Mr. Venkataraman has talked about discipline. We are being told of discipline and the workers are being taught discipline and the blackmarket-teers, hoarders and profiteers are getting rewards for criminal indiscipline and for their success in wrecking the economy. Sir, when the question of strike comes, I want only to quote what Mr. James Baxton one of the outstanding Members of the House of Commons stated in reply to Mr. Churchill and I quote: "I am always told about strikes being against the community. But I wonder who this mystical community is. When the miners go on strike, it is anybody except the miners. When the railwaymen go on strike, it is everybody except the railwaymen. When the transport workers go on strike, it is everybody except the transport workers. Do you think that these men are a collection of fools? When you have got the miners, the railwaymen, the transport workers, the textile workers, agricultural workers, the engineering and shipbuilding workers, you have got a very small amount of public opinion left. You have a very small amount of general public and each of these groups which I have mentioned, understands quite well what the other fellows are fighting for when they go on strike." This was stated in 1930 by James Bexton. And in our country, the great democratic country of Mr. Venkataraman and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, their mighty Ministers would not even talk with the leaders of the working class on strike. They would 'discipline' them, tire them out, exhaust them and if all attempts fail miserably, then call the strike-breakers, the stooges and the troops. This is the ultimate weapon you have to rely upon.

Sir, inflation does not rise when M.Ps. are given Rs. 500 each per month for what they do, I leave it to you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are doing a hard work.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: But heavens collapse if one increment is given to the Bangalore strikers and skilled workers producing the most intricate and sophisticated machinery of the country. Even the hypocrats would hide their face in shame.

Sir, the *Economic and Political weekly* has stated on January 3: "The strike in public sector units in Bangalore is only a pointer. It would appear that the industrial working class, in the absence of any meaningful initiative on the part of the government to deal with its problems, is poised for industrial action on a growing scale in the coming months. In any case, the argument that industrial production in the past year was hurt, above all by industrial disputes will no longer carry conviction. The much publicised industrial peace during the current year, when till September mandays lost on account of industrial disputes were less than 10 million compared to 37 million last year, had not resulted till then in any increase in industrial production."

Sir, the Budget, of course, has very clear objectives. And one journal has pointed out what the objectives are. Two objectives. of Mr. Venkataraman, are very clear.

"The new monetary and fiscal policies have two main objectives—political and economic. The political objective is to further consolidate and expand the power base of the ruling class, both in the urban and rural areas, among the industrialists as well as the new rural rich. The thrust is to win over all sections of the industrialists—from the big business houses down to the small scale industrialists, and through these levers win over the upper crust of the urban middle class. In the rural areas, a determined bid is being made to win over all sections of the land-owning classes. In the economic field, these policies are directed towards giving financial and fiscal support to small-scale capitalists enterprises along big business in the industrial sector in a way that

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the "mixed economy" further tilts towards capitalist development."

It is shocking. At least, in 1980-81, there was a column Budget at Glance" and if you see it, you will find that in March 1980, on the rehabilitation of displaced persons, Rs. 31 crores were kept. I tried in vain to find that sentence but it is missing, which means no money is to be spent for any rehabilitation of the displaced person. On the one hand, there are concessions to the Birlas, and on the other hand, a bamboo or a stick to the displaced persons.

Sir, the biggest menace to stability and peace in the country is the growing and massive unemployment. Instead of absorbing new generation into industry or elsewhere, more and more people, as you know, are being thrown out of jobs. Sickness in industry has become immensely profitable and sick industrialists are prospering. Workers of the closed factories and mills are not being paid even their provident fund. An amount of Rs. 32 crores towards provident fund has been misappropriated by the industrialists and no action has been taken for this outright theft by this dynamic, progressive Government.

Sir, if you go through all these three Economic Surveys, you would find that they have not been very honest with regard to unemployment figures. At least, in the previous Economic Surveys, three paragraphs were given on the problem of unemployment, but this year, the whole thing has been dismissed in two paragraphs. (*Time bell rings*). How much more time is left for me?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Five minutes.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: So, I do not go into the details. But even in the latest Economic Survey, we find that there has been sharp decline in employment by the private sector. In manufacturing, it has gone down to 43 lakhs. In construction, it has gone down to

73,000. In wholesale and retail trade, it has gone down further. Sir, they could have given something to the workers, in regard to unemployment. But they had no time at all. Sir, relief can be given to businessmen. Actually, the businessmen have never been off relief, especially the big ones. But not a paisa for the unemployed as unemployment allowance. In countries after countries, the entire programme of the Government is judged by one single factor, how many people are out of jobs and how many jobs the Government has found for them. The question is, what policy the Government is pursuing to rehabilitate them? Mr. Venkataraman is silent on this. To him, this problem does not exist. This, Sir, enables Mr. Venkataraman to produce a so-called mild Budget, rather in the manner of the camel driver who ostensibly removes a small bundle of straw after cruelly overloading it.

Sir, my last point is in regard to the public sector. One word about public sector and I will end. Sir, this is in relation to public sector. The coal industry under the CIL is in a mess because of rampant corruption and utter mismanagement at the top. Last time, when we were discussing the Budget, in June and July, 1980, there was no Secretary for the coal industry. You pay so much importance to this department. Till today, there is no Secretary. This shows how much importance you are paying to this. Sir, in reply to last year's Budget, this is what Mr. Venkataraman had stated—I quote:

"Now, one of the ways in which we want to tackle the problem is to take each public sector unit item by item, examine its problem and then relieve its difficulties which it might be going through and see that it improves. For that purpose, we have appointed a small group under the Chairmanship of Mr. Fazal Ali, Member of the Planning Commission. It will not be the usual type of a Committee which will go round and make reports ultimately, or finally. On the other hand, it will be some thing like a trouble-shooter which will go

from one unit to another and make reports on the basis of which we will act."

Then, I interrupted. I asked:

"Mr. Venkataraman, would you please see that when you go to a particular public sector unit, either Coal India or the HEC, you also consult the trade unions of that particular unit?"

Then, he said:

"Most certainly. I will certainly see that it consults the trade unions because without the co-operation of the trade unions, I am positive, no success can be achieved and I also believe that the trade unions do play a good and very useful part..."

This is what he said. But what happened? Actually, all the trade unions, the INTUC, the AITUC and the CITU, were given only one hour by Mr. Fazal Ali, just one hour. Rest of the time, he was dining and drinking with the Coal India bosses. Then, Sir, even a request by me for postponement of the meeting and for a detailed discussion was turned down on the plea that this can be done later on and that the Government is in a hurry. Till today, we have not heard from Mr. Fazal. We also do not know what has happened to this report. It is gathering dust in the shelves of the various Ministries. Mr. Venkataraman has said that he wants our co-operation. In the meeting of the joint bipartite committee on coal industry, all the trade unions, the INTUC, the AITUC and the CITU, demanded a copy of the Fazal Committee report and asked the Government to consult the trade unions, because, a solemn assurance has been given that the trade unions will be consulted before a final decision is taken. And yesterday, we have the answer from Mr. Ghani Khan Chaudhuri, in reply to starred Question 270...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): When he was grilled.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Do not disturb me. In regard to a question on

the recommendations of the Fazal Committee, he said:

"Government is aware of the demand made by the Trade Unions for a copy of the Fazal Committee's report...it is not considered necessary to consult them on this matter."

Here is a solemn assurance by Mr. Venkataraman that Fazal Committee's report would be discussed. The trade unions wanted a copy. Even the INTUC leader, Shri Bindeshwari Dube, who is a Member of the Lok Sabha and a Congress (I) MP, demanded that the trade unions should be consulted. But we have this reply by Mr. Chaudhuri that trade unions will not be consulted. Neither the Fazal Committee's report will be given. This is the spirit, Mr. treasury benches Minister. This is the view, this is the attitude of yours towards the working class, towards the toiling masses. You say, you want co-operation. And when we stretch our hands you refuse, even you do not like to show the report which has vitally affected the lives of half a million coalminers. So, Sir, this Budget is rejected lock, stock and barrel by the people and you should be ashamed of bringing forth this Budget in a country where 80 per cent of the people do not have sufficient food, medicine, and cloth to live day after day.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Sir, I did not want to disturb the hon. Member. Referring to Mr. Fazal, Chairman of a particular committee, to the extent of a criticism that he did not meet the members of trade union, I have no objection to it, but saying that all the time he was dining and drinking, these are the remarks. . . .

SHRI KALYAN ROY: These are the remarks stand by and I would like to have any investigation into them. I welcome this challenge.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I am on a point of order.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It is not the question of denying to meet the trade unions, but without knowing anything at all you want to defend Mr. Fazal.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I shall reserve my right to reply to the criticism made, but so far as the insinuation against a person who is not present in the House .....

SHRI KALYAN ROY: These insinuations are made all the time. In the last session also .....

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: A person who is not present in the House and to make personal remarks of his behaviour of drinking and dining all the time are certainly derogatory. We are appointing committees. The reports are here and certainly they will be subjected to criticism and discussion, but the remarks of the nature of drinking and dining all the time, may kindly be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ibrahim.

SHRI B. IBRAHIM (Karnataka): Sir, at the outset let me take this opportunity to congratulate the Finance Minister for presenting a balanced budget for the second consecutive year. Even the worst critic has to admit that this is the best budget which can be presented under the present difficult economic situation.

When the entire economy of our country was in doldrums during the Janata rule, the worst we have faced during 1979-80, the hike in prices in Petroleum products resulted our economy into a very bad shape. But thanks to the sincere efforts of our Finance Minister, who has really brought the economy of our country out of danger and we are turning to the brighter side of recovery.

Sir, the raising of income-tax exemption limit to Rs. 15000 will benefit about 25 lakh of assesseees and another few lakhs would be benefited financially up to the limit of Rs. 35000. These exemptions have every reason for

cheer among middle class salaried people who are the worst sufferers due to hike in prices.

The Finance Minister has to be congratulated for the reduction in surcharge on income tax from 7.5 to 2.5 per cent which would encourage the corporate sector as also encourage the financiers to invest more confidently on companies. The rise in share prices immediately after the announcement of the present budget is a real indication of satisfaction among the investors.

The Finance Minister is pleased to raise the exemption limit of estate duty from Rs. 50,000 to one and a half lakh of rupees as wealth tax and this has relieved the burden of so many upper middle class people.

Additional excise duty on textiles to subsidise the controlled cloth and also to completely exempt all cotton hosiery items from excise duty, is a boon to poor class who would be the real beneficiaries.

The features of the budget are: the highest relief and no burden on poorer sections, certain concession to middle class and upper middle class people and finally more confidence on the part of investors. It is a balanced budget that can be presented under the present difficult economic situation. This is in accordance with the policies laid down by our Government and the promises made during the last Lok Sabha election.

When the Government is sincerely making efforts to rise high in the expectations of the people, it is the duty of every citizen to help the Government, and the opportunity given to invest on bearer bonds is a test for those who really love the nation. And this would be the last opportunity for those who should show their loyalty to the nation. Sir, in this connection I would like to refer to the case for scientific research and development. It is distressing to see enormous numbers of our scientists,

graduates, post-graduates, doctors, engineers, specialists in business management, chartered accountants and other specialists exporting themselves to America. By means of some incentives and some disincentives, we must try to change this trend and we ourselves must make use of our advancement in scientific know-how. At present we are spending hardly 0.6 per cent of the GNP for all scientific development which is very much below the minimum expenditure stipulated. In this connection, I would like to suggest the following:

Firstly, a graded surcharge, earmarked for scientific research and development be levied beginning with 1 per cent upto Rs. 5000 of income-tax payment, 2 per cent for the next Rs. 5000 and so on.

Secondly, a certain percentage should be levied on the net profits of all public limited companies, private limited companies, partnership firms and proprietary concerns. Mr. C. Subramaniam gave some concessions to firms investing in R&D. Unfortunately, the firms misused the facility to further evade taxes. This should be scrapped; instead, the above surcharge should be collected. It is also very well known that industrialists steal know-how from the Government's scientific laboratories. The industrialists and businessmen spend too much on wasteful expenditure.

Thirdly, all those trained people who want to go abroad and work there, should pay a compensatory charge to the Government before they could be permitted to go out of the country. After all, much of the people's money is spent on them to get them qualified and trained.

Sir, the fund so collected should be pooled centrally and utilised to build more scientific and technical centres, providing both for basic and applied research and to expand facilities in the universities and other institutions of

higher learning. I hope, Sir, the hon. Finance Minister will kindly look into these matters.

Next, I would like to mention a few words about the banking system. The character of banking has not changed even after nationalisation since all the banks are having separate identity—maybe, for the reason of profitability and competition. In this context, I would like to say that with the existence of separate identity, the people suffer much. For example, a man or a businessman cannot have transactions through the present banking system with the other man in our country without undergoing untold hardships. For example, a man from a village of Karnataka cannot have his transactions with a man in Nagaland, though in both the places there may be branches of nationalised banks. The said difficulties can be mitigated if the present banking system changes, either by creating zonal banks, or by removing the individual identity of banks. These systems have been tried in the case of General Insurance Companies and the Life Insurance Corporation. The railway's and post-offices' functioning can also be considered while examining this viewpoint. The establishment charges can also be brought down heavily. The competition between banks due to their separate identity leads to malpractices. There is a loss of revenue to the Government exchequer due to increase in expenditure. Each and every bank is having its Regional Offices, District Manager's offices etc. in almost all places. The value of perquisites given to all these officials taken together can be better utilised for some developmental works, if there is an integration of banks. Even if the perquisites are given at the block level, the overall expenditure will be much less compared to the present level of expenditure. Each and every bank is having its own Board of Directors, consisting of people drawn from different fields and from different places. The cost of such Boards, meetings can be reduced if there is integration of banks. About the mobility of personnel, it should be

[Shri B. Ibrahim]

made compulsory to all the officials of the bank to serve certain years in rural places. Up to a certain level of employment the transfer of staff can be restricted to the district level or State level. Initial appointment, after training, should be given in villages and then with promotion one can be taken to other levels. Considering all these factors, the banks in India should be made into a corporation or a zonal banking system should be introduced for the betterment of the people at large.

Sir, before concluding I would like to point out only one or two things. Firstly, as everybody knows, the other day even our beloved Prime Minister was kind enough to direct some of the State Governments to help other States which have faced drought conditions very recently. In this connection our State of Karnataka has also faced very acute drought conditions and I would request the Finance Minister to help us to the maximum possible extent and to come out with all help to remove our difficulties in Karnataka.

Finally, I would like to point out to the Minister for Steel and Mines through the hon. Finance Minister who is present here, regarding the Kudremukh iron ore project which has come up in Karnataka and which is a gigantic project as you are very well aware. But, unfortunately, nobody has come forward to lift the iron ore from the Kudremukh iron ore project. In this connection a few days back I read in the newspapers to the effect that Rumania has come forward to purchase iron ore from the Kudremukh project. I would request the hon. Finance Minister also to look into this matter and see that this iron ore project starts functioning as early as possible.

I would also like to mention here regarding starting of the pelletisation plant at Mangalore. The hon. Minister for Steel and Mines promised long back that they would start the pelletisation

plant at Mangalore as early as possible, but, up to this day we do not know at what stage it is.

With these remarks, Sir, I support this Budget and I would only say that it should be the common endeavour of all of us, rising above partisan prejudices and passions, to harness the people's enthusiasm for the task of development.

Thank you Sir.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak into the mike. It is not audible.

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

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I would congratulate the Finance Minister heartily for giving tax relief to the pulverised middle classes including the fixed income group, salary earners and pensioners. The budget proposals that go to help the small industries and strengthen the industrial base of this country have to be welcomed. He has given importance to savings generation and new investment in the urban sector, which any patriot should welcome. But I would appeal to him to search his heart and search in the budget proposals whether his budget would resurrect rural economy resurrect rural middle classes, generate saving and help capital formation and new investment in Rural India. He has failed the rural people, and the ruling party has failed the massive faith of the rural people in it, again and again, including the 1980-81 budget proposals.

Sir, the people of India will generally agree with me if I say very sadly that the political leaderships that assumed power at Delhi in Free India since independence have failed to a great extent to build a prosperous, progressive and peaceful India of our dreams. The Congress which is ruling at Delhi

since independence almost continuously except for a short period of about three years, and the Janata Party which was in power during that short period, are to be squarely blamed for the unforgivable failure to bring prosperity and peace to this ancient land of decile people with a rich culture and tradition flowing from the great religions of the Earth—Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism—which symbolised, preached and radiated *ahimsa*, truth, Raja Dharma and the spirit of renunciation. Gandhism of our land and of our times, which in essence is humanism and spirit of service, may come to be revered and accepted as a great religion like Hinduism, Jainism, Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. It is an irony of fate that some of our political leaders who were the disciples of Gandhiji and on whom the mantle of power fell, failed to work in the spirit of Gandhiji, Swami Vivekananda and Sree Bahubali Swami in a spirit of self-sacrifice, and did not work single-mindedly without fear or favour for eradication of poverty and the uplift of the poor in India.

Sir, today, nearly 49 per cent of our people are living below the poverty-line. Only the other day, Mr. Tiwari told the Lok Sabha that 99 million or nearly 10 crores of children in rural India and nearly two crores of children in urban India were living below the poverty-line. Our per capita income of Rs. 1249 in 1979 and those of Burma and Bangladesh are the lowest in the world while the per capita income of the USA is Rs. 70,000 and that of Japan Rs. 45,000. Even Pakistan's per capita income of about Rs. 1600 is more than our own.

More than 30 per cent of our rural population cannot afford to use even *chappals*, i.e. sandals. The per capita consumption of milk in the land of milk and honey of bygone days was 166 USA it was 689 grams and that of the USSR 476 grams; and it is not better in India today. If we look at the basic need of man, the housing, it is deplorable and shocking in this country even

after the implementation of five Five-Year Plans. Pavement dwelling in cities is coming to stay. According to the Government publications, our shortage in rural housing, including the bulk of sub-standard houses to be re-built or substantially improved, exceeds 7 crores houses. This will require a colossal sum of over Rs. 35000 crores, even at a low rate of Rs. 5,000 per house on an average. How do our Finance Minister and his successors generate this much of savings in rural India, and in how many generations to come?

Drinking water is another basic need of man. In almost every Budget session, during the last fifteen year, the State Governments have been falsely announcing that every village will be provided with a well for drinking water within two or three years and such promises will be continued to be made in the next 20 years and rural people fooled at the half-hearted and limping way the water supply programmes are being financed and implemented in rural India.

I would warn this nation of the greatest threat to our democracy coming from the ever widening socio-economic gap between the urban and rural societies. This gap is widening year by year, from one Five-Year Plan to the other since Independence. The development in this country has been lop-sided and there is lop-sided growth of the national economy.

I give below the figures which show the widening gap between the urban and the rural per capita income. First the agricultural population of India in 1881, that is, a century before today was 58 per cent, and it was less than those of France and Germany then, and has risen to 70 per cent now. During all the five Five Year Plans this percentage has not been reduced even by 3 per cent to 4 per cent.

Second, according to the agricultural statistics of the reorganised states, 1956, the area per head of people engaged in



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agriculture was 1.18 acres, and today it is less than one acre per head. Today more than 45 crores of farmers and farm labour are herded into 35 acres of land.

Third, the fragmentation of land has speeded up. Good many middle-class families have been reduced to small holders. And with this the under-employment in rural India has spread.

I need not elaborate on rural poverty as you are in the midst of it seeing it every day with your own eyes.

I would like to quote from an expert report:

"An agro-economic study conducted in the representative district of Ballia by a team of Pantnagar Agricultural University experts led by Dr. B. D. Singh states (published in June 1974):

'A vast majority of small and marginal farms in eastern Uttar-Pradesh are economically "unviable" ...

'The farmers are living in abject poverty and, despite supplementing their income by earnings from non-agricultural sources, they are hardly able to subsist...

'In Ballia District, 85 per cent of all farmers are below the poverty-line as against the All-India average of 50 per cent...."

These bad results are evidently the outcome of some of the wrong policies, ill-conceived economic policies of the Government, especially in regard to the farm sector. We have these disastrous results as a result of the invidious, urban-directed, urban-oriented economic policies followed by the Government at the Centre and in the States in regard to the village dweller who evidently has been treated as a second class citizen in free India. These results are the outcome of the outdated thinking on the land problem in

the second half of the twentieth century when the industrial revolution has been changing the face of the world and changing the economic conceptions. Until the 1917 Revolution in Russia and before the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe in the nineteenth century, land was the fountain-head of the aristocracy and the main source of living of a great majority of the peoples there. That lofty place for land is lost now in our new age.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we, the hon. Members here must note that in a developing, over-populated country like India there are two ways to cripple and strangle the rural economy and perpetuate the poverty in rural India: One is to reduce the size of the holding of a rural family to uneconomic levels where no savings and capital formation is possible, or allow it to sell the farm-produce at unremunerative prices so that the rural family lives and dies in debts like the bonded labour for the callous, exploiting society.

I would like to ask whether we have not attacked the disorganised, mute, helpless rural family on both these fronts? As we all know, the introduction of the land reform has been a blessing in this country. Through the land reform, the inams, the jodis, the *jahagirs*, have been abolished, and in most cases, lands under tenancy have been conferred to the tenants.

We must also note what happened in Russia or China in the name of land reform. The meaning of land reform was stretched to include collectivisation of agriculture in those countries.

Democrats of this country should not forget that the Planning Commission had stretched its imagination to include 'Co-operative Village Management of Agriculture' in its land reform proposals in the First Five Year Plan. But Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the great democrat that he was, bowed to the Indian public opinion and to reason and shelved his own pet resolution moved in the Nagpur session of the Congress,

in the cupboard of history, and saved the independence of the peasantry of this great land, and with that saved the independence of the people of India as a whole.

Sir, it was unfortunate for this country that the ruling Congress which had made electoral alliance with the Communist Party in 1971, reduced drastically these ceiling on land already fixed by the undivided Congress under the great leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

It would be of interest to note that the Central Land Reforms Committee of the Congress which gave directives to the States to reduce drastically the ceiling on land, was headed by a distinguished Member of this House, who belonged to the Communist Party. Sir, this further reduction in ceiling has contributed to the acceleration of fragmentation of land, further increase in uneconomic and marginal holdings, breaking up of rural middle class families and their joint-family homes, the widening of rural-urban socio-economic gap and the general weakening of the rural economy.

Sir, today with the imposition of such low ceiling on land, as our President, who is a farmer himself, has said, in one of his speeches, there can be no rich farmer in the country. Our Planning Commission must also note that in Delhi city alone there were more non-farm wealth-tax assesseees than all the agricultural wealth-tax assesseees put together in all the 5½ lakh villages of India, and that in rural West Bengal, there were just about 30 farm wealth-tax assesseees in 1977. This shows very roughly the distribution of wealth in India among the rural and urban societies.

I would like to point out here that after the Second World War, the Military Administration of the Allied Powers introduced land reforms to benefit the tenants. It also imposed a low ceiling on land. But after about 25 years, this ceiling on land was re-

moved in 1971 by the free Government of Japan. I would make a fervent appeal to the Prime Minister to restore the cut made on the ceiling on land after the 1972 General Elections, in the interest of integrated and healthy growth of the Indian economy. This course will in no way adversely affect the tenancy reforms and the tenants. This will not take away an inch of land given to anyone under the existing land reform laws.

Shrimati Indiraji's great come-back to power is a unique one and a rare one in world history. Perhaps there are just one or two such instances in history. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and she together have been Prime Ministers of this great nation for over 28 years. And it devolves on her to make an imprint of their long role in shaping India's destiny by concentrating her energies on eradicating the degrading poverty of our land. This is possible only by following pragmatic and realistic economic policies in the country single-mindedly, without fear or favour and ensuring the production of greater wealth and ensuring social justice to the people.

Sir, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to reduce the maximum rate of wealth-tax to 2 per cent.

I would appeal to the Prime Minister to abolish the farm wealth-tax which has been continued only on the plantations in agriculture to help the plantation industry which is earning a good deal of foreign exchange for the country.

Sir, I have already stated that the basic need of man, that is, housing, is deplorable in this country. The building activities in the cities have been hampered as a result of the unrealistic policies of the Government. The Urban Land Ceiling Act and the "house to the tenant" slogans have blocked investment in residential houses. Recently I was in the USA. There

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the economic activity of the country is measured in terms of the houses in millions built annually by the people and in terms of the number of cars turned out of the great factories and their sales. Therefore, I would appeal to the Prime Minister to take needful action to relax these restrictions. This action will not only help to provide houses for the needy but also expand employment opportunities on a vast scale. Thank you very much.

**SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister has used all the skill of an economist to paint and make a black picture a white one. In the beginning itself he says that he is presenting this budget "in an economic situation which continues to be difficult but also shows great improvement over the desperate conditions prevailing a year ago." So one has to draw one's own conclusions. The situation continues to be difficult but there is a big improvement over the last year. We would like to judge the budget from the point of view whether it enables us to tackle the problems of poverty, unemployment, social amenities and the general economic growth. If we judge from this point of view, Sir, this budget is a disappointing one. How? Two or three claims are being made. One is that we have given a big relief to the middle class people whose number goes up to 25 lakhs through. If you count the middle class people according to their terminology, their number will be 100 lakhs, not 25 lakhs, if you take into account the people residing in the rural areas also. But what do even those 25 lakhs gain? With the growing inflation all gain will be negated. If one middle class man who has been given relief through income-tax, travels from Calcutta to Delhi, all gain is lost in the train itself. Secondly, what he said was that development expenditure is very much increased. But out of total 80 per

cent is to be spent on the on-going projects and 20 per cent that is left, will go in the inflationary spiral. Another thing which is stated here is the big claim made about the black money bonds. Not a year goes when we don't talk about black money.

We know what harm it is doing to our economy. What has he said here about the role of black money?

"It is threatened by the pernicious growth of the black economy. This generates income flows which cannot easily surface in the financial system, and are, therefore, directed into socially harmful activity such as hoarding, profiteering, speculation and wasteful consumption."

Now, when you start interpreting things, it gives a correct picture but when you suggest solutions very different thing happens. This reminds me of what Karl Marx said: "The philosophers have interpreted the world; our business is to change it." So far as interpretation goes, they will say everything. But when it comes to the conclusion, they ask: What is the solution? The solution is special bearer bonds. It is to cover black money. But even then the black money is not coming out. The total which they have so far received is only Rs. 34 crores although in their Budget they have provided Rs. 200 crores this year. In order to mislead us they have provided Rs. 800 crores for the next year. This way they have only tried to help the black money people. This is the position and these are the claims being made. Why don't they resort to demonetisation which has been recommended by the Committee? That they are not going to do, because they require the black money.

They cannot hide the real picture, however much they may try. We are faced with a serious economic situation which is that of stagnation in economy.

If you come to industry, the claim is being made by them that—so far as industry is concerned, they say—there is an improvement: it is likely to show a growth of 4 per cent whereas last year figures show that there was a decline of 1.4 per cent. Over that now they are calculating to get 4 per cent growth. And what is the figure available to us between April and November? The Economic Survey says that industrial growth is 1.2 per cent. How are they going to overcome this lag in the coming period of the fiscal year? They can only go to astrologers, *swamis*, for an explanation. One cannot understand how they are going to show this 4 per cent growth this year.

Coming to agriculture, a big thing is made out that this year production is more than the year before's highest peak. Very big! But why do they hide this fact that still our agriculture depends on nature? One drought comes, 20 million less; one good weather, 23 million up. What is the credit for them? How are they going to take credit for this? I would like to ask them that whether this increase is not limited to three or four States like Punjab, Haryana, Western UP and part of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. I would like to ask them to quote figures of agricultural production in rest of the States. What is the production per acre? What is the increase therein? Nothing, because their reliance is mainly on what they call new technology. Three paras are written about new technology. And the figure is misleading. I would ask them to compare the figures they had given in the Third Plan and the Fourth Plan. What was the claim made at that time? They had set a target of 140 million food production in the Fifth Plan. Now they had no plan for two years and during the Sixth Plan the figure we have reached is only 132 millions. A big claim but the per capita availability, considering the growth of population, has come down.

Now, their whole reliance seems to be on a new technology. They have stopped talking about land-reforms. That chapter is closed. Recently the Planning Commission has made a study through its working group. They have submitted a report. What do they say? According to their report, if the ceiling is fixed at 20 acres, and if it is effectively imposed and all the loopholes plugged, then 20 million acres of land will be available for distribution to the landless. But no mention about it. No mention at all. They do not want to touch the landlords.

What is the fate of share-croppers? You go to Bihar and see how landlords are holding thousands of acres of land. On that basis they want more production. They want to increase agricultural production in this way. They do not want to unleash the production forces. They only want to use new technology. If we really compare the figures of target given in the earlier Plans, I would say that there is stagnation in agriculture. Taking the country as a whole, our agriculture depends on good weather. If there is good weather, the production goes up. So, from that angle also there is no improvement on the agricultural front.

Now I take the question of inflation. What is the claim made here? In paragraph 15 it is there. The claim made is that last year it was 20.4 per cent and now upto the middle of January it is 13.5 per cent. They do not tell us what is going to happen in the next months. Where is the guarantee that it will not go up? I would like to tell you what happened in February. When peasants during harvest time sold wheat, nobody was in the market to buy it even at Rs. 117/- a quintal. Now when the peasants had sold and it is the hoarders, big traders and big landlords are holding huge stocks the prices have shot up. In Bihar wheat is being sold at Rs 250/- per quintal. What will happen to the poor man?

[Shri Harkishan Singh Surjeet]

The Government is not coming forward to release stocks so that the prices are brought down, so that poor people do not suffer. From that angle also we find that inflation is not checked. Here both producers and consumers are being fleeced. They were saying that they will bring down prices. I would say that certain commodities are available only in black market. Take cement and steel. You pay Rs. 80/- and buy any amount of cement bags from black market. By how much percentage the house construction cost has gone up? The DDA has doubled the price of flats because the construction cost has gone up. The total picture that one finds is very dangerous. But they want us to believe that they have almost controlled inflation and the whole situation is under control now and we have overcome all our difficulties.

Then coming to the deficit in 4 P.M. the Budget, this is another factor which is going to contribute to inflation. That is also very clear. Last year there was a gap of Rs. 2700 crores and this year's deficit is also going to be there. Then there is another Rs. 800 crores which they want to get from black money bonds which is not going to come. So, taking all the calculations, there is going to be at least a minimum of 15 per cent increase in the money supply, which is going to increase inflation and throw a big burden on the people.

Then, Sir, we come to the balance of payments positions. What is the position of the balance of payments? There the picture is very clearly stated, that Rs. 2000 crores deficit is already there, after getting all aid and the massive loans which we have taken from the International Monetary Fund. In spite of that Rs. 600 crores of foreign exchange we will have to drain and it is calculated that our position in foreign exchange reserves is such that they are not sufficient even to finance our present

import bill for just five months. This is the position which we have come to, so far as this is concerned. This is the picture of the economy and the inflation. Where is it going to lead us to? Then, to whom have you provided the relief? You talk about the middle classes. Rs. 40 crores you have given to 25 lakhs. But to the corporate sector you have given Rs. 60 crores or Rs. 70 crores, when that sector has amassed a lot of wealth. Even, take, for instance, the Tatas and the Birlas. According to the answer given in Parliament, it is stated that between 1972 and 1978, only, the Tatas and the Birlas have increased their assets from Rs. 1231.35 crores to Rs. 2273.26 crores, almost double, Sir. But you have nothing to tax them. You allow them to double their assets but no taxation on them. Similarly, about landlords, no taxes on them. This is the position that you are having. And, then you give concessions to multinationals, which he has tried to cover in paragraph 21, that is the concessions given in the name of oil exploration and production, yes, we would like to be self-sufficient as far as possible. We want to do it. But what is the solution for that? Not depending on our technology and our technical know-how and the experts and all these things. They say, the urgency of the situation is also such that the Government has decided to supplement our domestic capability by engaging foreign parties on contract on a production-sharing basis to hasten the pace of exploration and development of potential oil fields. Here they are going to invite the multinationals, who play a very dangerous role in the whole economic structure.

Then, Sir, so far as the other things are concerned, we come to the major burdens already imposed. The increase in the railway fares and freight is there. Then there is the increase in the prices of coal, steel, oil which was announced earlier. Then they bring forth the Budget and say, we have not imposed any new burden,

only little taxes here and there and some customs duty is increased, nothing much is there. But when it comes to dealing with the working class, the poor people, the agricultural labourers, then what do we find? We find that the strike in the public sector units has entered the 77th day. But no solution is found. All the reports very clearly point out and the Economic Survey itself goes to prove that the contributions of the workers in the value added production annually is on the increase but the share of workers is always on the decrease. Then, what is this talk about discipline and what is this talk that you are very much wedded to the welfare of the working class and the poor people. We do not understand it. They do not mean that really. They want to benefit the big business and not the working class. Similarly, about the poverty line. They have talked about it. We do not know wherefrom the Planning Commission gets its figures when it is said that during the last three years it is reduced by 3 per cent. In fact, Sir, if you ask me, it is not a poverty line. It is a starvation line. Can anybody, on the basis of 1961-62 prices, live on Rs. 20/- which now comes to Rs. 45/- a month? Can anybody live? It is a starvation line. It should be called 'below starvation line'. Even there, they say that during the sixth plan period there is a plan to reduce it by 30 per cent. Let us see what reduction comes about. What has actually happened is, this poverty line has been growing. The number of those living below this poverty line, has grown compared to 1961-62 figures. This is the assessment so far. Let us see the census figures and then we shall come to the conclusion, if at all they collect this information. But we do not know.

Then, Sir, they have re-named the scheme 'Food for work' and they have also reduced the allocation. Against the allocation of Rs. 340 crores last year and the year before last, now the allocation has been reduced to Rs. 180

crores and the scheme has been re-named as 'Rural employment scheme'. Very good. And then a footnote is added. They expect the State Governments to provide the equal amount. Leave it to the State Governments. What is your responsibility in dealing with the unemployment problem of these agricultural workers, the Harijans who are completely unemployed in the lean season and who are to be provided with jobs? You are dealing with them in this way by reducing the allocation of Rs. 340 crores to Rs. 180 crores.

Then, they have so many other schemes. Take the case of dairy development. There too, they have reduced the allocation. Last Budget's allocation was Rs. 73 crores but they could utilise only Rs. 69 crores and now it has been further reduced to Rs. 52 crores. So far as fisheries are concerned, from Rs. 34 crores last year, it was reduced in the Budget to Rs. 23 crores and now the new allocation is Rs. 35 crores. This is what they are going to do for the development of agriculture. Let us be clear that they are not going to deal with the problem of unemployment and they are not going to generate new employment. That is the policy being pursued by them.

So far as the credit part is concerned, they have talked a lot saying that they are opening new financial institutes and they have opened so many banks, so many branches in the rural areas. What is the indebtedness in the country among the poorer sections today? Even the Reserve Bank has stopped surveying in the proper way. Its earlier survey showed how indebtedness was growing. In rural areas hardly 30 per cent of the credit is provided from these institutions. But 60 to 70 per cent of the people have to depend upon the local moneylenders by paying huge

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amounts of interest. What is happening in the tribal areas? There, they are cheated and looted and they are indebted in such a way that one cannot even imagine. What about the bank guarantee? A poor man in the rural area cannot provide any guarantee. We would like to have a review of such cases. There have been credit schemes for small farmers; medium farmers and we would like to have a review to know how far the rural poor have been benefited by these schemes.

We have got so many instances. If one wants to get a credit of Rs. 500/-, in the process he loses Rs. 400/- and he gets just Rs. 100/- and he has to sign for Rs. 500/-. There is so much of corruption from top to bottom. Just because the poor man is not able to produce any guarantee, he has to suffer and he is left with nothing. This is the picture so far as credit part is concerned. The Budget does not give any solution. I do not know wherefrom all these schemes, these big schemes, have been taken and how they are being made use of.

Now, there is a 20 per cent increase in the plan expenditure in the public sector. What is this 20 per cent increase in plan expenditure at this rate of inflation? In real terms, it is going to be very less. We should, therefore, not be misled by these assumptions and promises that are being made. We fail to understand how they are going to tackle all these problems, the problem of poverty, problem of unemployment and other such problems unless they tackle these problems on the lines I have suggested.

About land reforms, I find no mention in the Budget, when they talk about the 20-point programme. They had earlier stated that 1976 would be observed as the year of land records. Without the land records, nobody can enjoy the benefits provided by the tenancy Acts.

Nobody can enjoy anything unless the land records are complete and perfect. But they are not at all going to touch that sphere of activity because as soon as they touch it, the whole landed interests which are sitting with them, which are collaborating with them and helping them, will rise in revolt. They have not been able to resolve the rural tensions. This Budget will not help them to tackle the problem of rural tensions. I would like them to go through the report of the Home Ministry which was submitted in 1969 in which the Home Ministry has stated categorically about the rural tensions which are there. The basis is that the economic situation is worsening and the land reforms have failed and it is because of that, everywhere, the oppressor is oppressing the poor people and the Government and the Police are behaving as onlookers. That is why the whole tensions are being created. I feel unless you try to solve the economic problem, you would not be able to tackle all these questions. This also is very clear. But they are not doing anything. You say that capital formation should be there so that you can reinvest in industry. For what? We do not want that they should not set up new industries. But is it to amass wealth like this that in four or five years, they have doubled their assets? But so far as the poor people are concerned, they are treated like this. When the workers demand minimum wages they are not provided with that. They are threatened with very dire consequences and repression. This is the position we are faced with. Hence, when we take the totality, when we go into whole Budget, we find that a serious situation is prevailing, but the Government has not realised this. It is always better to present a correct picture before the public and try to get their co-operation, their solutions and suggestions as to how we can improve the situation. Let them compare their performance with their manifesto which they had presented during the 1980

elections and let them say what items have been implemented and how far they have been implemented and let them seek our co-operation in implementing the land reforms. But nothing of this sort is being done. They want our co-operation to help the Tatas, the Birlas and so on. But when it comes to the poorer sections, when it comes to the working class, when it comes to the agricultural labourers there is only talk and promises. How long can they go on feeding the people only on promises. For one or two years, they may be able to do it. But they cannot go on feeding the people only on promises. This is the position in which this Budget has been presented. When the Budget was presented last year; they said that this would not lead to inflation. But when the position was reviewed after a year; we find inflation has gone up very much and the pockets of the people have been cut. The same thing is going to happen in this Budget also. Disparity is going to increase and inflation is going to go up and this will only benefit the bigger sections. This will be harmful not only for the ruling party; but this will be harmful for the economy and for the nation as a whole. Let them have a look at it. Let there be a basic change in their policies towards the monopoly houses, towards the multi-nationals and towards the landlords and then let them come forward to seek the co-operation of the people. Unless we do this, we will not be able to come out of the economic disaster we are faced with.

Finally, Sir, I would like to refer to a little demand of Punjab, which we have been making since long. What is the demand? The demand is that there should be an international airport at Amritsar. I do not find anything in this Budget about this. There have been many statements from the Ministers. Sir, three hundred thousand families from Punjab are settled abroad. They are sending a lot of remittances. After they land

in Delhi, they have to spend Rs. 800-900 towards taxi fare for going to Punjab. The people of Punjab have been demanding that to start with, there should be at least one flight a week from Amritsar so that the people can travel to Delhi and go back. Then, Sir, a number of vegetables are being exported. Punjab is exporting some goods outside. For that, they need a dry port. But nothing has been done in this regard. The earlier Government had also promised. They have been promising. Many statements have been made by the Minister of present Government. But when it comes to concrete things, nobody is there to take the responsibility. In this also, there is a total neglect. If somebody has some influence, he is able to get the things done. When somebody becomes Railway Minister, he gives some railway lines to his State and so on. This has not been done in a balanced manner. This is not helping. These things should also be done away with.

Finally, I would say, this Budget is a very disappointing one and I would ask them to revise it, at least at this stage, have a second look over it and try to get those resources and potential productive forces unleashed. They can produce a lot in the country and the country's production can be raised to a large extent if the productive forces are unleashed.

श्री जी० स्वामी नायक (आन्ध्र प्रदेश):

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं श्री वेंकटरामन जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है 81-82 का उसका अनुमोदन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जो एकमेव हमारे राष्ट्र की नेता हैं उनके कार्य-काल का यह पहला बजट इसी तरह से पेश हुआ और कई मिडिल क्लास के लोगों को, गरीब लोगों को बजट में टैक्स से राहत दी गयी है। इसी तरह से इस बार बजट में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी ने मिडिल क्लास मध्यम वर्ग के लोगों को इनकम टैक्स से



[श्री जी स्वामी नायक]

छूट 15 हजार तक की लिमिट तक दी तथा वैल्यू टैक्स में और प्रापर्टी टैक्स में भी छूट दी गयी है। इंदिरा गांधी जी के दौर में यह जो बजट पेश किया गया है और सारे राष्ट्र में 20 नुकाती प्रोग्राम को लेकर जो प्रोग्राम इम्प्लीमेंट किया जा रहा है उससे अच्छी स्कीम और कोई नहीं हो सकती है और जहां तक हो सकता है जब गारण्टी, जो बेरोजगार है, उन्हें हमारी जो कांग्रेस सरकार है वह जब गारण्टी भी दे रही है और जो कृषक कृषि मूल्य बराबर नहीं पाते थे इस बार उन्हें शुगर केन का दाम तीन सौ रुपये प्रति टन तक मिला और इसी तरह से क्रॉप इन्श्योरेंस भी किया जा रहा है। फार्मर्स के लिए वेलफेयर फण्ड का भी हमारे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में प्रयोजन किया गया है और इसी तरह से किसानों के लिए कई सहूलियतें हैं। जो भूमिहीन हैं उन्हें भूमि दी गयी है और जिनके पास 10 एकड़ तक जमीन है उनका लगान माफ किया गया है तो इसी तरह से और कई वेलफेयर स्कीमों हमारी इंदिरा जी की सरकार के द्वारा सारे देश में ली जा रही हैं। आन्ध्र प्रदेश में उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं आपके माध्यम से हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहूंगा कि वहां पर अकाल पड़ा हुआ है कई जिलों में ड्राउट आया है और जो फण्डस जो निधि निर्धारित की गई है मैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी से आग्रह करूंगा कि उसमें और इजाफा करने की कोशिश करें ताकि हमारी आन्ध्र प्रदेश सरकार जो मुसिबतें वहां उठा रही है उसका डटकर मुकाबला कर सके और गरीबों को राहत मिल सके।

मैं ट्राईबल, आदिवासियों के मुताल्लिक आप के माध्यम से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का ध्यान आकृष्ट करूंगा कि ट्राईबल प्लान

पहाड़ी इलाकों में और जंगली इलाकों में, जो हैं इसका अमल हो रहा है लेकिन इस को देखें कि आधे से ज्यादा आबादी उनकी प्लेस में रहती है। मैं आपके माध्यम से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा कि जो लोग आधे से ज्यादा प्लेस में रहते हैं ट्राईबल आदिवासी उनको भी सब प्लान का फण्डस जो है, जो सहूलियतें दी जाती हैं, उनको भी दी जानी चाहिए, मैं आपके माध्यम से फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूं कि आदिवासी इलाकों में कई जगहों पर जाने के लिए रास्ते नहीं हैं। ये रास्ते न होने की वजह से, रोड्स नहीं होने की वजह से उन को पानी की सहूलियत नहीं पहुंचाया जा सकती है और जब रोड, नहीं है तो वहां बोर वेल की गाड़ियां नहीं जा सकती हैं। तो मैं चाहूंगा राज्य सरकारों को डायरेक्ट करे ताकि रोड फण्डस में इजाफा करे और पीने के पानी की सहूलियत करें।

इसी तरह से रूरल हाउसिंग का प्रोग्राम है। हमारे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में गांव-गांव में 400 रुपये की जगह अब 1000 रु० सरकार की ओर से घर बनाने के लिए दिया जा रहा है। मैं अपनी तरफ से प्रयोजन करूंगा कि यह 1000 रु० की बजाये 5,000 रु० किये जायें; उन की सबसिडी को, लोन हो सरकार की तरफ से मदद हो, किसी भी तरह से वह मकान बनाया जाये चाहे तो उसको हम क्रिस्त में वसूल कर सकते हैं।

इसी तरह से गुजिस्ता साल हमारी सरकार की ओर से जो ट्राईबलस हैं, आई० टी० डी० ए०, उन के लिए उसमें मोड प्रोजेक्ट (मोडिफाइड ऐरिया डेवलपमेंट प्रोजेक्ट) एक स्कीम बनाई गई। उसके तहत जहां पर 10,000 लोग रहते हैं, और उस में 50 फीसदी से ज्यादा ट्राईबलस

रहते हैं, वहाँ भी ट्राइबलस के लिए सब-प्लान ट्राइबल पोकेट, मोडीफाइड एरिया डेवलपमेंट के पैसे से बने हैं और उस में कई स्कीमों में सबसिडी देनी पड़ती है— 50 परसेंट सबसिडी है और 50 परसेंट लोन लेना पड़ता है। तो कई जगह बैंक वालों ने, बैंक के डाइरेक्टर या मैनेजर ने, हमारी सरकार की ओर से जो प्रोजेक्ट आते हैं उन को रिफ्यूज कर दिया है। तो मैं चाहूंगा कि ये जितने भी ट्राइबलस के लिए, आदिवासियों के लिए प्लान होते हैं, या सब प्लान होते हैं उस में जो सबसिडी बैंक के लोन द्वारा पूरी की जाती है। उसके लिये जिस तरह से नेशनल एग्रीकलचरल बैंक खेलने का सरकार ने फैसला किया है उसी तरह से पूरे राष्ट्रीय लेवल पर नेशनल ट्राइबल बैंक का प्रोग्राम भी होना चाहिए ताकि जो कुछ ट्राइबलस के, आदिवासियों के प्रोग्राम लिये जा सकते हैं उनके वास्ते उन्हीं बैंकों द्वारा बग़ावर मदद हो और उस धन से, उस कर्ज से वे अपना डेवलपमेंट कर सकें।

आखिर में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि आदिवासी और हरिजनों के ऊपर जो अत्याचार हो रहा है—उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से अपने फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर का ध्यान आकर्षित करूंगा— कि गुजरात में ये जितने मुट्ठी भर लोग एजीटेशन कर रहे हैं, वहाँ के लोग किस तरह रिजर्वेशन के खिलाफ लड़ रहे हैं हालांकि जो पोलिटिकल पार्टियां हैं उनके नेताओं ने हमारे हाउस में उस को कंडेम भी किया, लेकिन मैं चाहूंगा इसमें आन्दोलन के पीछे जो लोग हैं उन्हें चाहिए कि जहाँ पर महात्मा गांधी जैसे पवित्र आदमी ने जन्म लिया है, गुजरात में, वैसे जगह में जो यह धांधली मचाई है और उसको और भी देश के कोने में

पहुँचाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, ये सारी पार्टियां जो आदिवासी और हरिजनों के कल्याण की बात करती हैं उन से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि सारी पार्टियां मिल कर उन्हें कंडेम करें और देश के जो पिछड़े हुए लोग हैं, आदिवासी और हरिजन हैं उनको ऊंचा उठाने के लिए सरकार जो काम कर रही है, उस काम में सारी पार्टियां सरकार को सहयोग दें और उन को आगे ले जाने में मदद करें।

इतना कह कर, मैं आखिर में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर मिस्टर वैनकटरामन जो बजट यहाँ पेश किये हैं उसका अनुमोदन करता हूँ। शुक्रिया।

DR. MALCOLM S. ADISESHIAH: (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, in participating in this general discussion on the budget, one has to take into account two broad areas: One, how far the budget raises resources needed by the Government for various items of expenditure and, secondly, how far the budget meets Government's policies in regard to price stability, in regard to growth of industry and agriculture and the sub-sectors of the small-scale industry, village industry and large-scale industry, how far it promotes employment generation and reduction of unemployment and the general objectives of the country as set forth in the Plan. Therefore, the budget discussion raises quite rightly, well beyond the narrow purview of the raising of money and the proposal for disbursement on various items and focusses on Government policies in these major areas.

The Finance Minister's speech introduced in the budget and the Economic Survey that he presented to Parliament preceding the presentation of the budget provide the background to the overall review of the economics we undertake. Mr. Vice-Chairman, my overall review of the economy may be summarised under six broad heads. First with

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regard to inflation. When the budget was presented at the end of February, the Finance Minister recognised that the budget was presented at the time when the price rise between the beginning of April 1980 and the end of January 1981 was 13.5 per cent. My count is that on this point-to-point basis if you continue that from 31st March 1980 to 31st March 1981, the price rise would be around 15 per cent for the year, though the latest report is that this has gone beyond the trend line. I believe that all things taken into account we should plan to end this year with a 15 per cent rise. Now, taking into account the various forces which are operating and which will operate with regard to price rise in a number of commodities which have not yet registered a rise in prices including those like petroleum where there is to be a further rise to cover the last OPEC decision of a ten per cent increase, I forecast that for the next financial year, the budget for which we are discussing there will be a further price rise of 15 per cent and therefore, it would be the path of wisdom for the Government, for business, for households and housewives to plan on the basis of a 15 per cent increase and not on the basis of the price rise which seems to be implied in some parts of the budget proposals. Though the Finance Minister says very clearly in his statement that the inflationary pressures are strong and are still with us and will have to be combated, with the combating of the inflationary pressures I still look forward to this kind of a further 15 per cent rise in the future. Secondly, the agricultural sector presents for the current year, 1980-81, as the Government points out in the Economic Survey, an extremely satisfactory situation of 19 per cent increase over the very low production of 1979-80. By the way, I have a feeling that the figures quoted for 1979-80 need to be reviewed again and corrected because

there are two sets of figures set forth there. Now, this target of 132 million tonnes which is expected in the foodgrains sector for this year in a sense raises problems for 1981-82, namely, as to whether this rate of increase can be kept up. You cannot have another 19 per cent increase. This is very clear. Because this 19 per cent increase was on the decline, considering the minus figures of last year. The question is not simply of statistical percentage increase for 1981-82. The question is to see how far the 1981-82 agricultural production, foodgrains and cash crops, can maintain the upward trend through the increased irrigation facilities, through the various new technologies of high yielding strains, fertilizers, etc. This is going to be a difficult task. And I think the Economic Survey admits that the agricultural sector will not be a buoyant sector in terms of the sharp rise for the next year, as it was in this year.

Now I turn to the industrial sector. Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think here the Government forecasts that we are likely to end this year with a 4 per cent rate of growth. On the basis of my own studies, I am inclined to agree with this forecast of a modest 4 per cent rate of growth, but it is this sector which will have to catch up in the next financial year; if we are to keep up the trend of overall growth of 5 per cent that is forecast in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, it will have to be somewhere around 10-11 per cent for the year 1981-82 and I should like to refer how far the Budget pushes the various levels of industries—large, medium, small and so on—in this direction of a rate of growth of 10-11 per cent. In this connection, Sir, I must say that the public sector performance this year, except in the case of a few of the heavy industries reported in the Economic Survey, continues to be unsatisfactory, registering serious losses. In fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think that some of the activities in

the State sector are creating or giving rise to heavy losses. We note from the reports we receive on electricity undertakings, road transport and irrigation, that the losses in 1980-81 at the State level are very serious, so that the public sector picture is not—as we usually do—confined to only one Union Ministry, the Ministry of Industry, but we should take into account the totality.

Now I deal with savings and investment. Here I may say that they are two important things. I think that those of us who are working on the savings and investment figures are very confused because the three agencies which furnish us the figures, namely, the Central Statistical Organisation, the Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank, use three different bases, what are called the Gross Domestic Product, the Gross National Product and the Net National Product. And the result is that we have different sets of figures which we are not able to compare and follow. I would plead that we stick to one type of figures; and I prefer the Gross National Product as the base to be used by all the agencies. Now with regard to the savings and investment, we find that in 1979-80, for which we have the figures, there has been a decline in both the savings and the investment. The savings fell from 23.9 per cent of GDP to 21.2 per cent and the investment from 23.7 per cent to 21.8 per cent. The sharp decline in the savings and the investments in 1979-80 is a part of the general declaration of the economy which took place in 1979-80. In regard to the coming year, it is expected that if the projections for industry and agriculture are fulfilled, there would be an increase, there would be pick-up, in the savings and the investment.

The second thing to note Mr. Vice-Chairman, is that the trend the savings and the investments after four continuous years of excessive savings

over investment—we have been saving, this poor country has been saving more than it has been investing, and we have been sending our savings abroad—for the first time in 1979-80 has been reversed. It was in the opposite direction for four years. And our savings are a little less than our investment .6 per cent of the GDP. It is I think more in line with the nature of our economy.

Let me finish. Just two more brief comments on the state of our economy. The deficit with which we are concluding this year, according to the Union Minister is 1,975 crores of rupees on certain assumptions which I will come to later. But we should add to these 513 crores of rupees which are the deficits of the States so that the total deficit is well above Rs. 2,000 crores, about Rs. 2,500 crores. The Reserve Bank has mentioned about the deficits of the States in a report. This is a serious situation.

Finally, I regret that from the information contained in the Economic Survey we have not been able to really judge the state of employment and unemployment, whether it is at the Central level or at the State level. The information that we have, the data that we have, at the city level, the village level, the State level or the level of the country as a whole is so poor that we are not able to say what is happening. We can make general statements that the employment level is getting better or worse. I for one am not able to say anything. There is some detailed analysis now in the Sixth Plan document. That kind of analysis, I plead with the Government, should be carried forward and contained in the Economic Survey so that the Members of Parliament and public would know something about the state of employment in our country. On this depends the reduc-

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tion of our poverty.\* We have committed ourselves to reduce the poverty percentage. According to the Sixth Plan, 48 per cent of our people are living under the poverty line. The Sixth Plan makes the bold assertion that if the five years of the Sixth Five Year Plan proceeds on the basis of 5.2 per cent or 5 per cent growth with no change in distribution, then, the persons living below the poverty line will go down from 48 per cent to 38 per cent. Then it goes on to make further serious proposals. I heard my friend, Mr. Surjeet, say that there was no proposal for redistribution of land. He is right there is no major proposal for redistribution. But there is a small proposal for redistribution of 5 per cent of land of the owners holding above five acres. That one is there, and similarly the IRDP the Integrated Rural Development Programme, is there. Under this the forecast is that the people under the poverty line will be reduced from 48 per cent to 30 per cent. This is a very bold picture. In five years we will reduce the percentage in our country from 48 to 30. Now is this happening? What is happening? We are not able to judge from the kind of information that is available to Parliament and to people, in the Economic Survey document. Now may I turn to my second point? Against this economic background, on the whole I support the budget which has been presented for the following three reasons. First, the budget, I believe, is fiscally sound because it proposes to raise resources of the order of Rs. 23,000 and odd crores—Rs. 14,000 crores on the revenue side and Rs. 9,000 crores on the capital side—through what I call relatively painless methods, and the disbursements stay within the broad resources raised, except for the deficit to which I will come later. Secondly, I support the budget because it is what I call inflation-neutral. That is to say, it has

increased customs taxes by Rs. 232 crores through a 5 per cent *ad valorem* tax and there is a duty on newsprint of 15 per cent and so on. But none of these will have any direct effect on the wholesale price index. And if one looks at the budget, there are anti-inflationary elements in it. One anti-inflationary element is this: if the Special Bearer Bonds scheme succeeds, if the Government is able to obtain Rs. 2,000 crores this year and Rs. 8,000 crores next year from the Special Bearer Bonds, it would be an anti-inflationary element. Now, you may ask: how do I reconcile the fact that I regard the budget as inflation-neutral with my earlier statement that next year there will be a 15 per cent inflation? I foresee a 15 per cent inflation next year. For me, the causes for inflation are outside the budget; they are not within the budget. They are caused by what we all know, by the price increase that is taking place in the railway freights and passenger fares, in coal, in steel, in petroleum products, by the price rise which is going to take place in cement, in paper, in drugs and by further increases in the prices of petroleum products to cover the 10 per cent increase because of the OPEC's decision and so on. So, the forces for inflation come from outside the budget. The budget itself is not a source of inflation. Now, this is a rather important corollary. If anything, the budget is slightly anti-inflationary in terms of the Special Bearer Bonds, in terms of the Compulsory Deposit Scheme which is being continued and in terms of the rather tight monetary policy that is proposed to be followed next year.

The third reason why I support the budget is that it is pro-investment. It is shaped in such a way as to give industry a boost. As far as Plan investment is concerned, there is a Plan

investment of about Rs. 17,500 crores proposed, with major investments in agriculture and allied industry, in energy and in large and medium industries. Secondly, there is a push for increased savings; there is a diversion from consumption to savings proposed by increasing the deposit rates: for deposits from 1 to 2 years, from 7 to 7.5 per cent; for deposits from 2 to 3 years, from 8 to 8.5 per cent. and for deposits for 3 years and above, from 8.5 to 10 per cent. And for six-year savings certificate, there will be a 12 per cent interest. This will lead to increased savings which will go into business. Then it is pro-investment because the private sector has been given, as pointed out by my friends, a number of incentives. The interest ceiling on debentures has been raised from 12 to 13.5 per cent. I am glad, because this will help business to raise its own money and not go on depending on term-finance institutions. The depreciation allowance for plants and machinery manufacturing renewable energy systems has been increased from 10 to 30 per cent. Very good. This means lesser dependence on oil and crude and more on development of renewable energy systems. Thirdly, the promoters, those who promote companies, now can hold more than 40 per cent of equity for the first three years of the company and are not limited as they are before.

Fourthly, the surcharge on companies has been reduced from 7.5 to 2.5 per cent. As one of our papers showed, this will have an unequal effect on different companies, on FERA companies, large companies, small companies, and so on. But that is one of the prices that we must pay.

Then fourteen of the industrial groups have been removed from the Eleventh Schedule and are made eligible for tax exemption. Free Trade Zone exemptions have been given to a number of units now. Now the tea plantation industry has an in-

creased ceiling for development allowance on replanting. Electronics industry has been given special concessions as a labour intensive and science and technology intensive industry to grow.

From all the points, therefore, I see the Budget as making a push in the direction of increased investment and therefore promoting industries. For these three or four reasons on the whole I support the Budget.

Now I wish to warn the Finance Minister of the number of dangers that he faces in the Budget. The first danger—for me the most serious—is that this Budget indicates the regressive nature of the Indian fiscal system. That is to say, under our fiscal system majority of the taxes are paid by those of us who belong to the 30 per cent minority. If you look at the Budget, you have the customs and excise which come from the majority of 70 per cent; they pay over Rs. 10,000 crores whereas the direct taxes, income-tax, wealth tax, company corporation tax, yield only Rs. 3000 crores. By giving concessions, valuable concessions which the Finance Minister has given to those who pay direct taxes, the top 30 per cent, and by continuing and increasing slightly the excise duties and customs duties, he worsened the regressive nature of our fiscal system. I regret this very much. We, well-to-do., people are going to pay less than the poor people in our country.

Secondly, I want to raise the question whether the time has not come for the Government and the Finance Ministry to think of bringing prices into the Budget so that no price increases escape Parliament's control. Government does not control all prices; it controls prices of cement, steel, coal—all these have administered prices. If you look at these prices I find that anything from 60 to 80 per cent, of the prices are taxes; they are not cost of production, they are not labour, they are

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not raw materials; they are taxes. If they are taxes, then my question is whether a convention should not be built up under which price increases or price decreases could also be made in the Budget statement every year like we make in regard to taxes, because as I see, I see now less and less of a distinction between taxes and administered prices. If 60 to 80 per cent prices are taxes, then, why are they escaping the control of Parliament? Why is it that the Steel Ministry, why is it that the Cement Ministry, why is it that the Coal Ministry, why is it that the Agriculture & Irrigation Ministry, is able to change the prices and Parliament has nothing to do with them? We are dealing with, in fact, only a small part. The Energy Minister took away last year and this year over Rs. 3300 crores from us. This is much more than what Mr. Venkataraman proposes to take. Why should they be allowed to do it without any discussion in Parliament and without a Vote of Parliament?

Thirdly, in addition to the regressive nature I have a feeling that the Budget has given away too much to us, the so called middle class people by way of concessions to income-tax payers at a time when the Central Government and State Governments have to mobilise more resources. As somebody pointed out, there is a saying in Tamil that if the ghee that you have to use is somebody else's, then your wife can put her hand into the pot and take the ghee. If it is your own ghee, you use a tea spoon to take it out. What we have given to the middle class by way of income tax concessions is not your own money. It is the State's money that is given. Eighty per cent of it comes from the States and at the same time we want the States to mobilise their resources.

I think there is a speculative element in the budget. With the deci-

sion of the Supreme Court not to take up the question of special bearer bond till April, I see little chance of your reaching the target of Rs. 200 crores this year. I have my own doubt about your attaining the target of Rs. 800 crores. If this factor is taken into account, the deficit financing becomes much more serious and it may cross the magic figure of Rs. 2,000 crores.

The Budget does not contain any effective steps to attack black money. I do not consider the bearer bond scheme as a good one. In spite of the firm promise given last time by the Finance Minister that there will be reduction in subsidies and non-plan expenditure, subsidies are increased. In spite of the Finance Minister, statement that there has been a careful review on non-plan expenditure, I see no reduction in the administrative non-plan expenditure. This is one of the first things we must ensure in every budget in order to live within the means we have.

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, *prima facie* it appears that the budget, as has been said by some of the Members, is a common man's budget or growth-oriented budget. It appears so. But if we analyse it, one can come only to one conclusion that it is an illusion and it will benefit only the families of big business.

We have been hearing from the present Prime Minister in every alternate speech of hers that we must look after the weaker sections of the society, the poorer sections of the society and we must give all the benefits to them. But the budgets of last year and this year are just to the contrary. During the ten year period of the present Prime Minister, she always spoke for the poor people and weaker sections. But what do the statistics show? Only 25 families are holding the maximum portion of our national wealth. But every day we are told that the Government

is helping the poor and we must help the weaker sections. But only 25 capitalist families have amassed wealth and they are exploiting the poorer sections, the workers and the labourers. The Prime Minister's statement is not reflecting in the Budget. This shows that the Government is not sincere to the weaker sections, but they are sincere only to the industrialists and capitalists. Sir, we have seen how some capitalist countries like Japan and Germany developed. Assuming for a moment that this capitalist system yields good results, even if we had followed that, I could have understood it. Our experience over the last 33 years makes us disheartened.

Sir, let us see the position as of today. From the figures that have been placed before the House, you can see that 50 per cent of the people are below the starvation level. I am not talking of the poverty line. Sir, you know the difference between the starvation level and the poverty level. Reports of different committees are there and from them we find that 50 per cent of the people are now below the starvation level. And these people are not getting any benefits. They will not get any benefit out of this Budget. They remain where they are and where they were. Sir, nobody would say that the Finance Minister does not understand the subject. He understands the subject very much, and he is very skilful. He has presented this Budget and at some places you will find that it is a pre-General Election Budget.

**SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE** (Maharashtra): Bengal elections?

**SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY**: I do not know. It looks like a pre-election Budget. It is very skilful, taking away from the poorer sections and giving all the benefits to the industrialists. It is an illusion to the common man. And everything is provided for the big business. This is the characteristic of the Budget, this one line characterises the Budget.

Now, Sir, let us see what the position is. They say that agricultural production is increasing. It may now be estimated at 132 million tonnes. And there may be a slight increase. Even if you assume 135 million tonnes, it all depends on different natural circumstances because the irrigation system in our system is not as it should be or as the people are demanding it. So, Sir, this is an accidental figure. In the industrial sector they say that it has increased by 4 per cent. But previous year's fall of 1.4 per cent has not been taken into account. So, in the industrial sector, you may say that there is a marginal rise; in the agricultural sector, there is a marginal rise. And what is the position, Sir, in regard to infra-structure? There is a slight rise. As regards revenue, as pointed out earlier, there is a slight increase. That is also due to customs duty from liberalised imports. And the situation remains grim.

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So, Sir, what will happen? Sir, power generation is below 50 per cent of the installed capacity. And the infra-structure is very weak. The coal output is inadequate. Production of rail wagons is inadequate. Coal is required for power generation and wagons are required to take coal to the power plants, and everything is in disorder. And, Sir, you have heard even the Minister saying here that they are not getting the wagons and, therefore, they are not able to send coal to the power plants. So, Sir, this is the position about the infra-structure. Sir, despite many liberal concessions given, I may say that there is no increase in production, production has not reached the level which it should have. On the contrary it is very much less. You will find that nearly 300 large and 20,000 small industries are sick. The number may actually be larger than this and they are mostly run with loans from the help of



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banks and financial institutions. Then, Sir, there is no attempt made to have good relations between labourers, workers, trade unions and the management. All this is in spite of the liberal policy adopted towards big industrialists. This is the position in some large industries and small industries. There is no attempt made to have congenial relations and giving the workers and labourers their due. No attempt is being made in that direction.

Sir, you must have seen that in reply to different questions it has been stated that more than 25,000 workers are on strike for more than 70 days in the Bangalore public sector units. Of course, somebody attacked the public sector yesterday. But we are opposed to that. Because we do not support the policy of attacking the public sector. The public sector is deteriorating on account of two factors, firstly, bad administration, and secondly due to the non-co-operation and enmity towards labourers, workers and trade unions. This Government should do something immediately for the weaker sections and for the poor people. Before the law was placed before the House, even Mr. Ghanj Khan Ghau-dhri stated, we are not going to meet the trade unions.

I had asked a question to do what the position in the coal fields was? The position is that in coal, cement and other spheres the situation is very gloomy, rather grim. So, even there we have no chance of increasing production, unless these things are set right.

Now, Sir, the current year's Budget deficit was originally estimated at Rs. 1445 crores. But now it is estimated to rise to Rs. 1975 crores. But now due to higher prices and no export income, it may ultimately go up to Rs. 2,000 crores. So, Sir, this is the position. *Prima facie*, the Budget exposes what the position in the country is and how the Budget has

been presented for removing this malady. It is nothing but a show or a display or playing to the gallery and the papers when it is said that the Budget gives relief to poor people and poorer sections.

Now, Sir, let us see the price index. The wholesale price index in February and March was 267.7, i.e. 170 per cent above that of last year, taking 1971 as the base. Next, Sir, what is the position of rupee today? The power of rupee is reduced to 25 paise.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT (Uttar Pradesh): In relation to what year?

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTI: Taking 1970-71 as the base year. Now, Sir, there is the highest fall in national income and also there is some accumulated stock, amounting to Rs. 45,419 crores taking 1970-71 as the base year, I must repeat it. This means, Sir, the demand is poor and the fall in the national income has been the highest. Still, what do we find here? We find only one thing. All the time they have been saying that in the last 33 months the country has been left in this position, but let us search our hearts, let us see. Let us see what the Prime Minister used to say in all these ten years. I want to show what the position is. The statistics show that these 20 families are ruling India and we have given benefit to those industrialists and those people who are exploiting the country. There is no attempt or even whisper of setting the matter right or giving relief to the poorer people. May I say one thing? I do not want to repeat what the other Members have said. Now the 'food for work' programme was introduced in the lean season. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Banerjee, we shall reply to it afterwards. But let me make it clear here before the House that the allocation for this programme has also been reduced. There is nothing in the budget excepting water about the development of the standard of the poor

people, there is no mention about providing employment opportunities to the poor.

My last but not the least important point is regarding employment, regarding the removal of poverty. There is no effective plan for these things. If that is so, what is the positive thinking? As you know, this budget will be an illusion for the poor people and all the industrialists will be reaping the fruits.

I would like to say a word about inflation. As you know, inflation is a weapon for transferring purchasing power from the poor to the wealthy people. This is the worst form of taxation on the poor people and it has been an admitted fact that Mr. Venkataraman this year has changed the technique. He has taken 13.5 per cent to be the inflation. But the way it is generally done, it will come to 15 per cent. And it will increase in this way to not less than 30 to 35 per cent next year. So, what will be the position? The purchasing power of the poor labourers, workers and others will be reduced and the wealthy people will reap the fruit. There is a great reluctance to tax the rich, and resort to deficit financing. They are trying to avoid mobilisation of resources and mobilisation of strength.

Then there is one painful thing which you will be surprised to know. Sir, there are lakhs of displaced persons. We get plan after plan. In Punjab it was partially solved. In Bengal still now it has not been solved. There are 700 colonies and nothing has been said about them in the budget. It is not a new problem. This problem has been there from the days of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, from the days of the partition of India. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I have not taken much time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Your time is already up. You have already exceeded your time

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY: Then, I will cut short I must say, the Budget is very much disheartening and it does not give anything to the poor people. The poor people will become poorer. Poverty will not be driven out. It is only the poor people who will be driven out. Only the poor people will be driven out of the society and only the rich people and the capitalists will be there in this country. I would again repeat that this is a Budget for the rich and this is not a Budget for the poor.

श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, वित्त मंत्री जी श्री राम स्वामी वेंकटरमन द्वारा संसद में प्रस्तुत वर्ष 1981-82 का केन्द्रीय बजट देश के चतुर्मुखी विकास हेतु निर्धारित लक्ष्य को लेकर बनाया गया है। इस में प्रधान मंत्री श्री मती इंदिरा गांधी द्वारा लोगों को दिये गये आश्वासनों को पूरी तरह से दृष्टि में रखा गया है।

यह एक निर्विवाद सत्य है कि आज महंगाई का सर्वाधिक शिकार मध्य श्रेणी का वेतन भोगी कर्मचारी हो रहा है अतएव वैयक्तिक आय में कर की छूट की सीमा राशि बढ़ा कर 15000 रुपये वार्षिक कर देना एक बड़ी राहत है। यों आयकर में राहत तीस हजार वार्षिक तक की आय वालों को भी मिलेगी।

वित्त मंत्री के इस निर्णय से देश के लगभग 14 लाख करदाताओं को लाभ मिलेगा और वे करदाता की सूची के बाहर हो जायेंगे। देश के लगभग 40 लाख करदाताओं में से 14 लाख करदाताओं को कर के दायरे से एक दम बाहर कर देना अपने आप में एक साहसिक प्रयास है जिसका सर्वत्र स्वागत किया जायेगा। इस बजट के माध्यम में यह एक बार फिर सिद्ध हो गया है कि प्रधान मंत्री देश के कमजोर वर्ग व पिछड़े वर्ग की समस्याओं के हल करने में गहरी रुची रखती हैं। यही कारण है कि आज देश की बहुसंख्यक

### [श्री गुरु देव गुप्त]

जनता उन के पीछे है। उन के एक आह्वान पर थोड़े से समय में देश के कोने-कोने से 25 लाख किसानों की दिल्ली में सम्पन्न हुई रैली इस बात की प्रतीक है कि सुदूर गांव में रहने वाला, अनपढ़ कहा जाने वाला किसान, प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के साथ है और वह प्रतिपक्ष के बहकाव में आने वाला नहीं है। प्रधान मंत्री की हरित क्रांती की नीति का ही यह फल है कि आज देश खाद्यान्न के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर है।

बजट में लघु उद्योगों को राहत तथा संपत्ति कर व धन कर में छूट को वर्तमान सीमा 50 हजार से बढ़ा कर 1.5 लाख कर दी गई है। सभी कम्पनियों का आय कर अधिभार 7.5 प्रतिशत से घटाकर 2.5 कर दिया गया है। इस से भी देश के औद्योगिकरण में विकास होगा तथा नये लोगों में रोजगार मिलेगा।

प्रस्तुत बजट में आयातित अखबारी कागज 'न्यूजप्रिन्ट' पर 15 प्रतिशत मूल्यानुसार की दर से आयात शुल्क लगाने का प्रस्ताव है। वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने अभिभाषण में कहा है कि "आयातित अखबारी कागज पर काफी अधिक विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च होती है। कोई कारण नहीं दिखाई देता कि इस मद पर एक साधारण सी दर से सीमा शुल्क क्यों न लगाया जाये।

वित्त मंत्री जी का यह तर्क असंगत नहीं कहा जा सकता कि आयातित अखबारी कागज पर कई करोड़ रुपये विदेशी मुद्रा खर्च होती है किन्तु सीमा शुल्क 15 प्रतिशत लगाने का औचित्य इसलिए नहीं बनता क्योंकि समाचार पत्र उद्योग अभी 'पालेकर अवार्ड' को केन्द्रीय शासन के आदेशानुसार लागू करने के भारी बोझ से

उबर नहीं सका है और वित्त मंत्री द्वारा उस पर यह एक और करारा प्रहार कर दिया गया।

पालेकर अवार्ड अभी आधे से अधिक समाचार पत्रों में लागू नहीं किया जा सका है। अच्छा हीता यह कि पहले समस्त समाचार पत्रों में पालेकर अवार्ड लागू करवा दिया जाता उसके बाद इस नये सीमा शुल्क के बारे में सोचा जाता।

देश की यह बड़ी विडंबना है कि देश में अखबारी कागज बनाने वाला केवल एक ही कारखाना है—नेपा मिल्स। यह मिल अपने कुप्रबंध के लिये विख्यात है। कागज कभी एक वजन का वहां बनता नहीं। हर रील का कागज अधिक मोटा, मटमैला और खुदरा होता है जिसमें स्याही ज्यादा लगती है, छपाई अच्छी नहीं आती और उस पर भी यह मिल वित्तीय वर्ष 1980-81 में तीन बार अपने दाम बढ़ा चुका है। जनवरी, 80 में चार सौ रुपये प्रति टन मार्च, 80 में चार सौ बयासी रुपये और अक्टूबर, 80 में दो सौ चार रुपये प्रति टन। इस प्रकार एक वर्ष में 1086 रुपये टन दाम बढ़ा देने के बावजूद उसका खस्ता हाल है। नेपा मिल्स से ब्लिचिंग प्लांट लगा कर न्यूजप्रिंट का रंग साफ किया जाना इसकी व्यवस्था में यथेष्ट सुधार कराया जाना आवश्यक है। मान्यवर, अखबारी कागज में लगाये गये आयात शुल्क तथा पालेकर अवार्ड इन दोनों मदों में एक लघु श्रेणी के दैनिक समाचार पत्र पर लगभग 20-22 हजार रुपये मासिक का खर्च बढ़ जायेगा। शासन को सोचना चाहिए कि समाचार पत्र देश की कराइयों जनता को विचार, समाचार देने व उनके बौद्धिक विकास का माध्यम है। प्रस्तावित सीमा शुल्क से न केवल समाचार पत्रों पर अतिरिक्त भार होगा बल्कि उनकी कीमतें बढ़ेंगी तथा अखबार खरीदने वालों की संख्या घट जायेगी। अतः इस पर लगाये गये सीमा शुल्क को वापस लेना चाहिए।

यदि शासन यह नहीं करना चाहता तो मेरा सुझाव है कि सरकार जिस प्रकार लघु उद्योगों को प्रोत्साहन सुविधा देती है उसी तरह से 15 हजार प्रसार संख्या वाले अखबारों को सीमा शुल्क परिधि से बाहर रखा जाना चाहिए। यदि शासन ऐसा नहीं करता है तो वह हजारों लोगों को बेकार बनाने का दोषी होगा। कारण कि अनेक अखबार पालेकर अवार्ड और सीमाशुल्क की दोहरी मार को सहन न कर सकने से बन्द होने को विवश होंगे।

मान्यवर, समयाभाव से अब मैं देश स्तर पर और अधिक न कहकर अपने प्रदेश की चंद ज्वलंत समस्याओं पर वित्त मंत्री व केन्द्रीय शासन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहूंगा।

मध्य प्रदेश देश का हृदय स्थल है। इसे वन, खनिज, कृषि, पानी का अपरिमित संपदाओं का बरदान है। राज्य, खाद्य उत्पादन, तेल, बीज में आत्मनिर्भर है। देश का लगभग 50 प्रतिशत मैंगनीज, 50 प्रतिशत अलौह धातु, 30 प्रतिशत कोयला और 60 प्रतिशत बाक्सાइट राज्य में उपलब्ध है। इतना ही नहीं, प्रदेश का 37 प्रतिशत क्षेत्र उन्नत टोंक साल व बांस आदि उत्तम लकड़ी से युक्त हैं किन्तु उसका दोहन औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में नगण्य है। किसी भी प्रदेश की औद्योगिक संरचना के लिये रेल-रोड़ यातायात महत्वपूर्ण होता है। जब सन् 1956 में म० प्र० का निर्माण हुआ था तो राज्य पुनर्गठन आयोग ने अपने प्रतिवेदन में कहा था कि मध्य प्रदेश में यातायात साधन प्राथमिकता के आधार पर उपलब्ध कराने होंगे। किन्तु यह दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि इस बाबत केन्द्रीय शासन का ध्यान पिछले 28 वर्षों तक नहीं गया जिस कारण वहां पर यातायात की समस्या यथावत बनी हुई है।

हालांकि रेल मंत्री श्री केदार पांडे ने पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में रेल सुविधाएं बढ़ाने का आश्वासन दिया है, फिर भी मध्य प्रदेश में 1981-82 वर्ष में केवल 66 किलोमीटर रेल लाइन बिछाने की घोषणा मध्य प्रदेश के पिछड़े

इलाकों के संभावित एवं प्रस्तावित विकास को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए कुछ भी नहीं है। अन्य प्रदेशों के लिये कई गुना अधिक किलोमीटर रेल लाइन बिछाने की घोषणा की गई है। इस प्रकार मैं समझता हूं कि मध्य प्रदेश के साथ पूरा न्याय नहीं हो सका है।

इसी सदन में मैं पूर्व में भी मध्य प्रदेश में सम्मिलित विन्ध्य प्रदेश की पूर्व राजधानी रीवा को ललितपुर से सिंगरोली प्रस्तावित रेल मार्ग द्वारा जोड़े जाने की प्रबल मांग कर चुका हूं, जिसका सर्वेक्षण कार्य इसी मासान्त में पूरा हो जायेगा। अतः छठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना में इस रेलवे लाइन हेतु आर्थिक प्रावधान अवश्य ही किया जाना चाहिए। इस रेलवे के बनने से छतरपुर, पन्ना, सतना, रीवा, तथा सीधी जिले, जो प्राकृतिक साधनों व संपदाओं से भरपूर हैं, देश के अन्य भागों से जुड़कर विकास की ओर अग्रसर होंगे।

मान्यवर, इस अवसर पर मैं रेल मंत्री तथा भारत शासन का ध्यान विशेषरूप से इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं कि रीवा और सीधी जिलों में 10 लाख टन क्षमता वाले दो सीमेंट कारखानों के लिये कच्चा माल उपलब्ध है जिसका सर्वेक्षण हो चुका है तथा उद्योगपति भी वहां कारखाने लगाने को तत्पर हैं किन्तु रेल मार्ग के अभाव में वे रुके बैठे हैं। अतः मेरा सुझाव है कि ललितपुर सिंगरोली रेल मार्ग में सतना से सीधी तक के भाग को छठवीं योजना में सर्वप्रथम हाथ में लिया जाये ताकि वहां सीमेंट उद्योग शीघ्र स्थापित हो सके।

मान्यवर, मध्य प्रदेश में रेलवे लाइन की कमी तो है ही, वहां सड़को का भी अभाव है जिसे प्राथमिकता के आधार पर पूरा किया जाना समय की पुकार है। क्योंकि राज्य का औद्योगिक विकास बिना यातायात के साधनों के संभव नहीं है। वर्तमान में सड़को की कुल लम्बाई 47,637 किलोमीटर है अर्थात् प्रति 100 वर्ग किलोमीटर क्षेत्र पर 10.80

### [श्री गुहदेव गुप्त]

किलोमीटर जाती है जबकि समूचे देश में औसतन प्रति 100 वर्ग किलोमीटर क्षेत्र में 28.96 किलोमीटर लम्बी सड़कें हैं। इसलिये भारत शासन मध्य प्रदेश में और अधिकाधिक सड़कें स्थापित करने के कार्यक्रम को अपने हाथ में ले ताकि रीवा, सीधी, शहडोल, पन्ना, छतरपुर, टीकमगढ़, मण्डला, बालाघाट, बस्तर, सरीखे पिछड़े जिलों में नये उद्योग, जिनकी बड़ी संभावनाएं हैं, स्थापित हो सकें। मान्यवर इसी प्रकार लोहा, इस्पात कोयला तथा वैगनों का अभाव रहने से औद्योगिक प्रगति से अवरोध उत्पन्न हुआ है। अतः उद्योगों की आवश्यकतानुसार कच्चे माल तथा वैगनों का आबंटन किया जाना चाहिए। उदाहरणार्थ इस समय प्रदेश में लोहे तथा इस्पात का वास्तविक उपयोग करने वाली पांच हजार से अधिक इकाइयां हैं जिनकी लोहे की मांग प्रति वर्ष 2.31 लाख मीट्रिक टन है किन्तु उन केवल 15 हजार से 20 हजार मीट्रिक टन लोहा आबंटित किया जाता है जिसके कारण 13 न भी कम होता है। साथ ही इकायों श्रमिकों में निराशा उत्पन्न होती है।

दूसरा उदाहरण कोयला ढुलाई हेतु वेगनों के आबंटन का है (समय की घंटी) दो मिनट। वर्ष 1980 में मध्य प्रदेश को केवल 26,400 वेगनों आबंटित की गई थीं जबकि औसत आवश्यकता 68,020 वेगनों की थी। गत वर्ष के आबंटन में से अब 50 प्रतिशत कटौती प्रस्तावित है जो औचित्यपूर्ण नहीं है। इससे औद्योगिक इकाइयां अपनी क्षमतानुरूप उत्पादन नहीं कर पायेंगी। अतः मेरी पुरजोर मांग है कि आवश्यकतानुसार वेगनों का आबंटन किया जाये और कटौती तो कतई न की जाये।

मध्य प्रदेश में इस समय केवल 3 वनस्पति संयंत्र हैं और एक स्थापित किया जा रहा है। जबकि भारत शासन के पास 15 वनस्पति प्लांट्स के आवेदन। शीघ्र पत्र हेतु लंबित है।

हमारे प्रदेश में वनस्पति की आवश्यकता वर्तमान उत्पादन क्षमता से चौगुनी है। राज्य में चूक तेल बीज का बाहुल्य है, इसलिये नई इकाइयां कायम होने पर मध्य प्रदेश के साथ-साथ अन्य पड़ोसी राज्य भी लाभान्वित होंगे। अतः लंबित आवेदनों का शीघ्र निपटान श्रेयस्कर होगा।

मान्यवर, अभी तक मध्य प्रदेश द्वारा 21 सिंचाई परियोजनाएं केन्द्रीय जल आयोग तथा योजना आयोग को निकासी हेतु भेजी गई है। जिसे काफी समय हो चुका है किन्तु अभी तक उन्हें स्वीकृति प्रदान नहीं की गई। इन योजनाओं को शीघ्र स्वीकृत कर देने से मध्य प्रदेश का किसान अल्प समय में सिंचाई के मामले में आत्मनिर्भरता प्राप्त कर सकता है।

सिंचाई पर विचार करते समय विद्युत की उपलब्धता बरबस मस्तिष्क में आ जाती है। केन्द्रीय विद्युत प्राधिकरण का नवम्बर, 1977 में विश्रामपुर ताप विद्युत केन्द्र (2 × 210 मेगावाट) परियोजना का प्रतिवेदन भेजा गया था जो वहां उपलब्ध कोयले को उच्च श्रेणी का बताया जा कर अस्वीकृत कर दिया गया। बाद में अक्टूबर 1980 में वेस्टर्न कोल फील्ड के अध्यक्ष द्वारा पुष्टि हुई की विश्रामपुर का कोयला मेटालर्जिकल नहीं है। तब केन्द्रीय ऊर्जा मंत्राली ने आश्वस्त किया था कि इस योजना पर पुनर्विचार किया जाकर स्वीकृति प्रदान कर दी जाएगी। किन्तु ऐसा अभी तक नहीं हुआ। इसको शीघ्र ही स्वीकार किया जाना चाहिए।

इसी प्रकार टोन्स जल विद्युत परियोजना (3 × 105 मेगावाट) का प्रतिवेदन जून, 1980 से लम्बित है। इसमें रीवा जिले के चचाई जल प्रपात के पास विद्युत केन्द्र स्थापित करने का प्रावधान है। यहां पर यह उल्लेखनीय है कि टोन्स योजना बाण-सागर बांध के निर्माण पर निर्भर नहीं है और उसे बांध के निर्माण के पूर्व क्रियान्वित किया

जा सकता है। अफसोस है कि यह भी अधर में लटकी है। इस और शासन द्वारा ध्यान देकर इसे स्वीकृति प्रदान की जानी चाहिए।

जैसा कि आरम्भ में ही कह चुका हूँ कि देश की जनता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के नेतृत्व में पूर्ण विश्वास के साथ प्रगति पथ पर अग्रसर है। उनके नेतृत्व काल में पहले भी और अब भी देश ने हर क्षेत्र में प्रगति की है। केवल यही नहीं देश की सुरक्षा उनके हाथों में सुदृढ़ है। हमारी सीमायें मजबूत हैं। बजट में रक्षा व्यय हेतु चार अरब रुपये की वृद्धि की गई है जो पूर्णतः औचित्यपूर्ण है। हालांकि रक्षा व्यय में वृद्धि मुख्यतः वेतन में वृद्धि के कारण हुई है।

मान्यवर, अंत में मैं वित्त मंत्रालय द्वारा तस्करी को रोकने के लिए तथा काले धन को निकालने के लिये विगत कुछ माह में जो कारगर कदम उठाये गये हैं उसके लिये बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। देश में हजारों करोड़ों रुपये के धनराशि काले धन के रूप में लोगों की तिजोरियों में बन्द पड़ी है। जिसका देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर बहुत बुरा असर पड़ रहा है। इस काले धन को छापों द्वारा तथा बीयरर बांड के द्वारा निकालने का शासकीय प्रयास निश्चित ही जनहितकारी है। फिल्म उद्योग तथा तमाम बड़े उद्योगों से काले धन को निकालने के लिये कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए।

मान्यवर, मेरा विश्वास है कि इस जनहितकारी बजट का अच्छा फल तभी मिलेगा जबकि बिजली, कोयला तथा सिंचाई के साधन, यातायात, रेलवे तथा रोड, खाद्यान्न वितरण इत्यादि बुनियादी चीजों की उपलब्धि संतोषजनक हो। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का अनुमोदन करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it has been stated by some Members, specially Members from the ruling party side, that the budget which we are discussing is very attractive and

has welcome features. But if you see the budget as a whole and if a test is to be applied to the budget whether it is meant for the common and poor people, whether it is meant for the downtrodden, whether there is any insulation against the effects of inflation on their life when their wages are low and whether any attempt is made to provide rural employment, you will find that it is not so. Sir, the budget starts by saying that the situation was very much deteriorating, and in order to arrest the deterioration and to set the economy on the path of stability and growth, the attempt is made. That is the basic objective of the budget that is presented.

It is stated that in 1979-80 during the tenure of the previous Government, the gross national product declined by 4.5 per cent and price increase was 21 per cent. Then it takes credit to itself that because of their good performance and good Government, as a whole the generation of electricity has gone up by six per cent and the production of coal has gone up by 21 per cent. It also takes credit that agricultural production has gone up. If you scrutinise the speech of the Finance Minister, the reason given by him is so obvious. He cannot hoodwink anybody on this aspect. Power generation was low in 1979-80 due to the acute drought in 1979. I quote the Minister's speech: "Power generation suffered in the early months of 1980-81 because of very low hydroelectric generation. This was a direct consequence of the acute drought of 1979 which left the reservoirs severely depleted during the lean summer months of 1980". Therefore, when the monsoons was good last year, power generation picked up. The Economic Survey says, and the Rajadhyaksha Committee Report also says that the utilisation capacity of the thermal power stations has not gone up at all. It is about 43 per cent only. Normally, for power generation to be ideal, the utilisation capacity must be at least 58 per cent. And what applies to power generation also applies to coal.

[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe]

In coal also the production has gone up because power supply was better. Because of power failure, the production of coal was less in 1979-80. That is also admitted in some statements, but I do not want to burden this House by going through all those statements. But it is a fact that the departments connected with coal and generation of power are not functioning properly. Out of 39 power stations, 18 power stations are left with coal stocks sufficient for less than seven days only. Yesterday, in reply to Starred Question No. 269, it has been stated that with regard to the position of coal at different stations, 18 power stations in the country have got much less coal. Some power stations have got coal only for a day or two. Amarkantak and Satpura in Madhya Pradesh are among them from where the hon. Minister comes. Many major power stations have not got adequate supplies of coal. I will read out only some of these stations:—

Santaldih — One day.

Badarpur — One and a half days.

Panipat and Faridabad — Two days.

Kanpur — One day.

Ennore — One day.

The same is the position in many others. For the Koradi thermal power station—which is in my State—it is for nine days and for the Nasik thermal power station is for three days. And what is the reason given by the Minister in his reply? One of the main reasons for short supply of coal has been the constraints in respect of Railway wagons for transportation of coal to the thermal power stations to match the increased requirements of coal due to increase in thermal generation. Therefore, the main constraint, as he has said, is the Railway wagons; and the movement of the Railway wagons has not increased, as per the findings of the Economic Survey. The movement of the Railway wagons has become less

by one per cent than what it was last year. This is the performance of the Railways. Therefore, Sir, there is nothing to placate or to get himself praised that power generation or coal production has gone up.

What about agricultural production? It is also in the same position. Here it is stated that it was because of good rains that the agricultural production has gone up.

SHRI AMARPROSAD CHAKRABORTY: Marginally.

SHRI SHRIDHAR WASUDEO DHABE: May be marginally. Paragraph 12 says: "The performance of agriculture in 1980-81 gives every ground for satisfaction and provides great reassurance about the basic health of this vital sector of our economy. The weather in 1980-81 was favourable in most, but by no means all, parts of the country, and this created conditions conducive to an agricultural recovery." It has still to achieve the figure of the previous peak in 1978-79 when the agricultural production was the highest. Therefore, the entire credit which is claimed by the Government is not due to them, but is due to good rains and the favourable conditions created by a good monsoon, due to which this recovery has been made. What should be the test for a Budget being useful to the poor people, I have already stated. For the rural poor, it has given the lowest priority. The rural employment programme has been given a go-by practically. Rs. 340 crores were provided last year. There also, I have stated that it will create employment of a very small number. But for this year the position is worse. Only Rs. 180 crores have been provided; and it is stated that other matching grants will be given by the State Governments. I am certain that there is no intention to create massive rural employment, for the poor people in this country, under the rural employment programme. Unless their wages go up, unless their

wages are high, there is no chance of a better economy in the country. In this connection, I may say that I find only Rs. 4 crores are provided for the land reforms. It has been stated here that unless land reforms are implemented, unless the workers and the tenants and the share-croppers and the small farmers are given their rights, there is no chance of having higher production. Now I quote from an article (appearing in the Business Standard of 1st January, 1981):

“Yet the First Plan itself had taken note of the importance of the pattern of ownership and operation of land in bringing about the desired economic and social changes. The Plan recognised the need for abolition of intermediate rights, security of tenure for the tenant-cultivator, fixation of a fair rent and restrictions on future acquisition of land. The Second Plan proposed the imposition of ceilings on land-holdings. But even today these major reforms have not been accomplished. Even the pre-requisites like updated revenue records are not available in many places.”

That is the position in this regard. Sir, the information supplied to us shows that the area of land declared as surplus under the land ceiling laws is 38,91,686 hectares. It is not all. It is only a fraction of what it is. The Government took possession of 23,966,965 hectares, and the land distributed out of it is 16,83,021 hectares. How many beneficiaries? They are 11,57,242. Not even one acre of land has been given to them. Therefore it will show, Sir, hardly 30 per cent of the land acquired by the Government has been distributed to the landless labourers. Not only this, Sir, they make tall talk of the 20-Point Economic Programme, and they talk about the poor people. The eligible families for allotment of house-sites in the rural areas are 1,19,00,897. Sites allotted are 77,72,447. The houses built by the

Government or other persons are 7,50,000. So, Houses have not been built on even 10 per cent of the sites already allotted in the last five years. Therefore, Sir, the Budget is absolutely anti-rural workers and anti-rural poor because no programme has been provided in this Budget for rural housing. The Budget provision has been made only for the urban housing, for the urban people. For the rural housing there is no provision in this Budget.

What to talk of their wages, there is no attempt even to think of their plight. Their wages are very low. Even though there is a rule, and a decision was taken in the Ministers Conference in July, 1980, that every two years the wages of the rural workers should be revised, no attempt has been made even for five, six, years. This applies not only to this Government but also to many other Governments which say they are progressive. I would only point out that in Assam the wages were fixed in October, 1974 at Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per day; in Bihar, in July, 1975, at Rs. 4.50; in Gujarat, at Rs. 5.50 per day; in Karnataka on 2.10.1975 at Rs. 3.25 to Rs. 5.60 per day; in Kerala on 15. 9. 1975 at Rs. 6.50 per days; then in Uttar Pradesh on 23.10.1975 at Rs. 5 to Rs. 6.50 per day; in West Bengal on 30.9.1974, at Rs. 5.60. What is the value of the rupee? It was revealed in the Lok Sabha yesterday that it is 24.51 paise. Therefore, the value of Rs. 5 or Rs. 3 which the rural workers are getting now is less than one rupee.

There is absolutely no attempt made for providing employment for them or making any provision in the Budget for solving their problems. I, therefore, suggest that the Government should have taken this opportunity to have rural employment programmes and to enunciate a national employment policy. The Government shows lip-sympathy for the poor people. But at heart it has the interest of the private sector, as my friend has said, the monopolists and



[Shri Shridhar Wasudeo Dhabe]

the businessmen who make profit out of its policies.

Another point which I would like to make about this Budget is that there is no machinery set up even to look to the ordinary problems like the legal aid. What is going to be done? For legal aid, the demand of the Ministry of Law has been increased from 25 lakhs of rupees to 50 lakhs of rupees. The Bhagwati Committee under Mr. Justice Bhagwati, had given a big programme for implementation, for legal aid schemes. The same Committee has been appointed to implement and review the programme. And another committee has been appointed to review and travel all over India and spend the money.

Sir, in many countries this problem has been solved by an Act of Parliament. In the U. K. there is an Act called the Legal Services Corporation Act and large funds are provided for it. I do not want to burden the House with figures. In Japan, U.K. and other countries, there is an Act of Parliament for providing legal aid to the poor. I, therefore, suggest that legal aid to the poor should be provided in our country by an Act of Parliament; on the lines of U.K.; there should be some legislation like the National Legal Services Corporation Act.

Sir, I will now refer to two or three problems relating to my State. One is that we are very much short of power. We are facing a deficiency of 2,000 MW. I, therefore, suggest that the Chandrapur super thermal power station should be given priority. That will go a long way in solving our problem.

The second problem is about employment in hand-processing units and in the co-operative spinning mills. Sir in this budget there is a levy of

about 12 per cent on the power-processing units. The composite mills have got a levy of 15 per cent. Real employment is generated in the lower category of industries like hand-processing and power-processing units. If power-processing is to be encouraged, it is very essential that it should be taxed less, so that it can stand in competition with the yarn manufactured by the composite mills. Secondly, Sir, this is a co-operative sector and these units should be encouraged. Everybody knows that the master-weavers and contractors are exploiting the poor people and the real benefit does not go to the lowest weaver. Therefore, I suggest that the levy of 12 per cent on power-processing units should be abolished so that they can compete with the cloth or yarn produced by the composite mills.

Lastly, I would like to submit that there is nothing in the budget to enthuse any section of the society. Though some reliefs are given to the middle class, they are highly illusory. Wage-freeze has come. The LIC Ordinance has shown how the wind blows. Therefore, nobody is taking the Government seriously so far as the concessions are concerned. On the other hand, nothing has been done for the poor people, and the rural economy has not been given sufficient allocation in this budget. Therefore, I feel that this budget is not going to help in any way in the recovery of the economy and it is not going to help the poor people. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Mr. Jaswant Singh.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Rajasthan): Sir, I rise to speak on the Budget 1981-82. Sir, I wish to make a submission before I speak on the budget. We are barely 15 minutes away from 6 o'clock. If the Chair would kindly consider and if the hon. Minister would kindly consider, the hon. Minister of State for Finance

has been sitting here the whole day and his receptivity, as our ability to put across our points, is quite low...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have understood the problem. I think you all agree to the suggestion made

by the hon. Member. The House stands adjourned till 11 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at forty-four minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 11th March, 1981.