

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): What has happened in the other House cannot be taken into consideration.

SHRI L. K. ADVANI (Gujarat): Now that the issue has been raised, I would like to say that more than the question of a discussion, it is necessary that the Government must take immediate steps to ensure that the judicial inquiry is not adversely affected by such statements as are being made. The statements made by the District Magistrate of Baghpat or the Inspector-General of Police are absolutely irresponsible and with a view to giving a partisan version publicly when the judicial inquiry is on. It is rather preposterous and unjustified. Now that the mention has been made, the Government must act on it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): The hon. Member had raised this point before the hon. Minister the other day and, if I remember correctly, the Minister was very cautious in his approach. I will request the Government to see that when the judicial inquiry is on no such pronouncements as are made from official quarters which may in some way affect the judicial inquiry. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Three Sub-Inspectors have been transferred.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I do not want to go into that. The Government will take care of it. This much I have said and communicated to the Government. Dr. Bhai Mahavir.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh\*): I was expecting the Leader of the House to say something on

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): How can he?

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: The assurance given on the floor of the House should be honoured.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): After I have made the observation, I do not think it is necessary to have a further discussion on it.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, प्रणव मुकर्जी  
जी बहुत समझदार आदमी है, मेरे दोस्त हैं . .**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Nothing will go on record.

*Shri Rameshwar Singh continued to speak.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): After what I have observed, nothing will go on record. Dr. Bhai Mahavir.

#### THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1980-81— GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I was saying, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, that when Mr. Chenna Reddy made a public statement proposing a change in the form of Government our friends on that side were able to say only this, that he was expressing his personal views. They were not able to say what they thought about it. (*Interruptions*) . They were not able to say what they thought about it because they did not know what to think about it. They keep on gazing at one face for some indication before they can decide on what to think about a particular matter, and till they get that indication they have to keep their options open. That is the difficulty, Sir, my friends in the ruling party have, which results in so much indecision.

Sir, a party which had come to power with the slogan of being able to govern the country, should have given a better performance than the present Government had during the last five months. We were told that the law and order had broken down in the country during the last three

years. What is the present position of the law and order, Sir? I do not want to go into details. Even a casual glance at any of the daily papers is enough to convince anybody whether there has been an improvement or there has been deterioration in the law and order situation. Sir, during the Janata rule two children were kidnapped and murdered, and there was a lot of hue and cry and very justifiably too. Within three or four days, Sir, the culprits were apprehended and they were proceeded against according to law. During the rule of the present Government Sir, a similar case happened. Gautam Jaisinghani was found brutally murdered. Uptill now we have not heard any indication of what progress the Government has made in apprehending the culprits in that case. Then there is the Nirankari Baba's murder, murder of a religious head of such a large sect. The person considered or believed to be the assassin is yet to be apprehended. Our high and mighty Home Ministry and the great Home Minister, Giani Zail Singh, of course have their police force with them, and the police force is very active and wields a strong baton. That was seen when they ran amuck and lathi-charged the blind people here. We have not been able to know what the findings of the enquiry in that case are. Only the other day the Home Minister said that the report had been received and that action would be taken. But why is the Government so shy of taking the House into confidence on what the findings of that enquiry are? That had led to a cryptic comment by an erstwhile hon. Member of this House, Mr. Abu Abraham. A blind man standing on one side of the road, waiting for somebody to escort him, says, "If you are not a policeman, please help me cross the road."

That, Sir, was one thing. Then, rapes and dacoities, including the Baghpat case, have been going on. And now something which is an index of the worsening of the whole situa-

tion is that even the police is being accused. I will not say that they have done it, but they are being accused, there are widespread allegations, and if all of them are proved wrong it would be a miracle. Even the policemen are found to be indulging in the crimes which were happening only in the case of ruffians or dacoits earlier. What is this? What has happened in the case of Baghpat. If the policemen really are found to have indulged in raping an innocent woman well, Sir, what shall we do? If salt loses its quality, where shall we go to bring that quality back to salt? Only the day-before-yesterday, I found a comment by Laxman in the "Times of India". A village woman is going to fetch water in a pitcher. And an old man as she leaves, advises her, "If somebody misbehaves with you, remember not to call the police". Sir, what will Giani do? He will appoint more policemen. He will give more powers to the police. Lately, Sir, in Delhi, extra powers were given to the policemen to the extent that no policeman could be charged, could be hauled up in a court of law, for any action which he had taken. Sir, if that is the type of police which is going to be strengthened when the charges are against the police itself, then the country faces a very big question-mark. I am reminded here of an earlier comment made by a Home Minister many years ago. When a question was put to him as to why more women police had not been appointed, in a half serious manner, he said, "If we appoint more women police, then we would have to appoint more male police to protect the women police also". On that a columnist had commented: "Well, the Home Minister did not go further. They may have to appoint more police to protect the female police against the protecting police itself." I am reminded of that because this is the situation which the country seems to have landed in. But I am only referring to the Baghpat incident because it took them nearly three weeks to decide that a judicial enquiry was

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called for. And this is a Government which governs, which claims that it governs and which blamed the Janata Government for having been an indecisive Government. So this is the type of decision-making process which they have.

Of course, Sir, the Janata Party had its maladi&s and most of us on this side are deeply conscious of where we failed and how we failed. I suppose we have learnt some lessons from that. I remember last time, when the Budget debate was going on, an hon. friend on this side, Mr. Gadgil, referred to this matter in a very humorous way. He said, formulae were going on, a formula of one Deputy Prime Minister or another Deputy Prime Minister, this formula or that formula. Then he said, "You can have two Prime Ministers; you can have an Additional Prime Minister, an Extra Prime Minister and then an Extra Additional Prime Minister and may be a Prime Minister on Special Duty" and all that. Then he said somebody had come to him and he had said, "I have a formula which will solve the problem". And when he was asked what the formula was, he said, "I took out a phial of Vicks-44 Formula and said this is my formula which will solve the difficulty". That Vicks-44 Formula might not, have solved the problem. But the problem certainly was there. We did not know how to solve the problem of selecting a Prime Minister who was accepted by all because there were more than one aspirants, as is very well known. That Vlcks Formula might, have been 44 or 45 or 34. But here our friends have a "Chicks" Formula and that Formula No. 1 is, not to come to any decision but leave all decisions to the Supreme Leader who cannot make any mistake and whose mistake nobody can question or challenge because everybody shines in her glory, in her brilliance. Nobody has any inherent quality of his own to be able to say anything or to show that quality to

anybody else. In this respect, our friends on that side are very happily placed and enviably placed, I might say. They do not have the problem of choosing a Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is chosen for life. And then (he Prime Minister is not chosen. Prime Ministers are born. In any case, until a few days back, they were in a position where they had not only solved the problem of selecting a Prime Minister for this generation but also the problem of selecting a Prime Minister for the next generation and may be for the generation after the next as well. In this happy position, we can understand that they can laugh at our problem, our difficulty when we are not able to agree on our Prime Minister. This then, Sir, was the difficulty because of which the Janata Party had its break-up.

The Finance Minister started his Budget speech saying that he has inherited an economy which was in very poor shape and then he referred to the gravity of the economic problems. And in the survey it is said: "The dismal economic situation was the result of policies or lack of policies followed by the earlier Government. Here the Finance Minister was beautifully vague because it is not clear whether he wa,5 referring to the Lok Dal Government which was only a Caretaker Government of which my friend Shri piloo Mody said the other day that it owed its existence to the favours of the Congress (I) Party, or whether he was referring to the Janata Rule also. He was keeping it in a beautifully vague form. He was trying t.o have the best of both the worlds in being able to hit at us and still being able to deny it later on eaying that he meant only the Caretaker Government.

I had the pleasure of hearing Mr. Salve who said that the economy they k inherited was in doldrums and on the brink of collapse. I do not know whether he knew what he was talking about. Even, Shri Venkataraman who is otherwise a very good and

reasonable gentleman has fallen into this habit of making self-righteous condemnation of others and taking undue credit for the performance of the present administration. Occasional recitation of the 20 point programme can be a useful formula. Just as some of our old people say SHRI KRISHNA GOVINDA HARE MURARI in the midst of any talk, some reference has to be made to the 20 point programme in any speech coming from the ruling party. But that does not take us very far. What after all is the 20 point programme? How does the Budget intend to fulfil it? Any programme has to have some definite and precise objective, and some means have to be spelt for the achievement of those objectives. It may be a very good ilogan like 'abolition of poverty'. Then, whatever you do can be linked up with this slogan.

Apart from that, if the hon. Finance Minister sincerely believes that he has inherited an economy which was in doldrums, I would like to ask him if he would stand by the figures that are given here. Those figures are incidentally upto the close of the Janata rule or a little earlier. They do not include the period of the Care-laker Government. If the figures that I am going to quote are accepted as a guide, would he still be able to stand by the declaration he has made about the economy which he has inherited? Figures have been quoted and I do not want to repeat them. I shall refer only to two or three Tables appearing in this Economic Survey. There is one Table which refers to gross national product and net national product, Down below that Table the annual growth rates are given. If you leave out one just exceptional year of 1975-76, in all the other years the rate of growth is 2 or less than 2 and in certain cases it is minus. The two years when it was minus happen to be the years of the dynamic decade of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's rule. During the Janata rule the rate of growth in the first year was 6 per cent and 2.1 per cent in the second year. If

you take the average, it is much more than the average of the years ruled by the ruling party. This is about growth rate.

Now, I will quote figures relating to index number of per capita net national product or net national income. We will start from 1964 and proceed upto 1976-77, the last year of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's rule. The index number is 141.2 in 1976-77. It was 130.4 in 1964-65. It comes to an increase of 8.3 for 12 years or .7 per cent on an average. But in 1977-78 it was 6 per cent and in 1978-79 it was about 2.2 per cent. This is about per capita income.

Now, let me refer to capital formation. I may refer to savings and capital formation. I have a table on page 77 of the Review and from the figures in the last column "Net Domestic Saving", I find that savings during the Janata rule were 18.3 which is practically the maximum ever leaving one year earlier when it was 18.4. Leaving aside this 0.1 difference, one can say that the achievement in savings during these two years was the highest. If you take the capital formation, it was the highest by a bigger margin, 17.7 and 19.4. This was the net capital formation. If one were to ask about the availability of certain articles of consumption, Sir, here we have got a certain table wherein articles of consumption and their availability are indicated. It is divided into 20 groups and year by year it is shown as to in which particular year there was an addition to or subtraction from the per capita availability of that particular group of articles. And in these years, Sir, we find that out of these groups, in the last two years, in the years of the Janata rule, there was a minus point in only four groups and a plus point in 16 which means that in the case of 16 groups the per capita availability increased and it was lesser only in four. And, Sir, in the case of last year, that is 1978-79, it was minus only in three and plus in 17.

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This was much more than in many of the years of the so-called dynamic growth in this country. Now, industrial production which indicates a similar progress, I need not bother the House with. This is the industrial production. But, in spite of this, Sir, the honourable Finance Minister has chosen to comment on these years in the way he has done. He forgets, however, that he had earlier, while speaking on the Budget last year, had made certain remarks which were completely different from what he says now maybe he thinks he should not have said something like that on that occasion. I quote—this has been quoted already. On March 12, 1979, while speaking on the Budget in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Venkataraman—he was not the Finance Minister then, naturally,—said:

"The Finance Minister said in his Budget speech that the performance of the Indian economy during the year is a matter of the greatest satisfaction, a statement with which, subject to some qualifications, I will agree. It is true that agriculture has maintained the record production reached last year by 126 million tonnes; industries showed signs of recovery and made a 7 to 8 per cent growth; and there is relative price stability in respect of the wholesale prices."

Sir, this is what the honourable Finance Minister has said in respect of the situation one year before this. Let us leave that, however, Sir, because just now he represents the Government and he would like to amend what he said at that time. And, Sir, today, the ruling party has only one way of showing its loyalty, the members of the ruling party have only one way of showing their loyalty to their leader, to keep on condemning what the Janata Government did during the years it was in office. The question, therefore, that remains—leaving this aside as a compulsion of political cir-

cumstances—is this: What is the particular objective which this Budget, the present Budget, has set out to achieve? Will it achieve price stability? I say this because in the Survey itself, "controlling the rate of inflation will have to receive a very high priority" has been specially mentioned. Do you expect, Sir, the prices to come down with this Budget? The honourable Finance Minister would do well to remember that there has been something like a 6 per cent increase per mensem in the prices during the last several months that they have been in power. And, Sir, what is the Budget going to do? The special excise duty has been doubled on goods where it was 1/20 of the basic excise duty and it has been imposed at a rate of 1/10th of the basic excise duty. It has been increased to 1/10, where it was at the rate of 1/20. It has been imposed at the rate of 1/20, whereas it did not exist earlier. Of course, there are some exemptions which he has not mentioned. I must say that it was a very shrewd move. My friend, Mr. Sankar Ghose, said that it was a clever budget. I would say that the first impression which the Budget gave to everyone—and I should confess that the first impression which I also got—was rather a pleasant surprise, when I read therein: Duty on soap reduced, duty on tooth paste reduced, on this thing reduced, and so on. It appeared that after all the Finance Minister has tried to give us a cleaner Budget, because it gave more soap and more tooth paste. I remember, last time, it was commented on the Budget which Chaudhury Charan Singh presented that it was an unclean Budget which would make soap and such things dearer. It, as has already been said, was an indication not of a resolve or a plan which would improve the health of the economy. It was only an achievement of a 'makeup man'. The Finance Minister has ? successfully tried to present the Budget in such a way that the people would find that it is a very pleasant thing, a pleasant surprise, to them. The people at the very first introduc-

tion forget that duty on soda ash, caustic soda, starch, synthetic rubber and acids had been increased. There was a duty like Rs. 4.6 per tonne on molasses. It has been increased to Rs. 30 per tonne—7 times—and it goes into so many products and which goes into the paints, the cheapest paints, which even the common man uses. There is seven per cent increase. It is going to yield Rs. 217 crores. Sir, the deficit gap is Rs. 1417 crores. On top of it, there is Rs. 2100 crores increase in oil and petroleum products. This was done very cleverly, just a few days before the Budget, in order to keep it separate and to ensure this had nothing to do with the Budget. There is Rs. 300 crores on fertilisers and Rs. 200 crores increase in railway freight, adding it up to Rs. 2600 crores. And, Sir, if we take certain other suma drawn from the IMF but it has been calculated that it is going to be Rs. 5000 crores which the Budget has sought to mobilise.

I remember, Sir, last time my friend, Shri Pranab Mukherjee,—he was here a few minutes ago—said when he was commenting on Chaudhury Charan Singh's Budget that he «, was a very brave man, that all along when he was reading his speech he did not take water even once. Earlier when the Finance Minister used to read the Budget speech, he used to take water once or twice in between, but Chaudhury Charan Singh did not take any water—even after levying such heavy taxes and even after leaving such a large deficit. I do not know whether Mr. Venkataraman needed any water while reading these proposals, since I did not happen to have the pleasure of hearing him personally. But when Mr. Pranab Mukherjee was there and knew about the water which the Finance Minister drinks during the course of his Bud--g get 4speech, he would not have forgotten to bring a bucket of water and given him a douche in order to overcome the dryness which these Budget proposals would bring to any one's mind.

Sir, there are certain things which, I would like to remind, are in the Budget which will add to the price escalation and the inflationary process. I will just mention one or two. There is one article, Mineral Turpentine, which is very much needed for paints industries and for many other uses. In August 1979 its price rose by 35 per cent. In June 1980 the price has been raised by 45 per cent—fantastically more than any duty which might have been necessary or any revision of price which might have become necessary because of the increase in price of crude oil. Sir, Tolvine is another product which is used in pharmaceuticals, dye stuffs and paints. In this Tolvine, 24.3 per cent price increase had taken place in August 1979. Again 85.1 per cent price increase took place in December and this price increase was with retrospective effect. They were told to pay additional price for what they had purchased earlier. Sir, this dispute is going on. In June again, 5 per cent price rise has taken place. The question that remains is this. Is the Finance Minister thinking of holding the prices when we know that there has been increase in freight rates, increase in transport rates and increase in the rates of petroleum products? (*Time bell rings*) I hope you are aware that I have taken only 25 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH " GOSWAMI): You have taken 30 minutes till now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: I started at 2-10 and before that I had taken 3 or 4 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You have got another name in the list.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: He will speak only if time permits. We are not going to insist on that. If time remains, he will speak.

With this increase in the rates, I do not think it can be possible for any-

[Dr. Bhai Mahavir] body to think that the prices would be stabilised. If anything, the rate of inflation may go up to 30 per cent or 35 per cent. Indications are that it is going to take place. Our Finance Minister has held out a hope that the businessmen or companies would pass on the benefit of reduced excise to the customers. I would like to know whether any exercise has been done to find out if that hope has any chance of being fulfilled. Sir, the suppliers, the businessmen and the companies have an explanation ready. They say that the cost of so many things has increased, transport costs have increased, freight rates have increased, train fares have increased, etc. etc. When there is increase in the cost of so many basic raw materials as you have done, is it possible for anyone to expect that the businessmen or the companies would be agreeable to reduce their own earnings in order to fulfill the hope of the Finance Minister? He would be a very brave man who would think so. This is what I have to say about the possibility of stabilising prices.

Now, does he expect that there will be growth? The incentive of 25 per cent rebate which has been given in excise for increased production has been allowed to lapse. Section 81 seeks to give relief for 7 years on the basis of percentage of profits which again is bound to be largely illusory because for the first 3 or 4 years, it is difficult for new industrial units to earn any profit. The relief that you are promising is on the basis of profits and not on the basis of investment or on the basis of capital employed. Similarly, there was income-tax relief given to some industries for development and growth, i.e., under 80 QQ. I am aware that that also has been withdrawn. That has been allowed to lapse. The tax on interest at the rate of 7 per cent which has been imposed is again bound to increase the cost and will, therefore, be a retrograde step from the point of view of economic growth.

The plan allocation has been increased but as has already been pointed out here, it, will actually be lower in real terms if we take into account the 20 per cent inflation that has taken place over the year. Apart from this, I wish to ask the Finance Minister if this allocation that he has made will ultimately stand because after the approval of the budget proposals, the Finance Ministry again sits over these proposals with a pair of scissors and so many allocations are cut. Sir, last year something like 400 crores of rupees were cut out of the provision that had earlier been made. If something of that kind is being done, it would mean that what is being put forward in the budget today would again be reduced and it would just be an exercise in deception. The proposed rate of growth of 5.5 per cent will not lead to more employment also. Earlier, the Planning Commission had calculated that 4.7 per cent rate of growth was the maximum that could be tried if they were expected to achieve the creation of 40 million jobs during the course of the Plan. If you want to increase the rate of growth according to their calculations, the number of jobs created will be much less and, therefore, unemployment will not be reduced in any substantial measure it may increase. The calculation of man-days in agriculture under the extra work is also an exaggerated calculation and it is not likely to be achieved.

Sir, in the matter of these allocations of the Plan, I would like to refer to some of the provisions that have been made. The axe has fallen on social and community services more than on anything else. My friend, Mr. Piloo Mody, had stated that if you provide for 20 per cent inflation, in most of these items, there is a cut. But I find that there are items in which even the nominal amount has also been reduced. For art and culture, in 1979-80 the amount provided was Rs. 15.9 crores. Now, what is provided is Rs. 16.34 crores, while actually it should be Rs. 19 crores if

20 per cent increase is calculated to offset the inflation. On the other side in the case of family welfare, from Rs. 12 crores, we have come to Rs. 11.75 crores. In the case of natural calamities, Sir, it is again an interesting figure. In 1979-80, the provision was 19.10 crores, and now it is Rs. 5.85 crores. Does the Finance Minister have some sort of a forecasting apparatus by which he can judge that there will be no natural calamities during the course of the year? Sir, social and community services had Rs. 63 crores last year and now it is Rs. 60 crores. There is an actual reduction. In the case of agriculture, the provision was Rs. 235 crores last year and now it is Rs. 153 crores which is very much less. This is the revenue account. If you take the capital account, Sir, under the social and community services, medical services were provided with Rs. 6.17 crores last year and the provision this year is Rs. 6.08 crores; for broadcasting it was Rs. 15.46 crores last year and now it is Rs. 8.92 crores; for social security and welfare, the provision was Rs. 8.54 crores last year and now it is Rs. 8 crores. These are the indications that what has been provided for in many cases is less than even the nominal of what was provided last year.

Sir, about the public sector, there has been a very welcome statement from the Finance Minister that the public sector has to show better performance. It is very good, Sir. The question is: What happens if they don't? There have been a number of committees which have gone into it. I remember an old story, Sir. A young man had got married and he was advised by his friends to assert his superiority over his life-partner, otherwise he would not be cared for. So, he found an easy formula. Whenever he was to tell her anything, he used a threatening tone and said, "Well, I have called a few friends for dinner. You prepare a good dinner,

otherwise..." And he would stop at 'otherwise' he would not say anything further. The girl was very much upset, and was somewhat fearful. She did what he wanted her to do. This went on for a number of days. One day she went to an elderly woman and said, "This is what he is doing. Every time he says, you do this and that, otherwise." "What am I to do?" The elderly woman said, "Well, once you ask him what that otherwise is, say what if I do not do that?" So, the next time when he told her, "Tomorrow I have to catch an early morning flight. You must get up early and prepare hot water. Otherwise...", she said, "Otherwise, what?" And he did not know what to say. He said, "Otherwise, I will have to bathe in cold water." So, Sir, if that is the only 'otherwise' that our Finance Minister has—the public sector undertakings must perform well; and if they do not perform well—well, he will have to make do with the way they are working.

Now, Sir, I will not take much time of the House. Sir, some welcome concessions have been given by him. And I would certainly appreciate that there is the Central excise exemption in certain cases upto Rs. 30 lakhs. Last year it had been reduced. He has restored it but actually it should be fifty lakhs. Sir, I welcome the abolition of radio licence fee on smaller radios. The other small mercies are rather illusory but even then they are welcome, so far as they go. Sir, here I only want to suggest that improvements can be made in so many ways. In all these respects the most important thing to do is to make every rupee, which he takes from the taxpayer, go the farthest. Whenever there is an increase in oil prices, the prices here are increased. No effort is made to supplement our oil resources in the way we can easily do. Of course, oil exploration is going on I do not deny that. In an American journal I found the other day that

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one Professor Mathur in the I.I.T. was using alcohol mixed petrol in his car for two years and he had said that his car was running cheaper and better and that no damage had been caused to it. If such a thing can be done, we are a poor country, we cannot afford all these high prices, why does not the Government take all these things into consideration and put research and development people on it so as to achieve certain real results?

Sir, I shall refer to some of the things which should have been put to better use. Here I have with me the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General for 1978-79—Defence Accounts. He has deplored that the Aircraft Development Project, which was sanctioned in September 1972 and was expected to take about three years, had not been completed even after seven years causing a huge loss to the exchequer. Therefore, Sir, the Air Force was not able to equip its units the improved version of our own aircraft. This is one thing, Sir. The Defence Research and Development is considered sometimes something like a sacred cow. *(Time bell rings)*.

Sir, I will take two or three minutes more. This cow, they say, nobody should touch. Actually, so much wastage of resources is going on. I would like to inform the hon. Minister that there is a Defence Research and Development Laboratory in Hyderabad, it has not had a project worth the name for four years. And there are two thousand scientists sitting there idle, without doing any worthwhile work. There are about 250 scientists in the Defence headquarters and they are only doing file work, pushing pen and paper. There was, Sir, an Anti-Tank Missile Project that the Defence Ministry started in 1960. In 1961, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon announced in the press that the ATM was already being made in India. In 1969, there was a French collaboration for some licenced production of ATMs

but that also finished. The Bharat Dynamics was established in 1970 and some practice rounds were made. Now the import of Two Missiles from the USA is going on costing \$32 million in 1980. There was a main battle tank project which was initiated in 1970. Ten years have passed and we are where we were and these tanks have to be imported from the Soviet Union. Similarly, there was a Devil Project but nothing has come out of that. *(Time bell rings)*.

Similarly, Sir, silicon was supposed to be produced in this country. It is something with which we make transistors and which we use in solar cells. We cannot make it. A project was given. Four laboratories took up the challenge. It was claimed that all the four had made this particular product. One director got the Padma Shri. Another Assistant Director was promoted to become the Deputy Director for outstanding work in this. But even today, Sir, not an ounce of silicon is made in India. Every bit of it is imported from outside. Similarly, there is the Crystal Growth Project and results are claimed every time but without being put to commercial use. *(Time bell rings)*.

Then, Sir, there was the Liquid Nitrogen Plant, it was purchased by the Solid State Physics Laboratory about 8 years ago. The equipment has not been unpacked yet. There was the Liquid Helium Plant. It was purchased to satisfy the whims of a particular official. This is, Sir, in addition to the charges of misappropriation which have been made on Defence laboratories. I remember one particular case where a substantial amount of gold and platinum was declared as consumed. Gold can be consumed theoretically, although it takes very long. But Platinum cannot be consumed at all—

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Pleased conclude.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: This is my last point. Sir, this has been shown as consumed. A special audit was con-

ducted. But nothing has been done and We find the authorities sitting over it. Then, Sir, my last point is in regard to the ICAR. You have said in your report and in your Economic Survey that we need a break through in oilseeds and pulses production. I hope you are aware...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, I am only on my last point.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You have been on your last point for the last five minutes.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Even in respect of pulses, there has been an All-India Co-ordinated Pulses Project for the last 15 years. In respect of oilseeds also, there has been a co-ordinated project for the last ten or twelve years. But no achievement has been made. We are spending something like Rs. 86 crores every year on the ICAR. Assurances are there. In thirty centres, research is being carried on. Twenty-two agricultural universities are there. But what is the achievement? The achievement is that we are utilising only the Mexican variety of wheat and the Philippines variety of rice. Nothing more beyond that. Sir, I would like him to consider one or two small exemptions. Capital gains should have been provided for. This is one thing which checks the growth of black money.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Bhai Maha. vir, please conclude. You have already taken forty minutes.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: This is the only extra time I am taking. I was entitled to forty minutes. I am only taking one or two minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You are cutting

into others' time. There are a large number of speakers. Please conclude now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: You are generally aware that if a Member is entitled to, say, fifty minutes, it may spill over to 60 or 70 minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): please conclude now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Sir, I am finishing. There has been an increase in the parcel rates. The publishers are very much upset over it. I would request him to consider this and withdraw this. He should not increase the parcel rates in respect of books, in any case. In regard to postcard, which is the ordinary man's means of communication, you have not increased the price. But I do not understand, why should the people who use their own paper and print their own card pay 20 per cent postage? Actually, they are making a saving, I am not happy about it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Lastly. Sir, I would like to say that you are a little unkind to the HUFs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Please conclude now.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: This retrospective effect which he has given is something which he should consider. This should not have been done. This is something which I would like the Finance Minister to reconsider. Sir, with these words, I wish him well in his efforts.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Wish me also well. Now, Mr. Morarka. I hope you will keep in mind the time-limit.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA (Rajasthan). Sir, you show me some indulgence.

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

do not like my points, I would stop immediately. On the other hand, if you approve of what I say...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): You know the limitations of the Chair more than I do.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Sir, the Government has set up a few new records in the fiscal history of this country. For the first time, the Government has put new imposts and raised additional resources totalling Rs. 3,500 crores almost within twelve days. Such a massive dose of taxation and price hike was never given in the fiscal history of this country. Secondly, Sir, the Finance Minister has left uncovered a deficit of Rs. 1,417 crores which again is the highest in the fiscal history of this country. It is higher than even the much-maligned Charan Singh's Budget, which left Rs. 1382 crores. Then, Sir, thirdly, the revenue deficit is again the highest in the fiscal history of this country, namely, Rs. 1,177 crores part of it, namely, Rs. 223 crores, is being covered by additional taxation, leaving Rs. 954 crores uncovered. In the last Budget, this deficit was only Rs. 214 crores. It rose to Rs. 871 crores, in the revised estimates

Sir, the more interesting thing in the Budget is that when the Finance Minister presented the interim Budget, the deficit was Rs. 1235 crores. This increased to Rs. 2,280 crores, when it came to presenting the final Budget. Of this Rs. 2,280 crores, Rs. 223 crores is covered by additional taxation, Rs. 540 crores by way of IMF loan and Rs. 100 crores, by way of LIC and Unit Trust loans, leaving Rs. 1,417 crores uncovered. So, the point that I am trying to make is that in less than 100 days this deficit increased by Rs. 1,045 crores. At this rate, by the end of the year, the deficit will not only go to Rs. 2,700 crores as it happened last year, but it may go to much more. Now, Sir, when Choudhury Charan Singh left the deficit of Rs. 1,855 crores uncovered, the economy of this country was not so heated. Inflation-

nary pressure is worse today. Therefore, the magnitude of the deficit may prove to be more dangerous than what it provided last year.

Sir, in one week alone, ending on 14th June, the wholesale price index increased by four points—again a record in the history of this country, from 239.7 it went to 243.7.

Sir, it is commented that Chaudhury Charan Singh's disastrous decision last year to combine "savage" taxation with the record deficit financing resulted in galloping inflation. But if you examine Mr. Venkataraman's budget carefully, you would find a great similarity between the two—additional taxation of Rs. 440 crores by Shri Venkata-raman as against Rs. 660 crores in Shri Charan Singh's Budget. But then Chaudhury Charan Singh's budget included Rs. 278 crores by increased excise duty on these products which Mr. Venkataraman has levied separately—Rs. 2,100 crores on petroleum products and Rs. 650 crores on fertilizers. Shri Charan Singh's budget left the revenue gap of Rs. 214 crores against Mr. Venkataraman's budget which leaves revenue gap of Rs. 954 crores. Mr. Charan Singh's budget left a deficit of Rs. 13.82 crores while Mr. Venkataraman's Budget leaves the uncovered gap of Rs. 117 crores.

Sir, there is one thing which nobody has so far said here and that is, why is he trying to raise the revenue by price hike? The reason is very simple, not only to show less deficit in the Budget, but the real reason is that if you get the revenue by excise duty you have to share 40 per cent of that with the State. If you raise it by hiking the price, that becomes indivisible. The entire amount remains with the Centre.

This year Rs. 2,100 crores from fertilizer and Rs. 660 crores from petroleum products he has obtained and he has done it by price hike. On the other hand, if he had got the same amount through excise duty, he would have given Rs. 1,080 crores to the States which he has saved. In August-

September, 1979 also they did the same thing, namely, they reduced the excise duty and increased the price. There again the States were deprived of their share of revenue.

Sir, this year's Budget assumes Rs. 2,018 crores from the public sector undertakings. Sir) last year they have taken a credit of Rs. 1,504 crores, but in the revised budget figures it is shown as Rs. 1,421 crores, that is, Rs. 183 crores less. If you compare the figures, Mr. Venkataraman is now providing Rs. 597 crores more in the public sector revised figure than what he actually got in the revised figure last year. Sir, I do not know whether the working of the public sector has improved or whether, what my friend Shankar Ghose said is correct, namely that they are going to increase price of oil, steel and various other things, in the later case the inflationary pressure would get an impetus.

Sir, there is one more interesting thing. In this budget this year the Finance Minister had provided Rs-8,416 crores for Plan. The total Plan provision in the Budget is Rs. 8,416 which is Rs. 1,308 more than the last year's budget and this Rs. 1,308 crores include Central assistance for State Plan and Union Territories. Now out of about Rs. 5,000 crores which he has raised by way of additional resource J only Rs 1,308 crores are provided for Plan and development which according to me, is a meagre figure. Last year while criticising the Budget of Chaudhury Charan Singh, when he had allocated out of Rs. 2,350 crores about Rs. 1,600 crores for planning, Mr. Venkataraman expressed more dissatisfaction and he said this. I quote: "It looks to me, Sir, that we are really burning the house for roasting a pig". Now I do not know, this year hov, many houses are being burnt for roas' -ing the pig.

3 P.M.

I must say that Mr. Venkataraman is a skilful artist and a very lucky Finance Minister. No other Finance

Minister has ever earned so many encomiums by sacrifici-ing so little a revenue. By giving away less than Rs. 40 crores, he has earned the reputation of a practical and beneficent Finance Minister. As he was unfolding his Budget proposals and reeling out concessions after concessions, the Budget appeared to be overflowing with reliefs. And he could do that just by giving Rs. 40 crores in a Budget of Rs 21,467 crores. Mr. Charan Singn. on the other hand, gave concessions sacrificing about Rs. 300 crores in revenue; yet he could not get any approbation from the public. He gavu several concessions, the most important of which were 50 per cent reduction in excise o.". fertilisers, complete exemption of excise duty on unmanufactured tobacco, reduction on diesel oil excise and giving exemption from Income Tax to the State Khadi Board:: etc. How luck makes a difference; This year Mr. Venkataraman has given relief in excise' duty of less than Rs. 1 crore on controlled cloth, while last year Mr. Charan Singh had given a subsidy of more than Rs. 50 crores on the same fabric. Vet Mr. Charan Singh could not get my laurels, while Mr Venkataraman is appreciated throughout. This is where the luck comes in.

One noticeable lacuna in the Budget is that it does not say anything about how he is going to check the inflation. The Budget is not a statement of receipts arid expenditure only. It is an instrument of growthj an instrument through which you have to check this malady. But the Budget noticeably fails in giving out any of his plans or projects on how he is going to cheek this inflation.

Our inflation is mainly cost-push aiid yet so many steps are taken in \*his Budget which are going to push ou: cost further; the price hike of petroleum products, the increase in ey.cise duties, hike in the railway rate,, etc Not only this, I must agree with ou" Finance Minister that to some extent this inflation is also imported th:v..gh the import of oil at inflated prices We

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

are also importing coal for our steel plants, steel for our industries, fertilisers for our agriculture—and all this at a very high price. Therefore, it is natural that by importing these things we provide a real and substantial push to our costs.

Then I want to say a few words about public expenditure. Here, again, the Finance Minister has not said anything except this: "This will require a fiscal policy which will reduce wasteful and unnecessary expenditure". So he recognises the existence of wasteful and unnecessary expenditure. But then he does not say what steps he is going to take, and how he is going to stop this. Does this mean, according to the Finance Minister, that there is no possibility at all of checking the wasteful and unproductive expenditure?

The present Budget is of Rs. 21,467 crores. If you compare that with Rs. 503 crores in 1950-51, Rs. 1,805 crores in 1960-61, and Rs. 12,000 crores in 1975-76, this figure has now gone to more than Rs. 21,000 crores and it really calls for scrutiny. The non-developmental expenditure for the States and the Centre has increased by more than Rs. 3,000 crores in less than four years and as my friend Mr. Ladli Mohan Nigam said yesterday, the expenditure under the head 'Police', both for the Centre and the States, has increased from Rs. 696 crores in 1976-77 to Rs. 916 crores in 1979-80—i.e., again by more than Rs. 220 crores in less than three years. In spite of all this expenditure on the police, you see the performance of the police and what is happening around us. Now, whenever we talk of economy, our attention goes to items like TA, DA, telephones, electricity, staff cars, single space typing, utilisation of both sides of paper, re-using of used envelopes, stopping white washing of MPs' quarters etc. This is the list of economy measures.

Now, Sir, if you permit me, I will point out a few areas where large economies in Government expenditure—both development and non-develop-

ment—are possible. The real waste in Government expenditure, according to me, is in Government contracts. And these contracts are of four types.

First, project contracts. Huge amounts are involved. Some of these contracts run into thousands of crores of rupees like those for steel plants, etc. The Government has no machinery, technical or financial, to scrutinise and check the project reports. They can neither verify the prices nor the technology to be used. None of the projects is completed in time and within the financial limits sanctioned.

Second, we have commodity contracts. These are for huge quantities, involving again big money. There are for import of sugar, cement, fertilisers, coal, edible oil, aluminium, etc. Millions of tonnes of these are imported and each contract is worth hundreds of crores of rupees. The concerned Ministries have great propensity to justify imports. The Finance Ministry is often helpless in this matter. All contracts for the export of rice, etc., are also very lucrative to some people.

Then we have the third category which is defence contracts. Here again, there are big as well as medium size contracts. Defence purchases are shrouded in secrecy and secrecy breeds more corruption. It is rumoured—how far it is correct I do not know—that the Jaguar deal is being cancelled by paying Rs. 300 crores in penalty.

Then, Sir, finally we have contracts for foreign projects. Some of our public sector undertakings are now taking up building contracts outside this country. These contracts, again, are bristling with corruption. They give money for consultancy services, they give money for obtaining the contracts, etc. This requires looking into. Let me now illustrate what I have said by one or two examples. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is an important point. I want to have your attention.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I think you need the attention of Finance Minister.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Your attention 'also. To me you are more important. There was a scheme for the expansion of the Bokaro Steel Plant. The original estimate was Rs. 513 crores but the revised estimate was Rs. 948 crores. Similarly, expansion of the Bhilai steel Plant. The original estimate was Rs. 513.87 crores but the revised estimate was Rs. 937.70 crores. For the Haldia fertilizer project, the original estimate was Rs. 88.03 and revised was Rs. 228.51. Ramagundam—Original 71.18 and revised 185.52. Talcher, original 70.19, revised 184.70. Barauni fertilizer project—original 35.14, revised 92.32. Sir, I will give one or two more examples' and finish. This is very important. Salal hydroelectric project—original Rs. 55.15 crores, revised 229.33 crores of rupees. RCE—Vizag Outer Harbour—original, Rs. 36.32 crores, revised Rs. 109.45 crores. Madras Outer Harbour—original Rs. 17.85, revised Rs. 64.42 crores. Mormagao Port Development Project—original Rs. 28.64 crores, revised Rs. 82.13 crores. Haldia Dock Project—original Rs. 40 crores, revised Rs. 145 crores. Like that, there is a long list. I can go on giving examples. My point is, even after thirty years of independence, we do not have any machinery which can check the correctness of the prices, etc. of these contracts. Every contract, from whichever country it is, is not free from corruption. Even socialist countries insist on having a middleman, a commission agent here. And would you be surprised if I were to tell you that there is one contract, under negotiation today and the middleman in that contract is going to get Rs. 100 crores? Sir, these are the dimensions.

Now, Sir, I want to say a few words about the concessions. The Budget has given some concessions are some reliefs to everybody—rich and poor, rural and urban, tribals and Hanjar!», sportsmen and scientists, blind and handicapped and also for agriculture, trade and industry, small, large, etc etc. Sir, the Budget promises that L 5

million hectares of additional land will be brought under irrigation, 25,000 more villages will be electrified, 3,000 more villages will be provided drinking water, 8 lakh families will be provided with house-sites, and so on and so forth. These are very interesting and very positive steps in the Budget. But I would particularly congratulate the Finance Minister for the following four innovations which he has made. The first one is the setting up of an independent Appellate Tribunal for Customs and Central Excise. The need so obvious and the demand so reasonable and yet, the successive Finance Ministers had failed to implement it. The second one is of setting up an Export—Import Bank. It will fulfil a long-felt and urgent need. The third one is the setting up of the Handloom Corporation. And finally allowing the public sector units to accept public deposits. This will open a new avenue for public investment. According to me, the Government should allow all the companies in the public sector to invite such deposits. All these steps are in the right direction.

Sir, the Finance Minister has given some reliefs to the small income-tax payers. He has raised the limit of nontaxable income to Rs. 12,000 per annum. Very good. But, while doing so, he has again provided that the taxable income slab will start from Rs. 8,400. That means that the benefit of this concession would be limited to only those people whose income is less than Rs. 1,000 per month. The Bureau of Public Enterprises report shows that the average income of the workers in the entire public sector undertakings, i.e., 18 lakhs of people, is now Rs. 11,230 per annum. In one particular group of undertakings, namely, the transport services group of undertakings, this average comes to Rs. 32,540 per worker per year. These are the printed figures from a report of the Government. So, Sir, what I feel is that the Finance Minister must start charging tax from 12,000 onwards, ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI); Mr. Finance Minister,...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, he is discussing the intricate problems of the Finance Ministry.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Mr. Finance Minister, Mr. Morarka wants your undivided attention.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Sir, I can tell the hon. Member that the officers are taking notes of every point made and I will be briefed on it and if there are any important things I will certainly reply.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: ; am sure your officers are taking notes. But it wcu'd make a difference if you were to take notes rather than leave it t-j your officers.

The next point is about the black money. Black money is increasing in our country every day and there is very little done to check this. The successive Finance Ministers have expressed their anxiety about it, but have uniformly failed in finding any remedy for it. This black money makes our economic policies,, particularly credit control, less effective. Prices are under continuous pressure. Not only is the black money not decreasing but with the mounting inflation it is increasing. There is a direct relationship between the two. Due to inflation when the prices go up, that generates more profits and to avoid paying tax on them. They are secreted. That leads to generation of black money. Sir, the voluntary disclosure schemes were partially successful. They provided a limited remedy. Therefore, some other methods have to be devised. Sir, Ceylon is also suffering from the same malady and they have recently issued some bearer bonds. We must have a careful watch on their experiment. If they succeed, we must try to benefit by their experiment.

Now, Sir, about the public sector undertakings. Our investment in the public sector at present is about

Rs.17,000 crores and it employs 18 lakh people, it produces goods worth Rs. 16,000 crores every year. So it commands our economic heights. It makes overall loss. It does not contribute to the amount that the planners expect from it. It has been found wanting in utilising its installed capacity. But, in spite of all this, one cannot say that this sector plays a very insignificant role. On the other hand, according to me, it has to play a very vital role in our economy. It produces many basic things like power, fertilizers, steel, coal, etc. Therefore, it has not only come to stay but, according to me, it has also come to expand and prosper. If there are certain weaknesses, "those weaknesses can be easily removed by taking a few steps. Sir, in financial dimensions and employment potential, the public sector is as big as our Railways and in turnover it is actually bigger than the Railways. The Railways have a separate budget and separate demands for grants which are discussed every year for three to four days in the other House and for two to three days in this House. But the public sector is never discussed here or in that House. Even the report published by the Bureau of Public Enterprises which, according to me, is a very informative document, is not discussed. So, my suggestion to the hon. Finance Minister is that we should find ways and means to discuss the affairs of the public sector at least for two or three days every year and bring a budget of this sector before the House.

Sir, the Finance Minister has given some well-deserved concessions to the small-scale industries. Last time Mr. Charan Singh had undone some of the concessions previously given, but now the Finance Minister has restored them. But in restoring the concessions, he has prescribed a new condition and that condition, according to me, is not very practical but is irksome. The condition is that he would allow the first Rs. 30 lakh worth of goods of a small-scale factory to be cleared duty-free provided

[Shri R. R. Morarka] in the previous year that factory has not cleared more than Rs. 30 lakhs. Sir, his condition that it must be small, that it should not have more than Rs. 10 lakhs of capital or Rs. 10 lakhs of assets, is good. But why this additional condition that it should not have produced more than Rs. 30 lakhs worth of goods? The present need is to produce more, whether in the large-scale sector or in the small-scale sector. If that is so, why put this condition at all?

Then, Sir, the Finance Minister in his Budget speech has said something about the convertibility clause. He thinks that by removing the convertibility, clause, he has made a great concession. But let us examine the practical utility. In the first place, I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister, in how many companies actually this option has been exercised. In how many companies have you actually converted the loan into equity capital? Sir, the position is this: if the company is not doing well, if the company is in default either of the principal amount or of the interest, the institution would not convert the loan into equity. If the company is not in default, if it is doing well, if it is repaying the loan and is paying the interest, the institution cannot do it. They can do it only when the company is in default. Therefore, this concession is good, as far as it goes, but according to me, it does not go far.

About the interest tax, I would only say this that it is a cost-push step. Sir, because of this tax, the banks are obliged to increase the interest rate by 1.5 per cent. The hon. Finance Minister must know that on the 13th September, 1979, the banks were directed to, increased the interest rate by 3 per cent. So, they have already increased it by 3 per cent. Now it is increased by another 1.5 per cent. This would be unbearable for many marginal industries. In any case, in

every industry the cost would increase.

Now, Sir, the Finance Minister says in his Budget speech in Para 10:

"Such a dismal economic situation was to a large extent the result of the policies—or should I say lack of policies—of the previous Government."

Sir, I do not understand actually under what compelling circumstances the Finance Minister made this statement. Why do I say this? Because the very Finance Minister Mr. Venkataraman, while criticising the Budget of Chaudhuri Charan Singh in the other House on the 12th March, 1979, had this to say:

"I am not given to denigrating the country for the sake of decrying the Government. The Finance Minister has stated in the Budget speech that the performance of the Indian economy during the year is a matter of great satisfaction. With one qualification I will agree. It is true that agriculture has maintained the record production reached last year of 126 million tonnes. Industry shows signs of recovery and may achieve 7 to 8 per cent growth. There is relative price stability in respect of wholesale prices, thanks particularly to 20 million tonnes of foodgrains and Rs. 5,000 crores of foreign exchange which have helped the wholesale prices."

This was the view of the Finance Minister when he was not the Finance Minister. He was likely to be more objective at that time. Would you believe his statement then, or would you believe what he says now that everything is because of the mismanagement of the previous Government? So, the Finance Minister had some compelling reasons for saying this now. Otherwise, he is not the man who will make such a statement in his Budget speech.

Anyway, there is no doubt that our economy is in serious "difficulties; particularly the year of 1980 has been a

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

year of great difficulties. Why? There are four reasons. Others have mentioned three of them. One is, severe drought; second, galloping inflation; third, collapse of infrastructure, and lastly the unusual political instability. In one year we had three Governments. The longest one that remained in office was the Caretaker Government. Even if they wanted to do something and had the ability and capacity to do something they were prevented from taking any policy decision, as you know.

(Time bell rings) A few words about subsidy and I conclude. The amount of subsidy is increasing year after year. There are three main items which absorb most of our subsidies. First is food, second, our exports and third, fertilisers. This year the Finance Minister has tried to reduce the subsidy on fertilisers. But he has not done anything at all about the subsidy on food. About more than Rs. 600 crores are given every year as subsidy on food. You will be surprised to know that firstly this subsidy is given on only about 10 per cent of food production secondly, the total foodgrains sold through the public distribution system is about 10 per cent only, and thirdly, neither the producer nor the consumer gets any benefit of this subsidy. A large portion of this is spent either in corruption or wastage or administrative expenses on the Food Corporation of India. Therefore, I think it is high time that the Government has a comprehensive look at this food subsidy and they should rationalise it. If the subsidy is removed today, the difficulty would be about the buffer stock. I think buffer stock is a necessity. So, some rationalisation should be done. I think even the consumers covered under the public distribution system would be prepared to pay 15 to 20 paise more for a kilogram to meet the expense of buffer stock.

About export subsidy, I want to say that this again is about Rs. 400 crores. The subsidies were introduced

when every rupee of subsidy generated export worth Rs. 19/-. Today every rupee that is spent as export subsidy generates an export of less than Rs. 9. The subsidies were evolved at a time when the international prices were very low. To subsidise the export then, we had to do it. Today because of inflation the international prices have gone up very high. Therefore, all our goods in the foreign countries have become competitive. The real difficulty is not about price. The real difficulty is about timely delivery, about specifications of quality and about packing, etc. If the Government takes some positive steps in this direction, I am sure the situation would improve...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Now, please conclude.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: If that is your wish, I will conclude by only quoting what Mr. Lakshmanan, the famous cartoonist, has said about the Budget. He says;

"Do not be so critical... actually it is a good Budget, if you do not view it from the economic angle."

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is my maiden speech in this august House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Why don't you come near the mike? The mike is not catching your voice.

SHRIMATI MONIKA DAS: Yes, Sir. First of all, Sir, I must congratulate to the honourable Prime Minister and the honourable Finance Minister for their very revolutionary and bold Budget which will pull out the economy out of its stagnation and take it on to the path of development. This is a positive and progressive Budget. In fact, I can tell you, Sir, that this is a tonic to the common man. But I have a fear that the benefits given by the Budget to the common man may not reach the common man due to the greed and unscrupulousness

janerchant's class, especially at the retail outlet Qwners. The merchant class and at the retail outlet owners always exploit the customers by overcharging and underweighing and passing on inferior goods to the customers. So, I would request the Government to evolve a machinery for supervising the availability of consumer goods

and food to the common man at the proper rates. The benefits given in the Budget should reach the common man in the proper form and for this, I think, the Government should take ruthless action against the unscrupulous merchant class. Sir, we hope that we would be able to fulfil our promises to the masses by this Budget. I will appeal to all the political parties to co-operate with us and lead our country towards prosperity. My party and the Government are committed to the 20-point programme which is meant to undo the injustice perpetuated from time immemorial on the socially and economically downtrodden people. We do not speak about having ideological or doctrines. But our aim is to pull out India from its slumber. In front of us, a very simple programme we have got and that is that we want to provide food to our people, we want to provide shelter to our people and we want to provide employment to our people and, above all, we must see that social justice is done to the people. But, Sir, I would like to speak a few words about slums for, for almost one month or so, all the friends have talked about so many things and on so many topics, but about the slums, I have not heard anything at all. But I would like to say a few words about this which is the biggest problem in our country and which also hinders the progress of our country. Sir, a scheme for slum clearance, for slum improvement, was formulated in May, 1975, as a Centrally sponsored scheme and it continued to remain as such upto 31-3-77. The idea was that there should be a minimum dislocation of slum dwellers and that efforts should be made to rehouse them, as far as possible, at the existing sites or at sites nearby to ensure that 509 RS—4.

they are not uprooted from their fields of employment. Sir, the Government of India should emphasise on providing minimum level of services and amenities in the existing slum areas. The National Buildings Organisation has estimated that the slum population in 1979 was 25 million in the urban areas only and it is expected to go up to 30 million in 1985 if it is not checked in time. So, my humble request to the Government ia that we should see that all amenities to our people, which are their minimum, which are required for living as human beings, are given. Sir, we started this with the best intentions and with good intentions only we wanted to clear the slums, but they were misinterpreted by many vested interests and political parties. Sir, this is a national programme and every person of goodwill should co-operate with us and our Government for the better implementation of town planning and slum clearance programmes. The Government is doing its utmost to improve the conditions Of the slum dwellers. But, Sir, as I said, this is not an easy job. But we have to take some action for this. This is our main programme in our country, Sir, where more than 30 per cent of the people are living in inhuman conditions. Of course, we have to take some action. In fact, our party and our GoverrT-ment, had started taking action in this regard in 1976. But, unfortunately, there came a break in 1977, and after 1977, the whole country -was drowned in darkness. So all the good things done by our party were "washed away. But we have started again and it will take some time more to undo the damage done between 1977 and 1979. As I said, Sir, we have already started again. This Budget is the forerunner of it.

Thank you, Sir.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN  
(Nominated); Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a discussion on the Annual General Budget of the Government of India

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan] and the annual Economic Survey provides an opportunity to take stock of the national scene and to reflect on the state of the national economy and also on the on going process of social change and economic development. Sir, it is basically an exercise in macro-perspective, if I may say so, and in larger concerns for the completion of India's unfinished revolution. Being an open society, attuned to the democratic systems and a parliamentary process of accountability and decision-making, we in the two Houses of Parliament of India, must appropriately examine the two documents: Budget and Economic Survey, from the diverse and variable perspectives and yardsticks of our socio-political predilections, our ideological choices and, if I may add, blueprints. Hence all this adds up to the richness of debate and to the range of perception on this major national developments. Dissent and variation, in substance and in emphasis, is the very essence of a democratic system. Briefly speaking, I should imagine that one can make comments on three major aspects of the Budget, or a mix of the three aspects, namely, (1) On the Finance Minister's Budget speech, its idiom and style of presentation and its reception by the cross-section of the citizenry, comprising organised groups, political forums or the Press; (2) the statement of tax measures, revenue receipts and expenditures under different sectors, together with Plan and Non-Plan outlays and (3) the larger economic environment, social setting and the character of the development process. Quite often, attention is drawn to the first two aspects only, almost to the total neglect of the third, although any meaningful comment on the Budget speech and the Budget proposals *would* be out of focus and outside the national framework, unless it is stated in the larger socio-economic context. Let me address myself very briefly to these three aspects.

Regarding the idiom and inner logic of the Budget speech and the psycho-

logical impact of Mr. Venkataraman's presentation of the Budget proposals, one might say that, by and large, it was not badly received by several sections of the people. Indeed it provoked much less negative comments and antagonism than normally Budget speeches have done in the last decade as long as I have been in the Parliament. It is a measure of Mr. Venkataraman's skill imagination and dexterity in minimising the range of vocal public opposition to his Budget proposals, in so far as immediate reactions and comments are concerned. But since any Budget speech is necessarily an unpopular exercise, especially in a scarcity economy and at a low level of industrialisation and technological development, super imposed by multiplicity of demands, Mr. Venkataraman could not escape the sound and fury of adverse confinements, either within the Parliament or outside. This is as it ought to be. Regarding the second aspect about budget proposals, one might say that the budget as such is a presentable budget which seeks to give immediate relief to the common man, but within the framework of adverse economic environment, fiscal drag and inflation. Even after such tax reliefs which the skilful Finance Minister has given, the citizens remain worse off than before because the tax reliefs do not keep pace, with the inflation and price rise. Relief, in the larger framework of economic logic, is too little and given too late. These are expressions of good intention of an otherwise imaginative Finance Minister given in a bad economic situation. So, one might extend approbation to the subjective impulses and goodwill of the Finance Minister and the Government of the day, but would, alas, these impulses and intentions remain cancelled by the objective constraint in which the economy operates. Therefore, Mr. Venkataraman's budget is a clever budget in a very mixed economic situation. Tax system is supposed to be the expression of a nation's definition of social equity and economic justice. In a sense, the Finance Minister's tax mobilisation effort is basically quite simple. In the field of

personal taxation, he has introduced, and rightly so, certain deft changes at no cost to the exchequer. He is quite understanding about the plight of the middle classes and the lower income groups. His tax exemptions cover about 6 lakhs of people and rightly so. One might ask "why not more?". The corporate sector has been benefited by the liberalisation of the equity clause. Adequate provisions have been made for the new projects of steel, fertiliser, petroleum and petro-chemicals. Innovations have also been made by the establishment of Export-Import Investment Bank and the Handloom Corporation. • Laudable attempt to undo the damage done by the last budget is also accepted. He has been able to score a populist point by making Mr. Charan Singh eat his humble pie. But the Finance Minister's imaginative package deal and reliefs, all in the larger framework of inflation, take another turn altogether. The Government would not be in a position to bring down the price of sugar or of edible oils or of essential commodities. As a matter of fact, prices, in this country, have been rising without ever coming down. The producers have been given incentives. But with the uncovered budget gap of, at least formally, 1,417 crores of rupees, not to speak of the other pluses which have been added, it is impossible to imagine that the trader will be a good trader. In a country of 'Vaish' culture where propertied classes for centuries have developed skills and techniques of evasion and of concentration of profit, it will be remarkable if the intentions of the Finance Minister are transferred to the common man. Sir, unless inflation is tackled, if I may make a basic submission, all tax proposals would remain paper schemes. Inflation had its significant redistributive effect on incomes and wealth of different social groups. Gainers are few. Losers are several. Certain economists have argued that among the gainers one can count Government, business and

rich farming agrarian classes. Those who lose are the large masses of peo-

ple including the salaried circle, the wage-earners, the middle classes and all the rest of the poor who are at different levels of exploitation. In an inflationary situation, the creditors lose and the debtors gain. In a modern economy, it is argued that the biggest debtor is the Government of the day. The total number of people liable to income-tax has increased due to inflation. Inflation pushes people artificially from a lower income bracket to a higher income bracket, and the higher income bracket, rightly so in the fiscal logic, is highly taxed. Therefore, the tax liability has increased though the real income has not increased. Wages usually lag ! behind prices. Under inflationary conditions businessmen stand to gain. All the business depends on financial loans. And all those who take loans under conditions of inflation stand to gain. Such is also a fact in the case of what we call the *kulaks*. These are the major beneficiaries of inflation, particularly in a condition where surpluses of marketed agricultural surpluses are also available at a higher price. And a double benefit has accrued to the rich farmers who gained by the upward price movement on the one side and escaped income-tax liability on the other.

AN HON. MEMBER: The cost of production has also increased.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN: That is your opinion. Let me add my opinion here. The whole problem is: Are we not examining the possibility of including the rich agricultural sector also in the large network of taxation? It is a problem on which the Government appointed some five years ago a committee presided over by Dr. K. N. Raj and Mr. Vitthal. That report has to be examined very carefully. The rich agricultural sector had taken the maximum advantage of the subsidised agricultural inputs. Unfortunately, that sector is not included in the tax network.

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan]

Should the structure of tax rest only on the 19 per cent of the urban population to the exclusion of the total rural population, specially at a time when inflationary benefits are also helping them? Sir, I might also add here that inflation is discriminatory, it makes those suffer more, who have the capacity of suffering for centuries. And it makes those who have the ways and means of overcoming the impact of inflation to escape the impact of inflation. It also generates almost a *status quo* aspect in the economy with the result that your 16.6 per cent increase in the Plan Outlay is almost cancelled by 19.9 per cent of the inflation rate as of now. In other words, there is a deficit of 3.3 per cent between the increase of the Plan Outlay and the available price-rise level at 19.9 per cent. And the deficit might increase unless the monsoon favours us.

Sir, the major task before the Finance Minister and the Government is: How to control the prices? How to bring down the inflation rate? In this, firm governmental action is called for. Sir, the economy's abysmal performance has been mentioned in the Economic Survey and I need not recapitulate that here. That abysmal performance can only be changed if the planning is done not by way of annual plan adjustment but by having a perspective planning for five years. More attention should be given to this aspect. Mr. Venkataraman himself was very closely associated with the Planning Commission. He need not be reminded by a layman like me. But in a situation where the poverty line has taken within its fold from 45 per cent of the people at 196—63 level to 62 per cent with the inflation as it is today, it is incumbent upon them to do so Sir, I would also add here that the cost-push element about which Members in this House and the other House mentioned, has to be very seriously taken note of. The skilful Budget speech only concedes a deficit of Rs. 1,470 crores. But the fact is that total quantum of cost push is four times larger, if we include Rs. 2,108

crores from petroleum price hike, Rs. 665 crores from fertiliser and Rs. 300 odd crores from railways. All this adds up to Rs. 4,543 crores? The way in which delinking was done to petroleum prices and the fertiliser on the one side, and the presentation of the Railway Budget, marking a rise in fares and freight, on the other, all added up to a picture which the Finance Minister can ill-afford to ignore.

Basically, Sir, the capitalist stranglehold on the economy should be removed. I am not making an ideological point. I am not making a partisan point. I am making a very straight patriotic point that in an unequal society like ours equal relief and equal benefit will have unequal impact and unequal repercussions. This is a capitalist economy which is struggling to disengage itself from the ramifications of adverse impact of capitalism in class society. Our society is both class society and mass society. It is class society inasmuch as the stratifications of income groups and stratifications of classes are there, which are unequal, where for centuries caste has played a dominant class role. This is the only country where for centuries not only the hierarchy and inequality has been in-built in the social system, but what is the most shameful thing is that it has been sanctified by social morality and authentic reflections of what should be the normative basis of a society. Yajñavalkya and Manu is a standing part of our heritage. Marx has said, "sometimes heritage becomes bondage." In India, alas, a very large chunk of heritage is bondage. Caste has played the class role. Our increasing allegiance to caste has increased the differentiation of classes and with the increasing accumulation of wealth and power in a few hands despite restrictions on monopoly and oligopoly we have the worst aspect of a capitalist system and keeping in mind the international inter-dependence of economy, about which all of us talk all the time, is it

not a fact that international interdependence of our economy, particularly in the framework of the energy crisis and accumulation of capital in the metropolitan countries, this has adversely affected India itself? This aspect we just cannot avoid. It is not a Marxian position alone. It is not a Communist position alone. It is a realistic, humanistic, patriotic position that we have to examine. How do you pursue the logic of a mixed economy? We are officially calling ours a mixed economy where the public sector is to occupy the commanding heights of the

economy, where planning logic is to restrain unchecked exploitation of the common man. Have you been able to do this? Therefore, Sir,, I say that Budget ought not to be judged only on the basis of what taxes are levied, what reliefs are given and what exemptions are made but it should also be judged in the larger context as to how far it can push through the socio economic objective of transformation of the country. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I want to mention that unless this unequal growth and multi-structured development of the economy is looked into very carefully by the Finance Minister with the support of the Planning Commission, the problem of Budget will only remain an exercise in fixing fiscal targets and fiscal money. As a pure exercise in budgeting, Mr. Venkata-raman has done a marvellous job. At least between 24 and 48 hours, our mouth was shut. It was shut because with his quiet,, modest, intelligent sharpness of mind which is marked in South India to which I also have the honour to belong, he was unable to take the stream of the opposition sometime. But India is a country of the learned, of the wise, of the experience, of Brahmanical heritage. Soon after we read other reports, other pages, the whole Budget,, we had sympathy for Mr. Venkataraman. He is a good Finance Minister but in bad times. What can I do? I ask myself. What can I do if I am appointed the Finance Minister? I have to make the Budget. How do I make it? I have to make it taking into consideration

everything, if structural changes are not there, if the economy is not changing. Mr.' Vice-Chairman, I will only end UP by saying that dichotomy between urban and rural, between rich and poor,, between public sector and private sector, between white money and black money, is a very vital aspect. When I say black money, I am reminded of one thing that unless this parallel black money economy is tackled, things cannot improve. I do not know how the Finance Minister can tackle it; I do not know how the Government can tackle It, because donation to parties is the biggest input into continuance of black money. The parallel black money is a direct input into inflation, which is a vicious circle. I think, a national consensus should be found that we Just cannot transform this country into a country of equal opportunity to all unless we attack the parallel black market economy, that this parallel black market economy will gink all of us including the ruling party.

I will end up, Mr. Vice-Chairman— thank you for your indulgence—by saying three major tasks before us, before the Finance Minister and before all of us. They are; mobilisation of indigenous resources, according to direction to production process and with higher income and giving relief to those with lower income; then, direction to production process and inculcation of production ethics, telling the opposition parties also not to use slogans which come in the way of production; distribution is an impossibility unless the level of production goes up. In this country, sometimes we ask for benefits, for privileges, for rise,, prior to production ethics and production process going up. Let us, as one man, stand up and let industrial production increase so that the national cake is distributed by a higher level of production; otherwise poverty alone will be distributed. Then, sir, just distribution is the answer. Here, I will mention that the size both in terms of physical dimension in population, diversity in terms of structural level of economy, language and ethno-cultural aspects, have to be kept in

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan]

mind. All budgeting has to take a macro-continental view. The budgeting of the Government of India must be augmented by the State budgets; otherwise, if State budgets run counter to the logic of the Government of India Budget, we will never be able to solve the basic problem of the removal of poverty and unleashing of egalitarian polity.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, I have only joined my voice because everybody was speaking and I thought I should also sell my own conscience and justify my existence under this great dome; otherwise, none of the points I have said, has not already been made and none of the points which I have made, is not unknown. The point is we should stop talking and start working but all revolutionary practices, presumed revolutionary theories of Lenin—if we are also trying to bring a revolution, let the revolutionary perspective be a part of it,—should be reflected in the annual budgeting of the Government of India.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this Budget of 1980-81 evolved by the hon. Finance Minister is an astute common-sense Budget made out with amazing simplicity and pragmatism. The spirit of rectification in which it was made has had a soothing psychological impact on the masses. The sighs of the critics of this Budget are the sighs of envy because of their awareness that to take away without pain is a supreme art, that the Finance Minister has done his job and done it well.

I appreciate the boldness with which the public sector undertakings have been brought to task for their nonperformance since their very inception. They will, in future, not be allowed to be a drain on the country's Budget, but will rather have to look to the public for funds. This is a healthy measure, for, in our present state of economy, there is no alternative to honest assessments and remedies. It is a pragmatic move in this Budget to encourage 'incentive potential' within

the private sector by providing it enough tax leverage to sustain its expansions and diversifications without, of course, allowing monopolistic tendencies to evolve. In this context, I would like to point out that modern agriculture in my State of Punjab today is also very much a private sector industry with an added qualification..

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal);  
They should be taxed more.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR: No. You are mistaken. This is in the nature of it being essential service. Under the circumstances, it has become necessary for the Government to create in-depth incentive potential in the field of agriculture in Punjab. In this regard, I have a few suggestions to make.

The first is to admit that the abolition of Wealth Tax on agricultural lands was not done because of mercenary considerations, but was rather done in the spirit of rectification of a wrong concept. Secondly, there is an urgent requirement for the creation of a Central Agricultural Marketing Research Organisation with affiliations of all the States in the country. This organisation will have the powers to advise and draw up guidelines for the Central and State Governments, to enforce solid marketing facilities and to set up research centres anywhere in the country, to do research and create markets abroad for export of vegetables such as onions, garlic, potato and so on and food products like canned and packaged fruits, vegetables, cereals and so on. This organisation will anticipate and capture glut conditions arising in food products and suggest and enforce strategic food processing industries, create easy facilities for transport and storage of food in deficit and surplus States as well as enforce pest and rodent control. It will have the power to undertake strong measures against hoarders and corruption by middlemen. It will investigate and advise State Governments on reforms required in the laws and rules of agricultural agencies, cooperatives, state marketing federations.

It will assess natural calamities and suggest remedies. It will create small agricultural libraries in village centres and create an atmosphere for investment in cottage and agro-based industries in villages. This, Sir, may sound like a tall order because of the large financial support involved, but until marketing in agriculture is not consolidated and streamlined, there will always be a massive wastage of food products leading to the loss of crores of rupees to the exchequer per crop. Therefore, Sir, capital for this project is sought.

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

Third: It is good to see that life insurance and other mea-4 P.M. sures have been encouraged to generate savings—yet a most important item—namely 'crop insurance' has inadvertently been left out of this purview. I am sure the hon. Finance Minister will seriously look into the aspect of crop insurance for natural calamities like hail storms, tornados, droughts and floods only. This scheme, Sir, may be tried for three years in the State of Punjab as an experiment to test the feasibility of this concept. This, Sir, will not only encourage savings and earn income from the farmer, but will also eliminate the burden of compensation to be paid by the exchequer to this farmer.

Fourth; to promote intensive agriculture, it is necessary for the Finance Minister to instigate the fall in prices of tractors and combine harvesters which have risen over 300 per cent in the past seven years. The cause is, Sir, because of two factors—the first being the levying of multiple taxation on parts separately and on the whole separately on all agricultural machinery. The second factor is the muni -pulation of the price structure by the manufacturers of tractors who are-taking undue advantage of the acute demand for tractors in Punjab. It is a fact, Sir, that 99 per cent of the tractors sold in Punjab are because of loans given by banks at a very high rate of interest. If, Sir, this scheme is stopped for a period, one will see a

miraculously huge drop in the prices of tractors overnight. The exploitation of a progressive farmer of Punjab has reached a limit where his spirit is being snuffed-out by the high prices of all his inputs like tractors, diesel, fertilisers, water rates, electricity and finally a low ratio of appreciation for services rendered in making this country self-sufficient in food.

The remedy of increasing the price of foodgrains to compensate the farmer for the increased psices of inputs is basically wrong—the idea should always be to reduce the prices of inputs to increase the profits of the producer so that stabilisation of prices Bill round could be maintained.

Five: I suggest that loans given to the farmer above Rs. 10,000 should go exclusively to the nationalised banks and should no more remain in the hands of Central cooperative and land mortgage banks because, Sir, as I have said many times before, these cooperative banks have become dens of corruption and are perpetuators of the infamous 'inspector raj'. Harassment and frauds committed by these 'mafia' controlled organisations on the poor farmer bring to nought all the high-flown ideals under which they were created and further, Sir, extinguishes the much needed funds doled out by the exchequer for the benefit of the poorer sections of our society. It is, therefore, correct to hand over the major portion of funds to the nationalised banks to facilitate proper and honest transactions. This is a very acute problem in the State of Punjab.

Sixth: It has now become imperative, Sir, for the Central Government to create a Joint organisation in which the States of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and the Centre are totally involved for the exploitation of natural resources in the hilly regions for the generation of energy and irrigation. In this joint venture, every State will jointly invest with full assistance of the Centre to tap all small, medium and large sources of energy and irrigation for the full benefit of these Northern States. Punjab and Har-

[Shrimati Amarjit Kaur] yana, which have similar problems of lack of energy and irrigation facilities, have also similar assets of sur-plusness in foodgrains and items of industry. They may finally barter their assets with the two hill States of Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir' who, after a 10-year period of this joint venture, are bound to be surplus in energy and irrigation facilities. This can only be done if the hon. Finance Minister takes up this venture now at a personal level and pursues it with full financial aid.

These are a few of my practical suggestions, Sir, which I have pleaded for several times on the floor of this House, but to no avail. And yet I am hoping that the hon. Finance Minister, who has shown such farsightedness and practicality in the formulation of this Budget, will lend a kindly ear to my suggestions and, in his wisdom, comply. Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI NOORJEHAN RAZACK (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with great respect I rise to support the present proposals contained in the Budget which were presented on the 18th June in the Lok'sabha by the Finance' Minister.

Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me to participate in the general discussion on the Budget. I welcome this Budget for the spirit behind it, the spirit of providing some assistance to the public in general. The Budget appears to be a reflection of the democratic spirit of the Government to ensure that the public is not hampered by taxation measures. As the son of India, Mr. Sanjay Gandhi, said the other day, for the first time scrupulous care has been taken not to impose duty on articles which are consumed by the common people. Our Finance Minister has tried his best to undo all those mistakes committed since 1977. He has paid special attention to make a special provision in the Budget of Rs. 237 lakhs for functional an<j literary centres for women to

provide them with health, child care, nutrition and education. Similarly Rs. 275 lakhs have been earmarked for the setting up of hostels, for working women, not only in the cities but also in the smaller towns. For the first time, a provision has been made for setting up an Export-Import Bank.

The total Plan outlay has been raised by 16.6 per cent from Rs. 12,511 crores last year to Rs. 14,593 crores this year. A massive National Rural Employment Programme under the 20-point programme has been given prominence. The Food-for-Work Programme has been given an allocation of Rs. 304 crores, which shows how much importance has been given to this Programme in the Budget. This deserves special mention and appreciation. But we have to point out that there are some loopholes and setbacks in the execution of this Programme. Hence it is felt that it does not reach the poor people, as expected. I hope this will be Get right.

I want to congratulate the Minister for abolishing the licence fee in respect of the single and two band radio sets, as demanded by the public. An outlay of Rs. 25 crores has been made for the Metro Transport System. A provision of Rs. 57 lakhs has been made for assistance schemes for the major ports, including Tuticorin. The Ganga-Cauvery Link Project which is a long-pending demand is still outstanding. If this problem is solved, we can secure large-scale employment for the people. This demand is pending since long. Again I want to raise some points. The Kalpakkam power station is not functioning properly. Salem iron-ore project, thermal power istation, the Mass Rapid Transport System are some of the projects which need to be looked into. Mr. Venka-taraman, our Finance Minister, represents Madras (South) constituency and as such I feel he is equally interested in getting the MRTS as well as other plans completed to attract the tourists. I hope he will take

necessary steps in the matter and sanction it as early as possible.

I regret to point out that a major public sector industry is yet to be established in Tamil Nadu as in Maharashtra, West Bengal, etc. Yet, I am to point out that the Minister did not take up some of the major schemes as demanded by the people of Tamil Nadu. It is a well-known fact that Tamil Nadu did not move up in the field of industry in comparison with the other States in India. Though diesel for taxis is exempted from duty, is it possible for a poor taxi-driver to exchange a petrol engine for a diesel engine? The cost of a petrol engine now is Rs. 56,000. Will the Minister bear in mind the hardship that is placed over the taxi-drivers and help them by making some arrangements for such exchange? I hope the Finance Minister who hails from Tamil Nadu will do some justice during his tenure.

No relief was given in the corporate taxation, which is, in the case of public limited companies, 59 per cent—perhaps the highest in the world. The charitable trusts are asked to liquidate their equity holdings from April, 1981 and this, I think, would create some new problems.

Even though a proposal is made to spend Rs. 10 crore on capital account for the police force, I do not find any provision for modernisation of the police force. The police, particularly in the Union territories, should be equipped with modern devices for enabling them to curb the activities of anti-social elements.

No encouraging feature is seen in the Budget to revive investment and regenerate growth. The investment of Rs. 11,00 crores in the corporate sector is not at all sufficient; it is only half of what it was in the year 1961-62. The Minister has to take up necessary measures to check the rise in the prices of petroleum products as

otherwise it would affect their production worth Rs. 60,000 crore and push up the average cost by nearly 3.5 per cent.

I have my own doubts in regard to the proposed amendment seeking to modify the provisions relating to tax holiday. I feel the Minister has to take judgments to some High Courts in the matter into his consideration.

The Income-tax Act provides only a four year time limit on assessments. Then, how does the Minister propose to amend the provisions with effect from 1972-73?

I find no specific features in the Budget to increase the national income. Its level was 8.2 per cent in 1977-78 but now it stands at 4.1 per cent. To raise its level we have to increase the production both in industry and agriculture. Though we possess and adequate quantity of coal reserves, our railways do not supply the required quantity of coal to power houses and steel factories. Power production through coal was previously 58 per cent of the real capacity whereas it has now come down to 40 per cent. Electric supply in the country is 20 per cent less than the demand. I think if we produce more coal and arrange for its regular supply, the import of petrol can be reduced.

I am sorry to mention that the Budget did not come out with proper solutions to check inflation, unemployment, protectionism, monetary stability, etc. In regard to edible oils, no clear-cut provision is made in the Budget to achieve self-sufficiency. We are facing the crisis for the past 30 many years. The gap between supply and demand is so wide that I feel something should be done to bridge it. The agitation in Assam has contributed much to the non-Plan expenditure; the fall in foreign trade and the deficiency in the industrial production also caused inflation. The pre-Budget Survey wanted to check

(.Shrimati Noorjehan Razack]

up the inflation, but the Budget proposals do not properly indicate as to, how it is going to be achieved.

The cost of living is generally so high for the last one year, particularly after the present Government took over charge. Even though the present Budget gives little relief to a housewife in regard to some articles, we find that no measure is taken to control the high prices of sugar, kerosene, coal, etc. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the Janata Government, we were getting sugar at the rate of Rs. 2.25 per kilo. We cannot even dream of getting sugar at that rate at present.

Our new Member Mrs. Nargis Dutt has the other day asked the Minister to withdraw his proposal to increase the duty on unexposed colour films. I endorse her view and request the Minister to withdraw the proposal, since cinema is the only one cheap form of entertainment for the poor people.

Tourism is a big source of earning foreign exchange. Unfortunately, our country does not go ahead with other countries. There have been a number of complaints received from time to time that the Department of Tourism does not guide them properly particularly with reference to the important tourist centres in Tamil Nadu. Apart from the famous temples in Madurai and Rameswaram, etc., Tamil Nadu has many natural picnic spots. I wish the Minister would allocate more funds in his Budget for the development of tourism. I request the Minister to make the necessary allotment so that some more offices start functioning in all important cities in Tamil Nadu.

Though the Budget shows a deficit of Rs. 1417 crores, I am afraid the figure was not arrived at after taking into consideration the day-to-day rising prices of essential commodities

I regret to point out that no clear-cut proposals were given in the Budget to bring down the prices of essential commodities.

If we take the opinion of some impartial economic experts, the prices of articles of mass consumption will go up by 16 to 17 per cent and the Government has to face a deficit of Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 crore.

In regard to the public sector undertakings, one finds that the non-Plan expenditure is increasing year to year, but the production is not at all satisfactory. It seems the Minister has taken Rs. 540 crore from the International Monetary Fund as granted. Similarly he expects the foreign aid to the extent of Rs. 800 crore. Why should we not try to stand on our own legs and avoid all the foreign assistance?

The Minister said in his Budget speech: "My Budget represents a modest contribution to the process of restoring the country's economy to the path of stability, growth and social justice." Our party is ready to extend its support in fulfilling the aim and co-operate with the Government for stability in the field of economy.

In spite of all shortcomings, the Budget has some good features offering tax concessions amounting to Rs. 43 crores benefitting the poor families and middle class people.

I request the Minister once again to consider all the plans forwarded by the then D.M. K. led Government in Tamil Nadu headed by Dr. Kalam. M. Karunanidhi.

Thank you.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka)  
: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister has made the Indian people rather have a sigh of relief with his Budget proposals. I would say that it is the general opinion of well-meaning people of this country

that the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister contribute generally to promote savings and are growth-oriented.

Sir, the economic condition in India is grave today. If the economic condition in India as a whole is grave, it is graver and is in a dangerous state in rural India. The masses of people in India are suffering, are groaning under the ever-soaring prices of essential commodities like foodgrains, kerosene oil, edible oils, sugar, cement and even the poor man's firewood, charcoal, etc. Sir, what has come out of the Preventive Detention Act? Barely 140 anti-social elements, smugglers and blackmarketeers, have been arrested throughout India during the last three months. When there is such sad performance, why was it introduced at all with so much hope and promise?

On the one hand, the entire middle class and the working class, constituting vast masses of India, are suffering and, on the other, vast masses of farmers of India, in its numberless, dark and dingy villages, are not getting parity price for their farm produce and are forced by the Government, which they themselves are mainly responsible for installing every five years, to become economic cripples and all left just to live on by begging, beseeching or borrowing —on loans, subsidies, or grants and crumbs from good politicians or bad politicians or their agents. Poverty, and not prosperity, is spreading to more families in rural India where nearly 80 per cent of the people live. Nearly 78 per cent of our population is still dependent on land 33 years after independence, and the percentage of people dependent on land has not been reduced by the planners and the Government even by 2 to 3 per cent during the five Five Year Plans or in a quarter of a century. In the same quarter of a century, Japan has reduced the percentage of people dependent on land by 22 per cent, from 43 per cent in 1944 to 21 per cent in

1970. The Planning Commission and the Government will have to note that the percentage of population dependent on land in India in 1881 was only 58 per cent. In fact, in our country more and more people are being herded into land. And with fragmentation of land, uneconomic holdings are increasing alarmingly. Sir, with the imposition of a ceiling on land at the very low level of four to seven hectares of Class I land, that is, with a maximum net income of Rs. 9,000 from land for a farming family, today there can be no rich farmer in India whose income is more than what a Member of Parliament receives, annually as salary and allowances. This truth, this reality of the Indian economic situation, the President of India, Shri N. Sanjiva Reddy, knows, sees and feels. Inaugurating the Silver Jubilee convention of Bharat Krishak Samaj here on the 5th April this year, the President said: "There are no rich farmers in the country after implementation of the land reforms, and the Government should come to their help as they go to help the other weaker sections." In the same convention, the President said, "The Kisan had no security and guarantee for his minimum needs while those employed in the organised sectors had assurances for their amenities." On the other hand, he said, even the lowest-paid employee in the Shipping Corporation of India was paid Rs-1,200 Per month.

Sir, merely as an example, I will place before the Members of Parliament one other economic reality of our country which speaks volumes about our lop-sided, unhealthy, tumorous economic growth which bodes ill for a free democracy. The Finance Minister informed me in reply to a starred question of mine in this House last year that the number of wealth-tax assesseees in the farm sector in the whole of rural India in 1978-79 was 16,664 and the tax levied was Rs. 1.85 crores; and in the non-farming sector, the number of

LSHri K. S. Malle Gowda] wealth-tax assesseees was 2,96,000 and the tax assessed was Rs. 59.92 crores. Sir, in Delhi city alone there are 19,141 urban wealth-tax assesseees as against 16,664 agricultural wealth-tax assesseees in all the 5« lakh villages in India. These figures in a Way show roughly the distribution of wealth in this country, the great disparity in wealth, the great disparity in incomes, the great disparity in the economic opportunities between urban and rural societies. Our planners and our Government should bow their heads in shame when they realise that in the whole of rural West Bengal there were only 91 agricultural wealth-tax assesseees, indicating, of course, roughly that there were only 91 upper middle class rural families in the whole of West Bengal. No wonder rural Bengal is returning Communists to Parliament and to the State Assembly. I congratulate the Finance Minister for removing the vexatious farm wealth-tax, which was yielding less than Rs. 2 crores for the whole of India. I would appeal to the Prime Minister and Finance Minister to remove the wealth-tax now continued on plantations. The plantation industry is heavily taxed. Large proportion of the coffee, rubber and tea plantations are owned by companies and therefore no wealth-tax is leviable on them. Therefore, it would be quite unfair to subject the small number of planters to farm wealth-tax. The plantation industry in the South is already paying agricultural income-tax which goes upto a maximum limit of 70 per cent and is also paying a heavy export duty on coffee exports which reduces the return to the grower. I would also appeal to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to reduce the maximum rate of wealth-tax from the present 5 per cent to 2½ per cent which was the rate prevailing before 1977. (*Time bell rings*). I have taken very little time

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You have taken 9 minutes.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA; Kinctfy give me a little more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Normally people from your party are given only 8 minutes. Go ahead.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA: We must try to learn more stark truths about the dark conditions in the numberless villages of India. They are political sparks which can set off revolutions in our country in this neo-modern age.

It is an unchallengeable fact that 97 out of 100 rural families can never be assessed to income-tax as their net income is quite below Rs. 9000/-per annum, while, at least, 40 per cent of the urban families of five people will have incomes exceeding Rs. 10,000/- per annum.

Nearly all these 97 rural families are perpetually in debts and wants.

Nearly 70 per cent of these rural families are as socially backward and economically crippled as their Hari-jan and Girijan brothers and need to be treated as weaker sections of society.

According to Government figures our shortage in rural housing including the bulk of sub-standard houses to be rebuilt and substantially improved is about 7 crore houses. Even if two-thirds of them are to be rebuilt and improved, we need a colossal sum of Rs. 30,000 crores.

Therefore, I would strongly warn this nation that without a change of attitude of those who are shaping the destiny of India, in regard to rural people, we will continue to have 97 per cent of the rural families ever poor and most of the Indian villages an eye-sore. The rural problems, the land problem always the pet talking point inside and outside Parliament continue to make I rural people the play thing\$ of politi-

cians, until the day of reckoning dawns.

I would like to bring home to our statesmen who would sincerely and devotedly toil to build a great India, who would passionately desire and devote themselves to bring prosperity to every family in this great ancient nation, that there are too many curbs, too many ideological restrictions on this enterprising spirit of the individual in our country; on the initiative and *economic* activities of our people that healthy and robust growth of the Indian economy providing for expansion of the employment opportunities with higher wages for the workers in farms, factories and building activities and that building of a strong nation, making it a strong democracy is not possible.

It must be admitted that the economic planning in our country during the last Five Plans has been urban-oriented and urban-directed. And especially some of our agricultural policies have been quite wrong. Otherwise how would our Government and the Planning Commission account for the dangerously widening socio-economic gap between urban and rural societies? If the growth rate of middle class families in urban India is low, it is extremely low in rural India. Savings generation in India is very little and this accounts for the increasing rural-urban imbalance in the Indian economic growth.

It is best, in the interest of the well-being of the people of India living in modern times, to pin-point the major error in our agricultural reform. We are beholden to Pandit Nehru for ushering in planned development in India with the Five Year Plans which included agricultural reform. Indian National Congress committed a major mistake in the First Five Year Plan in agreeing with the then Vice-Chairman of the Planning Commission to impose an unrealistic-

cally low income from land for farming *'tamilies while no ceiling* was imposed on urban incomes. Within the next 12 years, without evaluation of the results of the invidious ceiling law on the economy of the nation the ceiling on land-holding was further reduced with political ends by the then ruling Congress party after the general elections of 1972.

I want to cite the example of Japan in relation to the ceiling law. Many of the politicians in India including Ministers who choose to talk of Japanese small holdings do not know to this day that the low ceiling on land-holding fixed by the American Military Administration in Japan, after the World War II was removed in 1970. Prime Minister, Indiraji...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): How can you take this much time? You conclude now.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA: Yes, Sir, I am concluding now.

Prime Minister Indiraji must be ever thankful to God for making her emerge out of the dark clouds like the bright sun and come to power again. Let us fervently hope that she will not lose this God-given golden opportunity to bring prosperity and peace to every Indian family and to strengthen free democracy in this country, by following right economic policies and by correcting the rural-urban imbalance and following the high principles of Raja Dharma while she has the great fortune to lead this country. Therefore, Sir I would place before the Prime Minister the vital fact that the maximum and minimum size of land-holdings are fundamental and pivotal to rural economic growth in a democratic and modern society. A step in the right direction can be taken to fix the minimum size of land-holdings for future acquisitions and not for inherited land. After the general elections in 1972 the ceiling on land-holding for a family of five persons was reduced to 10.18 acres of first class land.

[Shri K. S. Malle Gowda] The above ceiling should be raised, at least to 25 acres of land, to promote the growth of rural middle class. Likewise, ceiling on dry land for future acquisitions has to be raised suitably. The above raising of ceiling on land does not mean and should not mean depriving any one of any land already conferred by the existing land reform measures.

On the political front, there is a great opportunity for the Prime Minister to earn the acclaim of the world as a great political leader and as a great democrat of this century by introducing the long-awaited Anti-Defection Bill P Parliament and end the evil of political defections in this country and bring to an end the most shameful and corrupt chapter in the Indian political history- Thank you, Sir.

**सैयद रहमत अली :** (आन्ध्र प्रदेश):

1980-81 के बजट पर पिछले चन्द दिनों से हम इस एवान में और इस एवान के अलावा लोक सभा के आवाम के चुने हुए और मुंतखिबा नुमाइन्दों के ख्यालात मुन रहे हैं और मैं बड़ी देर से इस बात का जायजा लेने की कोशिश कर रहा था कि अगर अपोजीशन पार्टी की तरफ से इस बजट पर तनकीद की जाती है तो तनकीद के साथ-साथ कोई तामीरी मुझाव भी इस एवान में रखे जा रहे हैं या नहीं।

लेकिन मैं एक आम वर्कर की हैसियत से अपने अहसास को जाहिर किये बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि इस हाउस के किसी भी मौअजिज मेम्बर ने बजट पर इख्तारे ख्याल करते हुए कांग्रेस पार्टी की कारकर्दगी के बारे में तनकीद को जरूरी समझा और उसमें यह बात भी बतलाई गई कि कांग्रेस पार्टी में हर काम का फंसला, हर बात का फंसला, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी पर छोड़ दिया जाता है। लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करना जरूरी समझता

हूँ कि यह आने वाला मुअरिख बिला-शुबह लिखने पर अपने आपको मजबूर पाएगा कि कांग्रेस पार्टी का डिस्पलन एक मिसाली डिस्पलन है और हम, हमारी लीडर के बतलाए हुए रास्ते पर चलते हुए मुल्क को सोशलिज्म की मंजिल तक ले जाना चाहते हैं। इस के बारे में कोई दो राय कायम नहीं की जा सकती।

मैं एक दूसरी बात यह अर्ज करूँ कि यह बात भी कही गई कि फाइनेंसमिनिस्टर ने जो बजट पेश किया है उन्हें बतौर एक फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से बजट पेश करना था और उन्होंने बजट पेश कर दिया। इस तरह उनके बारे में मायूसी या फिर एक फर्ज अदा करने वाला एक काम उन्होंने अंजाम दिया है, ऐसी बात कही गई है। लेकिन मैं अर्ज करूँ कि अगर आप हिन्दुस्तान में रहने, बसने वाले देहाती फर्द को या शहरों और गांवों में जो स्लमज में आम आदमी गरीब आदमी रहता है उस गरीब आदमी के नुक्ता-निगाह से इस बजट का जायजा लेने की कोशिश करें तो मुझे किसी शायर का यह मिसरा याद आता है : "बाद मुद्त के यह छड़ी आयी"। बिला शुबह अगर हिन्दुस्तान की सयासी आजादी के बाद से हिन्दुस्तान की मअ्राशी खुशहाली की मंजिल पर ले जाने के लिए हमारे देश में इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने जिस मअ्राशी जद्दोजेहद का आसास किया था तो 1947 से लेकर आज जो बजट पेश हुआ है, इस 1980-81 के बजट को एक आम आदमी अपने लिए एक भलाई का बजट समझता है। मैं उन आंकड़ों में आपको ले जाना नहीं चाहता जिनका तजकिरा मुताहिद बार इस एवान में हो चुका है लेकिन मैं सिर्फ जनता पार्टी के दौर में जो दो बजट पेश किए गए हैं उन दो मुअ्राजिनों के बारे में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि 1978-79 में जो

जनता पार्टी का बजट, जनता पार्टी के रथ में सवार होकर, और फाइनेन्स के एक सेक्रेटरी साहब (रिटायर्ड) ने जो फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर बने थे, उन्होंने जो मुआजिन, जो बजट कौम और मुल्क के सामने पेश किया था, उसका हमारे मुल्क की मआशियत मईशत पर क्या असर पड़ा ? मैं आंकड़ों की तरफ इसलिए नहीं ले जाऊंगा क्योंकि इस हाउस में बहुत से महापुरुष मौजूद हैं जो आंकड़ों की दुनिया से बड़ी ही अच्छी तरह वाकिफ हैं लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि सोने की नीलामी का तजक़िरा आया—कि आपने सोने को नीलाम किया यह कह कर कि आप सोने के दाम कम करना चाहते हैं। 13 टन सोना बेच दिया गया, 85 करोड़ 36 लाख या 36 लाख से कुछ ज्यादा रकम आई। यह सोना कितने हाथों फरोक्ष्त किया गया ? क्या इस बात से इन्कार किया जा सकता है कि मोरारजी देसाई के गोल्ड कंट्रोल आर्डर के मार खाए हुए मुनार, उस तक यह सोना नहीं पहुंचा ? वह बम्बई के सिर्फ पांच छः पूंजीपतियों को मिला और उस सोने को खरीदने की बजह से उनकी तिजोरियों का वज़न बढ़ा और सोने के दाम बढ़े। अगर कोई मंगल-सूत्र मुहाग की निशानी के लिये खरीदना चाहे तो वह सोना भी उसके दस्तावेज से बाहर हो गया। और उस सोने की नीलामी का हिन्दुस्तान की मईशत पर क्या असर पड़ा है ? अगर आप उसका जायजा लेंगे तो यह बात सामने आ जाएगी कि करेन्सी की तमानियत के लिये हमारे सोने की हद्द 8 टन तक गिर गई है जो हमारे मुल्क के इन्फ्लेशन में, इफराते-ज़र में, इजाफा करने का धायस बना है। 1975-76 में सबा 5 अरब रु० के नए टैक्स जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने लगाए थे। उस वक्त साढ़े 10 अरब रु० का खसारा बतलाया गया और मुझे अच्छी तरह याद पड़ता है कि उस वक्त इस बात का दावा किया गया था कि यह बजट हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख में

एक बड़ा ही मुनहला बजट है और जब 1979-80 में चरण सिंह साहब ने बजट पेश किया था तो ऐसा महसूस होता है कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर व्यक्ति की बोटी-बोटी पर टैक्स लगाया गया था और उसके बावजूद भी पौने 20 अरब का खसारा छोड़ा गया था। अगर हम इन दो बरसों की मईशत की सूरत का जायजा लेते हुए हिन्दुस्तान की मौजूदा मआशी सूरतते हाल का जायजा लेंगे तो हमने लोक सभा के चुनाव के मौके पर अपने मनीफेस्टों के जरिए अवाम से जो वायदे किए थे, हमारे देश की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने और इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने जो वादे देश की जनता से किए थे कि अगर हम इक्तदार में आएंगे तो एक आम आदमी की, जनता की जिंदगी तक आजादी की नूरानी किरणों के नूर को पहुंचाने के लिए गरीब आदमी को टैक्स के बोझ से बचाएंगे, और उस वायदे को जब फिर 9 असेम्बलियों के इलेक्शन हुए, उस मौके पर भी उस इरादे को दोहराया गया, उसी को हम गैर-जानिबदारी के साथ इस बजट में पेश किए हैं। लेकिन उसकी मुखालिफत करके बड़ी बड़ी सियासी जमातें अपने शक और शुबहा का इज़हार कर रहे हैं कि यह महज एक सियासी वादा है और इस सियासी वादे को पूरा नहीं किया जा सकेगा। लेकिन जब हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर वेंकटरमन ने और श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार ने जो मुवाजना सदन में पेश किया तो मुखालिफों की भी आंखें खुल गयीं और उनके सामने यह बात आयी कि हिन्दुस्तान की तकदीर बनाने के लिए हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने, हिन्दुस्तान के अवाम ने जो कांग्रेस पर अपना भरोसा और एतमाद जाहिर किया है उस भरोसे और एतमाद को लेकर हम हिन्दुस्तान की तकदीर को बनाना चाहते हैं।

### [सत्य रहमत अजी]

जनाववाली, हमारे जहन में यह बात हीनी चाहिए कि हमारे देश में रहने वाले जो गरीब अबाम हैं उनके मसायल को हम हल नहीं करेंगे तो यह जम्हूरियत पतप नहीं सकती। हम यह जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में खुशहाली को बर्तें करने का झांसा हिन्दुस्तान के अबाम को एक बार देने का मौका कुछ दोस्तों को मिला था। लेकिन दूध का जला जिस तरह छाछ भी फूँक-फूँक कर पीता है उसी तरह हिन्दुस्तान के अबाम ने यह महसूस कर लिया है कि उनकी तकदीर बनाने के लिए इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस ने जो बीस नुक्ती प्रोग्राम बताया है उस के ताने-बाने में देश की मइशत को संवारने के लिए यह बजट इस ऐवान में रखा गया है। इसको आप समझने की कोशिश करेंगे तो आप को माज़ूम होगा कि करोड़ों को खुशहाली की मंजिल तक पहुंचाने के लिए इन रास्तों से चल कर, गुजर कर पहुंचना पड़ेगा जिसके लिए हीसले और हिम्मत की जरूरत है।

इस मौके पर मैं उन तफसीलात में नहीं जाऊंगा कि इनकम टैक्स की हद 10 हजार से बढ़ा कर 12 हजार मुश्तकतता कर दी गयी है तो यह कहूंगा कि इससे 6 लाख आदमियों को फायदा पहुंचा है। दस हजार की सतह से भी कम बहुत लोग हैं ?

एपेंडिक्स कमोडिटीज, इनसान के रोजमर्रा इस्तेमाल में जो चीजें आती हैं, जैसे एक आदमी मुबह उठता है, उस के मुंह धोने के लिए टुयलेट और कपड़ा धोने के साबुन पर भी अगर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया जाता तो उस से गरीब आदमी बिलबिला उठता, तड़प उठता। उससे निजात दिलायी गयी।

मेरे यह बात समझ में नहीं आयी कि अगर तनकीद करने वालों की नजर में, अगर उनके दिल में अबाम का दर्द है, वे कुछ गरीब के दर्द को महसूस करते हैं तो फिर उन्होंने बजट के इन आंकड़ों की तरफ क्यों नहीं देखा जिस से एक गरीब आदमी की जिन्दगी में सुकून, अमन-चैन और सांस लेने का मौका मिल रहा है।

मैं खास तौर पर इस मौके पर आन्ध्र प्रदेश के बारे में यह बात अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश हिन्दुस्तान का गल्ले का गोदाम की हैसियत से, चावल के कटोरे की हैसियत से जाना और पहचाना जाता है। हम जो आन्ध्र प्रदेश से ताल्लुख रखते हैं हमारे जहन में यह बात है कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश की जरई तरबूकी के साथ-साथ हिन्दुस्तान के सनती नक्शे पर भी आन्ध्र प्रदेश को नुमांया किया जाय। वहां पर जो इंडस्ट्रियल पीस है, वहां पर जो कुदरती दौलत है, कुदरत ने जिस दौलत को वहां बंदीयत किया है, वहां पर जो रा मेटीरियल है उसको काम में लाते हुए हम अपनी पैदावार को बढ़ाएं। तकरीरों से किसी मुल्क और किसी कोम की तकदीर को नहीं बनाया जा सकता। हम अपनी दनदनाती फैक्ट्रियों को, अपने लहलहाते खेतों को, अपनी उपबलती हुई नदियों और दरयाओं के पानी का प्रापर इस्तेमाल करें तो उससे हम मुल्क की मईशत को मुल्क की तकदीर को, मुल्क के नसीब को बना सकते हैं।

आन्ध्र प्रदेश में नागार्जुन सागर है, श्रीसेलम प्रोजेक्ट है। हमी भाभा ने यह कहा था कि 82-83 में हम न्यूक्लियर ताकत बना लेंगे। इस खिलसिले में एक मुझाव है कि नागार्जुन सागर पर या श्रीसेलम पर एक न्यूक्लियर प्रोजेक्ट कायम करने की कोशिश की जाय। इस के साथ साथ और बहुत से काम हैं जिन्हें हमें करना है।

कांग्रेस वर्कर की हैसियत से विला शुवहा मैं इस बात पर फक महसूस करता हूं कि यह मुआजना हमें उस दलदल से जिन में हमें 28 महीने फंसा दिया गया था हीसले और हिम्मत के साथ निकालने का यही एक मुतबादल रास्ता था और इस रास्ते से ही हम अबाम को दिये हुए अपने वादों को पूरा करेंगे। इसमें हमारे साथ अपोजीशन पार्टियों का भी तयारीअमल चाहिए। हमारे मुल्क के माजी, सियासी, समाजी मसायल को हल करने का राज इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस और

श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी की रहनुमाई में है। छोटा मुंह बड़ी बात। किसी ने कहा कि ये कब तक प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनी रहेंगी। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम इन बातों में अपना वक्त जाया कर के किसी के दिल को सदमा पहुंचाने की कोशिश न करें। इस समाज में, जो एक जम्हूरी समाज है, इस मुल्क की अपोजीशन पार्टियों पर भी बड़ी भारी जिम्मेदारी आयाद होती है रायाम्मा को बनाने की, होसला और हिम्मत देने की, मसायल को परखने, जांचने और सही रास्ते पर चलने की। अगर उस रास्ते से हम हटते हैं तो यह मुल्क के साथ गद्दारी है, देश के साथ गद्दारी है, कौम के साथ गद्दारी है। इस से हम देश की सेवा नहीं कर सकते। देश की सेवा एक और नेक बन कर करनी पड़ेगी।

मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूँ इन्दिरा गांधी की सरकार को, मैं मुबारकबाद देता हूँ फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर को जिन्होंने एक अच्छे, सोचे-समझे मसूबे के तहत यह मुआजना पेश किया है। मैं इस मुआजने की लफ्ज-ब-लफ्ज तारीफ करता हूँ।

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINIH (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chief Sir, if I had not been a villager, if I had not witnessed the extreme poverty and misery prevailing in the villages and if India had not been a predominantly agricultural country, I would also have admired Mr. Venkataraman's Budget. Sir, listening to the speeches made here and the mention of the common man, I was wondering who the common man of this country 'whether he is a resident of the city of Delhi or of some other metropolitan town or even of the capital cities of the States. Who is the common man? Is the common man represented by the 20 per cent of the population who live in cities, or is the common man of India represented by a villager, who amongst themselves constitute 80 per cent of the population of this country? If we concede the point that the- com-

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mon man lives in villages, and if his profession is agriculture, then, Sir, I find nothing encouraging, and nothing to look forward for the common man in this Budget. Sir, the other aspects of the Budget have been taken care of by many speakers. Therefore, I will confine myself only to making observations regarding the impact of this Budget on the agricultural sector.

Strictly speaking, Sir, the impact of this Budget on the agricultural sector will be zero. I say, it will be zero because there is not a single new idea or scheme or programme—and I repeat not a single one—in the new Budget or the new dispensation of the new Government which will give an impetus to agricultural production. All that has been done is only to repeat the provisions made in the earlier Budgets and that too very grudgingly as you yourself pointed out yesterday, Sir. In many instances, the allocations for the on-going projects have been drastically cut. Mention has been made about the rural employment scheme. It is just a change of nomenclature. The amount has been, in fact, reduced. But, Sir, I am not bothered about the increase or decrease of a few crores or even 50 or 100 crores of rupees this way or that way. That really does not affect or improve the destiny of the common man in the village. The sting of the Government is not in this Budget; the sting is in price escalations which preceded the Budget. Sir, I am referring to the price rise of diesel oil and fertilizers. According to the Petroleum Minister, the agriculturists of this country will have to pay Rs. 665 crores additionally if they consume the same quantity of fertilizers as they did last year. To this should be added the additional cost of diesel oil which is consumed by large number of farmers of this country now. There are more than 3 million pumpsets working on diesel oil, and there are a very large number of tractors. That it is very widespread misunderstanding that these pumpsets and tractors are being used only by big farmers. While these may be owned by big farmers, the small

[Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh] farmers are getting the services of these machiners on hire. Anyone, who knows the present conditions prevailing in the villages, knows that most of the work is being done *on hire* as far as irrigation is concerned. Rs. 665 crores additional for fertilisers and, according to my computation, not less than Rs. 300 crores for purchase of diesel oil, this is the kind of burden between Rs. 900 crores to Rs. 1000 crores, which has been cast on the agriculturists of this country, and, at a time, when the agriculturists were reeling under double distress. The one distress was on account of the drought, and the other distress was on account of the increasing divergence between the prices paid by farmers and the prices received by farmers. Sir, drought is understood by everyone but this increasing divergence between the prices received and paid by the farmers requires some explanation.

According to the Central Statistical Organisation the total value of income generated in the agricultural sector is nearly Rs. 30 thousand crores, half of it is derived from foodgrains and the other from cash crops. Now, only <sup>one</sup> third of the foodgrains are marketed but the cash crops are nearly wholly marketed. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that the value of the marketed agricultural produce in the country is not less than Rs. 18 thousand crores. If there is a decline of just one per cent in agricultural prices relative to other prices, the farming community of this country loses Rs. 180 crores. And, what is the present price relationship? I will mention that later on. But just now I want to say that while we talk of inflation, we take into consideration only the price index of all commodities, but when we separate the price indices of agricultural commodities from the rest, we will find that in the last 12 months while the agricultural prices have increased by only 9.4 per cent, the prices of non-agricultural commodities have risen by 26.6 per cent. This has happened during the last 12 months. And, if we start our reckoning from 1970-71,

which we have accepted as the base year, the difference between the agricultural prices and non-agricultural prices is now more than 37 per cent. The price index of all agricultural commodities is slightly less than 200 today and the price index of non-agricultural commodities is 274. The difference is 37 per cent. One per cent decline in agricultural prices compared to the rest means a loss of Rs. 180 crores in the purchasing power of the rural people. Therefore when there is a fall of 37 per cent, the loss is more than Rs. 6600 crores and I am bothered about that, not these few crores of rupees this way or that way.

We keep on talking in this House about so many imbalances, the regional imbalances. Yesterday Shri Bipinpal Das spoke very well about regional imbalances. He almost made out a case that Assam was being treated as a colony. Sir, I beg to submit that the whole of rural India is being treated as a colony of the urban people. The exploitation that they are subjected to has inhibited agricultural production of this country. I am very sorry to say that those who are at the helm of affairs, do not realise the potential of Indian agriculture. Yesterday, my very good friend, Prof Chattopadhyaya talked about increase in production of foodgrains. He said there has been an increase of 2½ times in production of foodgrains during the last 32 or 33 years. Sir, this kind of comparison is not very relevant, if I may say so. If we make that kind of a comparison, I can say that progress made by this country during the colonial rule of 100 or 120 years was much more than in 400 or 500 years preceding the colonial rule. Comparison to be relevant should be with the comparable with the contemporary time... (*Time bell rings*). I hope you have given me time at the very end and you win at least give me more time to compensate for that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You are not at the very end; there are four more speakers to be called.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, थोड़ा इनकी और समय  
दे दीजिए क्योंकि यह एक्स मिनिस्टर हैं।  
इनकी नालिज इस मामले में ज्यादा है।

SHRI BHANU PRARAP SINGH: I was talking about the agricultural production and I was saying that co"i-parison should be made with our neighbour<sup>3</sup> and during recent years. After listening to Prof. Chattopadh-yay yesterday, I went home and I looked into the figures of agricultural growth in South-East Asian countries during the last 9 years and here are the results. I have compared 3-year average of food prod "~-n during 1967 to 1969 with that of 1976 to 1978 period growth percentage during this time in India ha<sup>3</sup> been 28.57; Indonesia—31.79; Iran—47.58; Israel—52.93; Malasia—55.7; Singapore—108.43; Sri Lanka—38.54; Thailand—62.22; Pakistan— 36.19; Nepal—12.12. With one exception of Nepal, the progress made by this country during the last years in the field of agriculture has been *the* slowest. And yet we feel proud about it, simply because there have been no reports of starvation death in this country. I deliberately said \*n° reports' but 'no reports' do not mean that there have not been starvation deaths in this country. And what is the difference between death due to malnutrition of millions in this country which is going on year after year and death by starvation? In Delhi everything is perfect so long as urban population is not inconvenienced in any way. Everything is looked at from the point of view of a citizen of Delhi or of any other city. Even yesterday I received a telegram sent from my own district. The M.L.A. Of that area has informed me that large-scale starvation ig going on and all the foodgrain that ia intended to be sold through fair-price shops, is being sold in the black market. I may also, with your permission, give a few facts about food production in the country. Starting from the time that food imports were discontinued in this

country till today, the total amount procured is less than what has been issued through the public dsitribution 5 P.M.

channel. From this, it follows that we are cutting into the large reserves which we had built up earlier through heavy imports. What ever we have, are only the carry-overs of the past imports. Thirdly, I would like to say, whatever progress this country has made in agriculture is confined only to a localised area. A study waa recently made about the progress made in agriculture in different districts of the country, and it was found that in more than half of the districts of the country, agricultural growth has lagged behind the growth in population. Sir, from this, it will be evident—if incomes have not been supplemented from other sources—the people of those districts, where the agricultural growth has not kept pace with growth in population, are eating much less today and are much poorer than they were 30 years ago. This is the state of affairs of a country which is capable of being the largest exporter of foodgrains. You may think I am exaggerating. Though I am a farmer and you should take my word for it, I will not insist on it. ? Consult your own experts. What ha<sup>3</sup> Dr. Swami-nathan, who is considered the best authority on the subject, to say on this? He has repeatedly said that this country can easily double the foodgrains production. You talked about subsidies. I would also like to say something about this. More than Rs. 1800 crores were given as subsidy last year. Yearly one-third of it, was for fertilisers, one-third wa<sup>3</sup> to the Food Corporation of India and Rs. 400 crores out of the remaining one-third was for export promotion and Rs. 200 crores for miscellaneous items. AH other subsidies will be retained; in fact, enhanced. Only the subsidy on fertiliser ha<sup>3</sup> been withdrawn. I am opposed to all kinds of subsidies and dual pricing and double dealing. I know, it does not solve any problem. It only postpones, the day of reckoning. But Sir, what should I think of a Government which withdraw, the

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only subsidy which could improve the lot of the poorest of the poor in this country? The quickest way, the surest way, to help the poorest in this country, 'is to make agricultural inputs as cheap as possible. The higher the input prices go, the larger becomes the circle of destitution in this country. This has been totally overlooked and the only economy made in Government spending, the only subsidy withdrawn, is in regard to fertilisers. What would be its impact on the national economy is perhaps not known. Earlier also, the prices of fertilisers were raised. The figures are available. There was a decline in the consumption of fertilisers. My own guess was that there would not be any further increase, though even that is damaging enough. The consumption of fertilisers has been going up at the rate of 20 per cent annually. Even if there is stagnation, that is damaging enough because our consumption of fertiliser in this country is not even one-tenth of what it should be. Pal Pothan, who is a very knowledgeable person in matters relating to fertilisers, has said that there will be a decline of 15 per cent in the consumption of fertilisers. He goes beyond what I had estimated. My estimate was that there will be no further rise, it will remain the same. He says, no, there will be a decline. Even if there is no decline, it means that we will be consuming one million tonnes of fertiliser less than what we should have done in the year 1980-81. And what would be the impact of this? We will be producing 10 million tonnes of foodgrains less than what we would have produced, had the consumption gone up by 20 per cent. What is the importance of 10 million tonnes of foodgrains? That is not being realised by this Government. We try to seek food security by building up, huge stocks. We feel very happy when our Finance Minister is able to say that we have got 14 million or 15 million or 16 million tonnes of foodgrains in our reserves. Is that

the way to build up food security for a country like India which can produce twice as much as she is doing today and wasting Rs. 600 crores annually on food security? What happens to that amount of Rs. 600 crores? What does it produce? What do you get out of Rs. 600 crores that go to the FCI for building that kind of food security? Everyone knows that after the food has been consumed it is converted into human excreta and nothing is derived out of it; whereas if those Rs. 600 crores are given as subsidy for fertilisers, that would produce 10 million tonnes of more foodgrains. And if it is sold in foreign markets that would fetch us foreign exchange to the tune of Rs. 1500 crores or Rs. 1600 crores.

Sir, we keep on talking of trade deficits and to make up for trade deficit huge subsidies are given for export promotion of engineering goods. I am sorry to say that this Government is flogging, if not a dead horse, a very sick horse which will never get up and compete in ten national markets, but they are overlooking the most potential earner of foreign exchange, that is the agricultural sector. If they could just organise production and export of fruits and vegetables on only 2.5 lakh hectares, that would fetch them Rs. 600 crores which is more than what they can get, or hope to get, from export of engineering goods. And 2.5 lakh hectares is not even point two per cent of the agricultural land. That could be organised round about cities like Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, where we have the facility of international airlines. We do not want to do what we can. We do not want to earn foreign exchange through production in the agriculture sector because rural people do not matter at all, if they become prosperous, that is not a matter of interest for this Government. All that they are concerned with is how to make the urban people well-off.

Sir, I hope you are not getting impatient.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Yes, I am.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Kindly allow him some more minutes. At least I am interested. Allow him, if possible.

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH: Thank you for that. Sir, I just want one or two minutes more.

Certain Members had pleaded for imposing income tax or agricultural income tax. To that my reply is, yes, you certainly do impose income taxes on agriculturists. If you can really and rich farmers in this country. Why has the agricultural income tax not been imposed so far? Is it out of generosity, or because of the so-called kulak lobby? Or is it due to the realisation of the fact that there are not many taxable incomes in the rural sector? Is it not a fact that the Government which had imposed the wealth tax on land long back had to withdraw it in this Budget? At that time it was estimated that Rs. 80 crore would accrue from wealth tax on land. And if I remember correctly, the Finance Minister said that it did not bring in even Rs. 1 crore. I would welcome imposition of agricultural income tax provided you can find farmers—whose income is above your exemption limit of Rs. 12,000 and also provided you remove all direct taxes from those farmers whose income does not add up to Rs. 12,000 annually. The Government will not agree to this. They know that if they withdraw all the direct taxes, which even a small farmer has to pay, they will be net losers. They are not imposing the tax out of generosity or goodwill towards the farmers but because they know that if they take that step, they will be losers; they will have to forego all the land revenue and the miscellaneous taxes that are being realised from the small farmers.

The time is very short and you have been very patient with me. The

State Minister of Finance has also been so attentive. I will now conclude. The question arises what can be done? Well, that will take a pretty long time to spell out so I will read out, with your permission, from a book entitled "Transforming Traditional Agriculture". This book has been written by Theodore W. Schultz, who has recently been awarded the Nobel Prize in Economics. I will read only the last paragraph of this book:

"Thus, in sum and substance, the man who is bound by traditional agriculture cannot produce much food no matter how rich the land. Thrift and work are not enough to overcome the niggardliness of this type of agriculture."

Sir, Schultz has talked about thrift and work. With your permission, I would like to add good monsoon. Thrift, work and good monsoon are not enough to overcome the niggardliness of this type of agriculture. Then he goes on:

"To produce an abundance of farm products requires that the farmer has access to and has the skill and knowledge to use what science knows about soils, plants, animals and machines. To command farmers to increase production is doomed to failure even though they have access to knowledge."

as in the Soviet Union. It is not in this book. It is my comment—

"Instead an approach that provides incentives and rewards to farmers is required. The knowledge that makes the transformation possible is a form of capital, which entails investment—investment not only in material inputs in which a part of this knowledge is embedded but importantly also investment in farm people."

Sir, Mr. Schultz has emphasised just three points: imparting of skills, promise of rewards, and, investment in farm people. The day the Finance

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Minister in his Budget provides for imparting of skills to the rural people, for rewards to the rural people for increasing production for investment in farm people will be a very happy day for agriculturists of our country. Just now they are being punished: I can prove it. Every time the agriculturists of this country have produced more. They have been slapped. If your son, Sir, comes with the result card at the end of his academic year and shows that he had passed in the first division and then you gave him two slaps, you could rest assured next time he would not go to get first division. That is what has been happening to the agriculturists of this country. Every time they produced more, they have been slapped not once, not twice but many times. The increasing divergence in prices resulting in growing disparity between the rural and urban people has reached the flash point which will some day explode: I have no doubt about that. You cannot colonise this country like that. The behaviour of the ruling circles towards the rural people has just been the same as of foreign imperial powers towards their colonies.

With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा (हरियाणा) :**

जो सच बात है, मैं आपको बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस बजट पर बोलने का लिए समय दिया। कई दिनों से बजट पर बहस हो रही है और कुछ साहेबान इसे कामन मैन बजट बोलते हैं, कुछ साहेबान सेण्टी-कामन मैन बजट बोलते हैं, कई इसे अमीर आदमी का बजट बोलते हैं, तरह-तरह के खालास जाहिर किये। लेकिन, मुझे अपने क्वाल से तो यह एन्टी-मैन बजट है क्योंकि इस बजट का अन्दर पार्टिकुलरली कामन मैन को बड़ा भारी बनिफिट हुआ है, रिलीफ मिली है और अमीर आदमी को भी इससे कोई बाहर नहीं रखा है। उसे भी इससे फायदा हुआ है, जैसे कि आम

आदमी को, जो भी हिन्दुस्तान में रहने वाला है, इस बजट का असर हुआ है, रिलीफ मिली है— लाइफ सेविंग ग्रुप्स से लेकर डेली क्रैजमेशन की चीजें, ईवन टूथपेस्ट वगैरह जो लक्जरी गुड्स हैं जिसका बगैर इन्सान गजारा कर सकता, वह सारी चीजें बजट में लेकर किसी परतो कम्प्लीटली एक्साइज्ड ड्यूटी माफ कर दी गई है, किसी पर कम कर दी गई है। जिस चीज की जैसी इम्पॉर्ट थी नेशनल लाइफ में अपने देश में उसका मन्टेनन्स रखते हुए उस पर ध्यान दिया गया है यहाँ तक कि टैंकरी चलाने वाले ड्राइवर का भी जा डीजल इंजिन रखना चाहते हैं उनका लिए एक्साइज्ड ड्यूटी माफ कर दी गई है उनका भी इस तरह से बड़ी भारी राहत मिली है और साइकल चलाने वाले आटो रिक्शा चलाने वाले उनका भी इससे बनिफिट हुआ है।

जहाँ तक बड़े आदमियों का ताल्लुक है उनका भी 72 प्रतिशत इन्कम टैक्स से रिड्यूस करके 66 प्रतिशत कर दिया है। उन लोगों को भी इस बजट से रिलीफ मिली है। यह सारी चीजें बजट में अन्दर आदर्शनीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने देश की इकानमी को बूस्ट करने के लिए ध्यान में रखते हुए की है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं कुछ स्पेशल सर्जिजेंस रखना चाहता हूँ फार दी कनसिडरेशन आफ आनरेबल फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर—कि अपने बजट प्रोजेक्ट में कुछ अमंडमेंट लाएं जिनसे इस बजट में और चार चांद लग जाएंगे और अपने देश का आम जनता का बड़ा भारी फायदा होगा खासतौर पर गवर्नमेंट एम्प्लायीज का स्किल्ड लेबर का फीज क उन नीजवानों का जिनको वजह से हम रात और दिन अमन और चीन से काम कर पाते हैं रात को अमन से सो पाते हैं क्योंकि हमारे देश की सीमाओं पर वे खड़े हुए हैं रात दिन देश की सुरक्षा करते रहते हैं।

**कईमाननीय सदस्य: वाचपद के बारे में**

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** बागपत की बात करते हैं। मेरे साथी यह नहीं समझते कि हम तो हिन्दुस्तानी हैं हमें हिन्दुस्तानी के नाते बोलना चाहिए। पैदा हिन्दुस्तान में हुए हैं खाते हिन्दुस्तान का हैं लेकिन बाहर की दुनिया के हक में बोलते हैं। बागपत-बागपत लगाए जा रहे हैं। तब वे कहाँ गए थे जब 30 साल से गरीब आदमियों का बैंकवर्ड सेक्शन के लोगों को वोटिंग के लिए बल्लट बाक्स का मुह देखने नहीं दिया गया। बागपत के अन्दर क्या हो गया ! बागपत के बारे में गवर्नमेंट ने मजिस्ट्रेट मुकदर कर दिया है आनरेबल होम मिनिस्टर ने मजिस्ट्रेट इन्कावरी नियुक्त करने के आदेश दे दिए हैं यू०पी० सरकार का भी बयान आ गया है। आप इंतजार कीजिए जो फैसला सही है वह होगा। आप को यह पता नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान के 70 करोड़ की जनता के साथ कितनी गहरी करते हैं हाऊस में शोर मचाकर। हाऊस की एक मिनट बकिंग चलती है तो 900 रु० खर्चा होता है इस देश का जनता का। इस हाऊस की प्रतिष्ठा रखिए। 900 रु० जाया करते हैं शरीबों के साथ बेइंसाफी करते हैं। आप एलडस कहलाते हैं इस हाऊस में 24 सदस्य हैं हिन्दुस्तान के हर राज्य में है अगर आप ऐसा ऐक्ट करेंगे तो छोटों का क्या करना पड़ेगा। आपको धरम आनी चाहिए इस तरह की बातें आप करते हैं

**श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) :** एक बंटा विमान हवाईखारी के लिये उड़ाने में कितना लगना है !

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** आप विमान का बात करते हैं। आप तो साइकिल चलाना नहीं जानते। अगर आप साइकिल चलाना सीख जाएं तो आप इस देश का गरीब जनता को सेवा कर सकेंगे। वाइस चेयरमैन साहब इन लोगों का आदत है टीका टिप्पणी करने को। मैं 4 दिन से रोज सुन रहा हूँ। कोई सालिड सुझाव इन लोगों ने बजट के बारे में नहीं दिया है जिससे इस देश की गरीब और आम

जनता का फायदा हो बैंकवर्ड लोगों का फायदा हो, किसान का फायदा हो, साइकिल रिक्शा और तांगड़ा चलाने वालों का फायदा हो।

वाइस चेयरमैन साहब, इस देश में दो सच्चे सिपाही हैं। एक तो वह जो किसान हैं, इस देश की धरती का पैर चौर कर अन्न पैदा करते हैं और 70 करोड़ जनता का जीवित रखते हैं। दूसरा सच्चा सिपाही वह है जो हिन्दुस्तान की सीमाओं में रात-दिन गर्मी सरदी में खड़ा होकर सीमाओं की रक्षा करता है, इन की रक्षा करता है। ये वित्त मंत्री के खिलाफ बोलते हैं, वित्त मंत्री के सामने इन्हें झुकना चाहिए और गुलाब के फूलों की माला उनके गले में डालनी चाहिए क्योंकि उन्होंने इनकम टैक्स की लिमिट 8000 से बढ़ा कर 12000 कर दिया है और 12000 आप का वेतन है। सबसे ज्यादा फायदा पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर को हुआ है क्योंकि अगर उसके पास दूसरा सोसं आफ इनकम कृषि है तो वह उनकी तनखाह के साथ क्लब नहीं होता है। फिर भी आप बोलते हैं फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर के खिलाफ मुझे समझ में नहीं आता है आप दिमाग से काम लेते हैं या दिल से ? मुझे लगता है कि दिमाग को धर छोड़ आते हैं यहां दिल फेंक बातें करते हैं। मुझे आप को रास्ता दिखाना पड़ेगा . . . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The hon. Member may address the Chair, please.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** वाइस चेयरमैन सर, मैं आपसे इजाजत चाहता हूँ। मैं पहली बार बोल रहा हूँ —दिस इज माई मेडन स्पीच। मैं यह बातें दर्शाते करने के लिए हाऊस में नहीं आया हूँ। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी देश की 70 करोड़ आजादी में खास कर 65 करोड़ लोग जो गरीब हैं उनको भलाई करना चाहती है क्योंकि उनका आज तक शोषण होता आया है। उन भोले-भाले लोगों को ये लोग भुलावे में रख कर के बेवकूफ बनाते आ रहे हैं। इन लोगों का एक बार जनता ने चान्स दिया

[श्री हरी सिंह नलवा]

लेकिन इन्होंने क्या गूल खिलाए आप भी जानते हैं इस देश की नवा भी स नती है। अपोजिशन का यह रोल नहीं होता। जैसा यह लोग कर रहे हैं। अपोजिशन का यह रोल होना चाहिए जो फिस कार जो देश देश करती है, जो प्लागिंग या जो स्कॉम बना है उसको बर्बाद पर इन्हें कतोज नी बाच करना चाहिए और गवर्नमेंट इम्प्ल रोज और है पूरी वर्कस के बारे में यह बताना चाहिए कि सरकार ने ये जो स्कॉम बनायी है उनके अन्दर ये ब्रुटियां हैं, अगर आप हमें थोटा भे तो इस बात को हमारी स्क म है, पता है कि हमारे से अच्छा काम करके दिखे, आप के स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिबिग को ऊँचा करेंगे आप के बच को शिक्षा का, चिकित्सा का इंतजाम करेंगे, एसी बातें करके उन्हें खलिग पार्टी के फाइट करनी चाहिए। लेकिन ये सब नहीं करते क्योंकि दिमाग है नहीं। दिजने काम करते हैं। यह सबसे बड़ी खामी है। अगर यह समझ ले तो छोटी-छोटी बातें, बच्चों की तरह लड़ना, हाऊस आफ एल्डर्स में बैठ कर जो यहाँ हो रहा, ये सब न हो। इनकी डेक्लिनशन मैं आप के बताना चाहता हूँ न तो ये सीडर हैं, न प्लीडर है, ये तो वेटर एण्ड \*हूँ कैसे, यह भी मैं आपसे अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ। प्लीडर तो इस लिए नहीं हैं कि अपना केस जनता के सामने प्लीड नहीं कर सकते। जब जनता के सामने अपना केस प्लीड नहीं करेंगे, उनकी बेहतरी की, उनके वेटरमेंट की बात नहीं करेंगे तो वे उनको वोट क्यों डालेंगे। इसलिए प्लीडर अच्छे नहीं हैं। सीडर भी अच्छे नहीं हैं। सीडर तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी हैं, जिधर से निकल जाती है इस देश के करोड़ों लोग उधर दीवाने होकर उनके पीछे दौड़ते हैं। इनमें से कौन सा सीडर है? वाइस चेयरमन साहब, यह तो बता दीजिए कि इन में से कौन सा सीडर है जिसके पीछे जनता चले।

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR (Maharashtra): On a point of order.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): One minute. There is a point of order.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: The hon. Member who is speaking, has said that the people sitting on this side are also waiters and\*\*\*. This is what he said. I take strong objection to this observation. Can anybody in this House call any one as a \*\*\*? I would request you, Sir, kindly to go through the record and if he has said this, such an irrelevant and the most objectionable remark, it may kindly be asked to be expunged.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): If the hon. Member has used that word, it would be expunged from the record.

AN HON. MEMBER: He, is a new Member. He does not know it.

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : मैं नया तो हूँ, मेरा दिल नया नहीं है। मैं पुराना हिन्दुस्तानी हूँ। मेरी उम्र भी 50 साल के करीब होगी है।

(Interruptions)

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE (West Bengal): Should those who do not have your view be called\*\*\*? Is that your point of view?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): I have already ruled that if he has used that word applicable to Members, it would be expunged. Order please.

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : वाइस चेयरमैन, सर, मैं अपने इन साथियों से पूछना चाहता हूँ who are proud of themselves to be called the Members of this House अगर इन को हिन्दुस्तान की जनता से प्यार है, किसान से प्यार है, इन पार्टियों को वाकई देश से प्यार है, देश की आजादी को कायम रखना चाहते हैं, देश के अन्दर कीमतों को नीचे लेवल पर रखना चाहते हैं तो आसाम के अन्दर एजीटेशन किसने चलवा रखा है (Interruptions) Truth is bitter. मिर्च लगेगी। सच तो कड़वा लगता है।

में कड़वी बात कर के आप को सही रास्ते पर लाना चाहता हूँ, आपको इस देश का देशभक्त नागरिक बनाना चाहता हूँ। आप बनने की कोशिश तो कीजिए और बनेंगे तभी जब आप मेरी बात सुनेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You please address the Chair.

**श्री हरीसिंह नलवा:** तो, वाइस चैयरमैन साहब, आसाम के सम्बन्ध में मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ . . . .

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Is he speaking On the Budget? He is advising all of us with his remarks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No interruptions please.

SHRI HARI SINGH NALWA: I am speaking in the national interest. I am speaking in favour of the beautiful and wonderful Budget presented by the Finance Minister. Why are they feeling about it? I just fail to understand their language, their mentality, their heart. What type of people are they? Are they imported men or are they Indian people? If they are Indian, they must hear me with patience.

आसाम के अन्दर दस महीने से जो एजिटेशन चल रहा है वह किस ने चलाया? इन लोगों ने चला रखा है। आसाम के अन्दर मजदूर, व्यापारी, गवर्नमेंट कर्मचारी तंग हो रहे हैं, हर वक्त उन्हें डर रहता है कि किस समय उनकी जान खत्म हो जाय, किस वक्त कोई गुंडा एलिमेंट उन्हें छुरा मार कर खत्म कर दे। 3 करोड़ रुपए रोज का वहां पर डीजल पैदा होता था जिस का नुकसान हो रहा है। किस को नुकसान हो रहा है? इस देश के किसान को नुकसान है, इस देश की आम जनता को नुकसान है। डीजल की कीमत क्यों नहीं बढ़ेगी? आप पैदा नहीं करते। जब दूसरे देशों से इम्पोर्ट करेंगे इस देश में सप्लाई करने के लिए तो कीमत तो ज्यादा देनी पड़ेगी।

\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

डिजल के बगैर, तेल के बगैर, पेट्रोल के बगैर हमारी इकोनामी कैसे चलेगी, डिवलपमेंट का काम कैसे कांटीन्यू रखा जायेगा? कतई नहीं रखा जा सकेगा हमारे देश में यह अपने आप को पोलिटिकल पार्टीज कहती हैं, अपने को देशभक्त पार्टीज कहती हैं। क्या यह देशभक्त पार्टियों का काम होता है जो यहलोग कर रहे हैं? यह तो ऐंटी नेशनल एक्टिविटीज में इंडलज कर रही हैं और यह पार्टियां तो देश की इकोनामी का बेंडा गर्क कर रही हैं। डेमोक्रेसी जिसका नारा यह पार्टियां लगाती हैं उसका तो यह गला घोटना चाहती हैं। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि उनको पहले जानना चाहिए कि डेमोक्रेसी क्या है। पहले उन को डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब समझना चाहिए। डेमोक्रेसी और आजादी का मतलब यह नहीं कि हम अपनी आजादी के लिये दूसरों की आजादी छीन लें। अगर हमारे पास कार है और उसे लेकर हम सड़क पर चल रहे हैं तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं कि हम अपनी आजादी रखने के लिये दूसरों को कुचलते हुए चलें। अगर सड़क पर कारलेकर हमें चलना है तो डेमोक्रेसी का मतलब यह है कि हम उनको भी चलने का रास्ता दें। उनकी भी आजादी अपनी जगह पर बनी रहनी चाहिए। यह लोग क्या करते हैं कि रेल के कर्मचारियों को भड़का दिया कि हड़ताल करदो। क्या यह ऐंटी नेशनल एक्टिविटी नहीं है? क्या यह काम देश की इकोनामी को पीछे नहीं ढकेलेगा? हमारे देश के अन्दर तरह तरह के स्टेट्स हैं, तरह तरह के रीजन्स हैं और उनमें तरह तरह की चीजें पैदा होती हैं। एक स्टेट से दूसरे स्टेट में जो चीज वहां पैदा नहीं होती अगर वह रेलों के द्वारा, ट्रान्सपोर्ट के द्वारा सरकार जल्दी से न पहुंचाये तो वहां चीजों का अभाव क्या नहीं होगा और अगर वहां जरूरी चीजों का अभाव होगा तो वह चीजें वहां ब्लैक में बिकेंगी और उनका प्राइस बढ़ेगा और जब प्राइस बढ़ेगी चीजों की तो उसका वह एक पोलिटिकल इश्यू बना लेंगे और पोलिटिकल इश्यू बना कर देश को कमजोर करने की कोशिश

[श्री हरी सिंह नलवा]

करेंगे। जब देश का एक हिस्सा, एक स्टेट कमजोर हो जायगा तो देश में खोखलापन नजर आयेगा। देश खुबसूरत नजर नहीं आयेगा। यह जिस्म है अगर इस का एक बाजू टूट जाय तो क्या लुंजा आदमी अच्छा लगता है? अगर किसी की एक आँख फूट जाय तो क्या काना आदमी अच्छा लगता है? क्या यह बात अपोजीशन के दिमाग में नहीं आती? अपोजीशन के दिमाग में यह बात आती है कि देश के अंदर गरीबों को अनपढ़ों को सरकार ने शिक्षा नहीं दी। तीन साल आप की हुकूमत रही। आप ने उन के लिए क्या किया। आप ने किसानों के लिए कितने नारे लगाये। व्यापारियों को भड़काया कि तुम्हारा हम सेल्स टैक्स माफ कर देंगे, इन्कम टैक्स माफ कर देंगे, लेकिन वह माफ करने के बजाय आप ने उसे बढ़ा दिया और आज आप कहते हैं कि यह सरकार गरीबों के लिए ऐंटी बिल पेश करती है, ऐसे बजट पेश करती है जिससे उन का फायदा नहीं होगा। मैं पुछना चाहता हूँ कि चरण सिंह और मोरारजी की सरकार ने बाटा वालों से मिल कर उन की एक्साइस ड्यूटी माफ कर दी और पैसा खा लिया। बाटा वालों पर 15 परसेंट सेंट्रल एक्साइस ड्यूटी माफ हुई। यह बात रेकार्ड में है, लेकिन उन्होंने अपने प्राइक्ट्स को जब पब्लिक को, कंज्यूमर को सप्लाई किया तो वह उसी पहले के रेट पर किया। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि यह सरकार अमीरों की सरकार थी या गरीबों और किसानों की सरकार थी?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन् माननीय सदस्य न कहा है कि चरण सिंह की सरकार ने 15 परसेंट बाटा का टैक्स कम कर दिया। यह सरासर\*\*\* बात है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): What is your point of order?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य पढ़ कर बोला करें, समझ कर बोला करें। ऐसे न बोला करें कि उन की बात की वजह से बदमजगी पैदा हो जाय। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि सदस्य महोदय जो बोल रहे हैं वे कहाँ बोल रहे हैं, किस पर बोल रहे हैं, आप को बजट पर बोलना है। बजट पर बोलिए, चौधरी चरण सिंह पर नहीं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): There is no point of order.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : जूटा बनाने के लिए, उन की एक्साइस ड्यूटी माफ नहीं की गयी थी।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Order, please. Mr. Rameshwar Singh, you have used a word which is unparliamentary and that would also be expunged from the records.

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : हमारे आनरेंबिल साहब ने फरमाया कि चौधरी चरण सिंह ने हरिजनों के लिए कारखाने खुलवाये। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे कारखाने उन्होंने कहाँ खुलवाये? नेपाल में खुलवाये या चीन में खुलवाये? हम को तो कहीं नजर नहीं आये। हरिजनो और बैकवर्ड क्लासेज को तीस साल हो गये हिन्दुस्तान में एग्युकेशन होते हुए, उन्होंने उन को वोट तो डालने नहीं दिया, चरण सिंह जी ने, तो उनको कारखाने कहाँ से बनवा कर दे दिए। गलत बोलने की आदत उनको है और हमको कहते हैं। हमारे पास इस का क्या इलाज है। हमारे दोस्त उस रोज बोल रहे थे।

\*\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

कह रहे थे कि नेशनलिस्ट हैं । यह नेशनलिस्टों का काम है कि जो चरण सिंह ने हरिजनों और बीकर सेक्शन को वोट नहीं देने दिया ? क्या ये नेशनलिस्टों का काम है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): He is entitled to criticise Mr. Charan Singh.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपके आदेश का मैं पालन करूंगा । (Interruptions). जिस तरीके से ये अल्लिगेशन लगा रहे हैं । अगर इस तरीके से अल्लिगेशन मैं लगाऊ तो . . . (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Whatever Shri Rameshwar Singh says will not go into the record.

**श्री हरीसिंह नलवा :** श्रीमन्, अगर चौधरी चरण सिंह जी को इस देश से प्यार था और वह देश-भक्त थे तो उन्होंने ट्रैक्टर की कीमत 30 हजार क्यों बढ़ाई ? कांग्रेस के दौरान में तो किसी ने कभी इतनी कीमत ट्रैक्टर की नहीं बढ़ाई । डीजल और पेट्रोल की ये बात करते हैं . . . (Interruptions).

श्रीमन्, हिन्दुस्तान में तीन पार्टियाँ ऐंटी-नेशनल पार्टीज हैं । लोकदल, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और जनसंघ पार्टी । इन तीनों को बैन कर देना चाहिए । अगर ये तीनों बैन हो जायें तो इस देश में 70 करोड़ लोगों का तीन साल के अन्दर उद्धार हो जाए । अपने सीने पर हाथ रखकर मैं यह कहता हूँ कि अगर इन तीनों पार्टियों का कल्याण कर दिया जाए तो . . .

(Interruptions)

**श्री श्री० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) :** तुम्हारा कल्याण हो जाएगा । . . .

(Interruptions)

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** एक तो चौधरी चरणसिंह का लोकदल है । उसका क्या प्रोग्राम है, मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ । उसका यह प्रोग्राम है कि हुकूमत करें तो हम करें, नहीं तो देश जाय भाड़ में, डेमोक्रेसी जाय भाड़ में । इसका और कोई आर्थिक प्रोग्राम है तो मुझे बता दें । लोकदल का यही प्रोग्राम है कि देखो भाइयो देखो, तांगे वालों की यूनियन है, रेल कर्मचारियों की यूनियन है, पुलिस की यूनियन है, सब की यूनियन है, किसानों धारी यूनियन क्यों नहीं है भई ? अगर किसान भी यूनियन के चक्कर में पड़ गये तो इस देश को 70 करोड़ जनता को पेट भरने को अनाज कहाँ से आयेगा ? जब देश के लोग भूखे मरेंगे तो कोई बड़ा देश इस देश पर आक्रमण करके इसे गुलाम बना लेगा । . . .

(Interruptions)

जनसंघ पार्टी का कोई आर्थिक प्रोग्राम है ? किसानों के बारे में कोई प्रोग्राम है छोटे मजदूरों के बारे में कोई प्रोग्राम है ? कोई उनका मनी-फैस्टो है ? इनका प्रोग्राम क्या है—हिन्दी, हिन्दू, हिन्दुस्तान । मैं इनसे यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इस देश के अन्दर कांग्रेस जमात जिन्दा है, नेहरू खानदान का खून जिन्दा है तब तक इस देश को क्या खतरा है । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि तब तक इस हिन्दुस्तान को कोई भी खतरा नहीं है जब तक कांग्रेस जमात के लोग यहाँ हैं भरे साथियों को पता होना चाहिए कि जनसंघ आजादी के बाद पैदा हुआ लोकदल भी आजादी के बाद पैदा हुई पार्टी है, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी भी आजादी के बाद पैदा हुई है । कांग्रेस ने इस देश को आजाद कराया है । कांग्रेस के करोड़ों लोगों ने अपना खून देश के लिए दिया है । ये जनसंघ तो वह लोग हैं जिन्होंने गांधी जी का खून कराया । गांधी जी को मारने वाला वह जनसंघ

[श्री हरि सिंह नलवा]

का आदमी था, वह एक्टिव मੈम्बर था। जन संघ का और इन्होंने अमेरिका के लोगों से षडयंत्र करके महात्मा गांधी को गोली मारी। क्यों मारी ?

(Interruptions)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद मायुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अब तो चुनाव असेम्बली के खत्म हो चुके हैं। ... (Interruptions).

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : जब तक नेहरू परिवार, इन्दिरा गांधी हमारी नेता रहेगी तब तक हिन्दुस्तान को कोई खतरा नहीं है। रही हिन्दी की बात। हिन्दी नेशनल भाषा है तो क्या गड़बड़ है हिन्दी के साथ। इनसे मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब हिन्दी नेशनल भाषा है तो किस बात का झगड़ा है। बात रही हिन्दी की। इस देश के अन्दर 2,399 जातियाँ हैं जिसमें से एक हिन्दू जाति भी है अगर हिन्दू ही हिन्दू की बात करेंगे और पालिटिकल इसको बेस बनाकर आगे बढ़ेंगे तो 2,398 जातियाँ जो हैं वे जीलयसी फील करेंगी। अगर जीलयसी फील करेंगी तो आपस में लड़ाई होगी जब सारी कौमों में लड़ाई होगी तो गदर होगा और गदर होगा तो डेमो-क्रैसी खतरों में होगी, देश का एग्जीसटेंस खतरों में होगा। देश के टुकड़े-टुकड़े हो जायेंगे। कोई भी तगड़ा देश जिसके यह पिंटू है वे इस देश में आकर बैठ जायेंगे। वे इस देश पर हमला करके हमको गुलाम बना लेंगे। यह नकशा है जनसंघ पार्टी का अब रही कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का कोई आर्थिक प्रोग्राम नहीं है किसानों के लिये इनके पास कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है, वर्कर्स के लिये कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का नारा केवल यह है कि हम कौम को नष्ट करना चाहते हैं। हम सब को बराबर बोलत देना चाहते हैं। इनसे मैं

कहता हूँ कि इस कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का जन्म चाहना में हुआ। इनका मारटर चाहना में है। यह उनके पेड एजेंट हैं। इस कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का जन्म इस देश में आजादी के बाद हुआ। ...

(Interruptions)

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : यह क्या बहस हो रही है।

SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA (Madhya Pradesh): Let him continue, Sir. (Iritis). Sir, let him continue.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Order, please. would request the hon. Member to ide. (Interruptions). Order, please.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी कहना पैदा हुई इनको यह भी पता नहीं है।

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : मेरी तो यह पहली-पहली स्पीच है, मुझे तो कुछ और समय चाहिये। इन लोगों को नेशनल बनाने के लिये, रास्ता दिखाने के लिये और देश की 70 करोड़ जनता के सामने इनकी पोल खोलने के लिये मुझे थोड़ा टाइम चाहिये। मैं तो नेशनलिस्ट हूँ ही, आप भी चैयरमैन साहब नेशनलिस्ट हैं, आई नो इट।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह : आपको तो सर्टी-फिकेट मिल गया।

श्री हरी सिंह नलवा : मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप सब को बराबर करना चाहते हैं लेकिन जब भगवान ही ने, कुदरत ने जो सारी सृष्टि को बलाता है उसने ही सब को एक सा नहीं रखा तो यह कम्युनिस्ट सब को एक सा कैसे कर सकते हैं आप चाहना में, रशिया में तो एक कर नहीं पाये और चले आए इस देश में एक करने के लिये। एक करने के लिये

भाषण देने। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह लोटा डोरी लेकर कब तक चलते रहेंगे जबकि भगवान ने ही सब को बराबर नहीं किया...  
(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Order, please, please conclude.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** इनका कोई भी आर्थिक प्रोग्राम नहीं है। हमारी कांग्रेस पार्टी अब रह गई है। हमारे नेता जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेता हैं उनके बारे में अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ।

Sir, you come to my rescue. (Interruptions), They should behave properly in the House. (Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): But the honourable Member himself is not serious. What can I do? Please continue and conclude now.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** कांग्रेस पार्टी किसानों के लिये कितनी सीरियस है यह मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने जब प्राइम मिनिस्टरशिप की ओथ ली तो उसके बाद एग्री-कल्चर मिनिस्टर को, राव वीरेन्द्र सिंह को नम्बर दो पर ओथ दिलाई। अगर किसानों से इन्दिरा गांधी को, कांग्रेस पार्टी को प्यार न होता तो नम्बर दो पर राव वीरेन्द्र सिंह को, जो खुद किसान हैं, किसान के बेटे तो हैं ही, क्यों नम्बर दो पर ओथ दिलाती। श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने दूसरे नम्बर पर एग्रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर का कसम दिलवाई। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह से उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों का मान दिया है। इसलिए हम सब का फर्ज है कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के हाथ मजबूत करें। कांग्रेस जमात ने इस देश से जातपात को खत्म करने के लिए पूरी कोशिश की है। हरियाणा के अन्दर श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने, आप जानते हैं कि श्री भजन लाल को

आगे बढ़ाया है और उनको चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाया है। श्री भजन लाल बिश्नोई क्रोम के हैं और इस क्रोम से वह एक ही एम०एल०ए० हैं जात-पात को खत्म करने के लिए सबसे ज्यादा काम इन्दिरा जी ने उसे चीफ मिनिस्टर बना कर किया है। पहले इस क्रोम के आदमी पोलिटिक्स में नहीं थे। हम बोट जात के आधार पर नहीं मांगते हैं। हमारे सामने सबसे बड़ी बात इंसानियत होती है। हमारी पार्टी के सामने इंसानियत सबसे बड़ी बात है। हम देश के ब्याल को सबसे आगे रखते हैं। इसीलिए हमने मुल्क के अन्दर प्लानिंग किया है और बहुत सारी योजनाएं बनाई हैं। आप लोग, दूसरी पार्टियों के लोग हम पर जो कीचड़ उछालते हैं, वह आपको नहीं उछालना चाहिए, बल्कि श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी के हाथ मजबूत करने चाहिए। अगर कोई कर्मचारी गलत काम करता है तो उसके लिए आप कांग्रेस जमात पर कीचड़ मत उछालिये। इसमें आप लोगों का भी उत्तना ही हाथ है जितना किसी और का हो सकता है क्योंकि ये कर्मचारी आप ही लोगों के रखे हुए हैं। इसलिए मैं आप लोगों से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि आप मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाने में कांग्रेस पार्टी को मदद करें। सिर्फ कीचड़ उछालने से कोई फायदा होने वाला नहीं है।

श्रीमन्, अन्त में मैं दो चार बातें बजट के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। क्योंकि आप लोगों ने बीच में गलत बातें छेड़ दीं, इसलिए एक नेशनलिस्ट होने के नाते मुझे जवाब देना पड़ा। असल बात सब के सामने कहनी पड़ती है। गलत बातें कहना मैं ठीक नहीं समझता हूँ। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हरियाणा एक ऐसा प्रान्त है जिसको अपना कोई दरिया नहीं है दरिया जरूर है, लेकिन वह यू०पी० और

**[श्री हरी सिंह नलवा]**

हरियाणा की बीच में बहती है। यूपी० और हरियाणा की यह साझी दरिया है।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** इसको आप राजस्थान में भेज दीजिये ।

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** आप लोगों को इस देश से कोई प्यार नहीं है । इसलिए आप राजस्थान में भेजने की बात करते हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): May I request the hon. Member to conclude?

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** आप जानते हैं कि इस देश के अन्दर बहुत से दरिया बहते हैं । बरसात के दिनों में इनमें पानी बहुत बढ़ जाता है । लेकिन हमारे देश में ऐसे भी इलाके हैं जिनमें सूखा पड़ता रहता है । ऐसी हालत में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से यह प्रार्थना करूंगा और प्रधान मंत्री जी से भी हाथ जोड़ कर प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इन नदियों में जो पानी बह जाता है उसको रोकने के लिए एक बड़ी योजना बनाई जानी चाहिए । हर साल हमारे देश में जो सूखा पड़ता है और हर साल जो बाढ़ आ जाती है और जिन पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्च किया जाता है, इसको रोकने के लिए कोई परमानेंट योजना बनाई जानी चाहिए । अभी यह हालत है कि बरसात में जो काम बाढ़ रोकने के लिए किया जाता है उसका फायदा किसानों को नहीं मिल पाता है । कुछ बर्मचारी खा जाते हैं और कुछ अन्य लोग खा जाते हैं । इसलिए जरूरत इस बात की है कि इन सारे कामों की देखभाल करने के लिए सरकार को एक परमानेंट कमीशन बनाना चाहिए जिसमें देश भर के एक्सपर्ट्स लोगों और इकनोमिस्ट्स को लिया जाना चाहिए । हमारे मूल्य में

जितनी भी नदियां हैं, जैसे गंगा, यमुना, ब्रह्मपुत्र, रावी, सतलुज आदि, इनके पानी को रोक कर उन पर डेम बनाये जाने चाहिए और उस पानी को किसानों को सिंचाई के लिए मुहूर्त किया जाना चाहिए इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि फलड्स के कारण गांवों में जो बरबादी होती है वह बन्द हो जाएगी । किसान लंग अच्छी प्रकार से अपनी खेती कर सकेंगे । बरसात के दिनों में अपने खेतों में धान और दूसरी फसलें उगा सकेंगे । अगर आप इन नदियों पर बड़े-बड़े डेम बनाएंगे तो उससे बिजली भी पैदा हो सगी और हमारे देश में जो बिजली की कमी है वह भी दूर हो जाएगी । तो यह जो पैसा खर्च होता है टेम्परेरी फलड रोकने के लिए हर साल, तो इसी पैसे से इसका लिये परमानेंट अरेन्जमेन्ट हो सकता है और वहां के किसान का फायदा हो सकता है । इम्प्लायमेन्ट भी कितना मिलेगा और कितने लोगों को काम मिलेगा इनका पक्का करने में, नहरें निकालने के लिये, पावर हाउस बनाने के लिये । इससे अनइम्प्लायमेन्ट की समस्या भी हल हो जायेगी और किसान की पानी और बिजली की समस्या भी खत्म हो जायेगी । देश में अन्न का उत्पादन ज्यादा हो जायेगा और अन्न की कमी पूरी हो जायेगी । यदि प्रोडक्शन ज्यादा होगी तो प्राइस अपने आप कम हो जायेंगे । दूसरी बात....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please conclude.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** वाइस-चेयरमैन सर, हरियाणा के बारे में एक बहुत ही जरूरी बात है । हरियाणा की ऐसी स्थिति है कि अगर पानी और बिजली वहां के किसान को पूरी मात्रा में दे दी जाये तो मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूं कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिये हरियाणा

का किसान अन्न पैदा कर सकता है और पूरे हिन्दुस्तान को खिला सकता है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please conclude. You have taken so much time.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि वहां एक नहर आप अवश्य निकालें । हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का जब बंटवारा हुआ था तो उस समय सतलुज, व्यास और रावी के बारे में पाकिस्तान के साथ यह फैसला हुआ था कि 110 करोड़ रुपये इंडियन गवर्नमेंट पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट को देगी लेकिन 1970 के बाद पाकिस्तान को इन तीनों दरियाओं का पानी नहीं दिया जायेगा । यह उस समय अग्रीमेंट हुआ था । उस अग्रीमेंट के मुताबिक इंडियन गवर्नमेंट ने 110 करोड़ रुपये दे दिये । ये सारी दरियायें पंजाब की टैरीटरी में पड़ती हैं । लेकिन हरियाणा और पंजाब के कम्युनल लोगों और एन्टी नेशनल लोगों ने जैसे कि पंजाब में जो अकाली दल है वह कम्युनल पार्टी है । सिख कहां से पैदा हुए, चार सौ वर्ष पहले यह कहां से पैदा हुए, इसका बेस क्या था । गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी ने इसलिये सिख क्रोम को जन्म दिया कि उस समय हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर बाहरी लोग हमला करते थे । गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी ने इस देश को बचाने के लिये ऐसे नौजवानों का संगठन किया जो कि वीर थे । और उन्होंने उन लोगों के लिये पांच निशानी, केश, कड़ा, कच्छा, कृपाण और कंधा धारण करना अनिवार्य कर दिया ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please conclude. Nothing will go on record if you don't conclude.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** वाइस-चेयरमैन सर, दो मिनट में समाप्त करता हूं । मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा हूं कि सिख कम्युनिटी जो है वह एक बहादुर कम्युनिटी है । उस वक्त गुरु गोविन्द सिंह जी ने अच्छे काम के लिये देश भक्ति के काम के लिये इस

कौम का निर्माण किया । लेकिन कुछ सेल्फिश लोगों ने 400 साल के बाद अपना रास्ता बदलकर एन्टी-नेशनल इस कम्युनिटी को बनाने की कोशिश की । इस से बहादुर कौम कोई है नहीं देश में । लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इन्होंने क्या किया । सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने सतलुज-जमुना लिंक कनाल की योजना बनाई । हरियाणा गवर्नमेंट ने 110 किलोमीटर उसको कम्पलीट कर दिया है लेकिन पंजाब गवर्नमेंट ने इसको नहीं किया । हरियाणा गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से सारी फार्मलेटीज पूरी हो चुकी हैं लेकिन पंजाब सरकार ने आज तक जमीन एक्वायर नहीं की है । यह इसलिये क्योंकि तीन साल कम्युनल लोगों की हुकूमत वहां आ गई थी । अब वहां कांग्रेस की हुकूमत है, हरियाणा में भी कांग्रेस की हुकूमत है, इसलिये मैं सरकार से प्रार्थना करूंगा कि इस फैसले को जल्दी से लागू करा कर उस नहर को बनवाये ताकि हरियाणा के अन्दर पानी आये और देश को इकानामी को बूस्ट करने के लिये यहां का किसान रात दिन मेहनत करके देश के लिये अन्न का भंडार पैदा करे और इन चीजों के प्राइस कम करने में मदद कर सके ।

इसके अलावा वाइस-चेयरमैन साहब,

...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please sit down. Otherwise I will order that nothing will go on record. It is the limit. You must obey the Chair. Nothing will go on record.

**श्री हरी सिंह नलवा :** यह कह कर मैं अपनी बात खत्म करता हूं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Shri Ajit Kumar Sharma is not here. Shri Amarproaad Chakraborty is not here. Shrimati

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

Rajinder Kaur is not here. Mr. Abdul-la Koja

SHRI .NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): Sir, we have heard the best entertaining speech from the ruling party. We are grateful to the ruling party for presenting such a speaker on behalf of that party.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is with a mixed feeling of satisfaction and anxiety, I, as a layman, face this Budget. While I agree that an honest attempt has been made by our Finance Minister to revive our ruined economy, he has not been able to meet the requirements 'fully nor to bring the soaring prices down. But compared to the distressing disaster due to Mr. Charan Singh's Budget and Shri Tripathi's Railway Budget, he can have tremendous satisfaction of having brought out a less injurious Budget, specially under the present position of our economy.

Sir, though the Finance Minister concedes that the middle class is among the worst hit by the price rise, his exemption upto an income of Rs. 12,000 is far from satisfactory, I would say that the taxable limit should at least start from Rs. 12,000. The reduction of surcharge from 20 per cent to 10 per cent is a laudable attempt, so also the enhancement of exemption limit of wealth tax from Rs. 1 lakh to Rs. 1.5 lakhs. I am glad that the Finance Minister has done away with the restriction on deductible amount of expenditure on advertisement, publicity and sales promotion. And I am sorry, Sir, I cannot agree with the opinion of the Finance Minister in discontinuing the agricultural income-tax. The best thing would have been to raise the limit of taxable income. I would request the Finance Minister to see that the proposed reversion interest tax does not fall on the borrower. So also the burden of new taxes on common people, specially the duty of one-tenth should be avoided as far as cigarettes of cheaper

varieties are concerned, so also the enhanced rate of 5 per cent on the soda ash and caustic soda. I feel the enhancement of exemption limit on bidis from 16 lakhs to 30 lakhs would be a drastic one. This should be at least 40 or 45 lakhs so as to enable the small manufacturers to survive. I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister that many of the concessions given by him on items of everyday use may not be passed on to the consumers by the traders. He should see to it that the benefits really reach the consumer.

Sir, let me now turn to some of the burning problems of Kerala which have been agitating the minds of the people of Kerala for a long time. As we belong to a distant place, as we are far away from Delhi, our voices are not sufficiently heard or heeded to. Our demand for starting a big industry under the Central scheme in Kerala is still a far cry in the wilderness. Even our proposal to start the silent valley scheme has not been cleared because of the whims and fancies of some of the scientists and vested interests. The construction of an airport at Karaipore and the construction of an all-weather port at Beypore are still on paper in spite of repeated assurances in Parliament. Today I had a chance-meeting with our Aviation Minister who has kindly promised that the construction of an airport at Karaipore would be taken up immediately. I am thankful to him for this. Similarly the Shipping Department also falls under his control, I would request that the Beypore port should be converted into an all-weather airport. Otherwise, the Central Government's expenditure on this port to the tune of Rs. 1 crore, incurred some time back, would be a heavy burden on the people of Kerala. The 11 inadequate ports in the parts of India.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Sir, I am on a point of order. Neither the hon. Finance Minister nor the Deputy Finance Minister is here.

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION (RAO BIRENDRA SINGH): I am here and taking notes.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: I know you are here on roster duty.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Koya, please continue. He will be just coming.

SHRI SADASIV BAGAITKAR: Sir, is it not strange that nobody is here? The Deputy Finance Minister should be here.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA: We demand the immediate extension of Ernakulam-Alleppey to Kayangundam. Alleppey to Kayangundam, it is a distance of only 80 kilometres and the provision of a double line between Trivandrum and Ernakulam would be not by this extension. To make this new line more viable and profitable the double line from Ernakulam to Cannanore should be taken up to avoid the long delay now experienced by nearly half of the population who want to reach the capital city. The position is that for a man from Cannanore to reach the capital at Trivandrum, a distance of 400 miles, he will have to spend nearly one complete day to reach the capital. We do not also have an airport from the northern part of Kerala nor do we have a fast train during the day-time. All the trains are leaving around midnight, the first one being at about 11 p.m. and the second only after that. We have been clamouring for these speedy trains and the Railway Minister had twice or thrice promised to introduce a train by July but so far nothing has been done.

So also there sea erosion and change of national highways due to heavy rains are some of the other problems from which we want some relief from the Centre. As you know, Sir, Kerala has a long stretch of sea coast and the width of the land is so meagre. During the rainy season nearly two to three furlongs of land are taken away

by the sea everywhere. Something should be done in this respect. Kerala cannot meet the high expenses in this regard. At the time of last year's Budget also I have spoken about it. When we are so anxious that even a small stretch of land should not be taken away by our enemies and we deploy all our resources and send our army to check any such thing, nothing is done when sea erosion takes place. Crores of rupees are spent to reclaim seas in Bombay and other places, why can't we do anything to prevent this erosion in Kerala? Our roads are also in very bad shape because of very heavy rains. For the last one month we have been experiencing very heavy rain and on account of that our roads are not at all suitable. If you are spending, for example, Rs. 5000 on repairs of a furlong of roads in other places, it would not be sufficient for Kerala. In Kerala we would have to spend nearly double the amount. I have been stressing this point on our Transport and Shipping Minister. The ban on the export of timber and liberal imports allowed to cashew, coco and rubber industries are hitting our agriculturists very hard and affecting our economy. As we all know, these are all cash crops. We have been exporting these things and earning foreign exchange for the whole of India but unfortunately one after the other the Government is discouraging this, which is done to encourage the internal millowners or the internal companies who manufacture chocolates out of coco and so also to encourage or help the tyre manufacturing companies. Many of the foreign companies are allowed to import at the expense of the producers in Kerala.

Sir, there is a tendency in Kerala to shift the Central Government office to Trivandrum and various other places. In this connection, I would like to say that recently one of the Commissioner's of Income-tax Offices was shifted from Ernakulam to Trivandrum. Sir, in Trivandrum, the number of assesses is very small.

[Shri B. V. Abdulla Koya] and in order to show a greater number of them, what they have done is..

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN (Kerala): May I know whether the importance of Trivandrum is only due to its being the capital of the State or because of its industrial area?

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA: I am not against Trivandrum. My point is that for a central office for the assesses, Ernakulam is the proper place. The central office should be located there because, as my friend knows, High Court is located in Ernakulam because of it being a central place and all district people can easily go there.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: What about industries?

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: We want to do away with regional imbalances.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA: So, I was saying, that another funny thing they have done is, in order to show the increased number of assesses for Trivandrum, they have attached Palghat and Trichur districts to Trivandrum. And the interesting thing is that an assessee from Trichur will have to pass through the courtyard of Ernakulam to reach this new office. If you really want to serve the people, one more office is to be opened at Ernakulam.

Before I conclude, let me say a few words about the persisting inadequate representation of Muslims and other minorities in the Central Government services and public companies. I have been repeating this point throughout my tenure in the Rajya Sabha. Many good words are spoken by the authorities but nothing has happened. Even Minorities Commissions have been appointed but nothing has been done. Still, the representation of the minority communities is far from satisfactory.

Then, Sir, there is a strip of land of about 5 cents in Calicut. This is a small point for the attention of the Finance Minister. This small piece of land would be useful for straightening our beach road; otherwise, then there are so many accidents. When the Calicut Corporation of Kerala asked for this land, the Central Custom authorities replied that in compensation they should have other land. I do not understand why this piece of land of 5 cents only could not be given to us for widening the road in spite of public demand. Would the Central Government see to it? I would like the Finance Minister to come and see that piece of land whenever he plans a visit to that area and judge for himself.

Recently, the Kerala Government have been told by the Central Government that they cannot recognise participants of Malabar rebellion of 1921 as freedom fighters. Sir, Kerala Government have already recognised them and are giving pension. I do not understand why the Central Government's Home Department is not giving recognition. We consider the great mutiny of 1857 as freedom struggle. Some way, during the time of Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Mohammed Ali Khilafat and non-cooperation movement, these people participated in the agitations. Unfortunately, some of the landlords, including Muslims and Hindus helped the British Government and wanted to spy on the rebellion. They wanted to make it a violent agitation instead of non-violent. Somehow or other, in a way, they had succeeded. But unfortunately, many of the freedom fighters had suffered and they should be considered as patriotic freedom fighters in the same way as others. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Madhavaa. Please take ten minutes. You should not take more than ten minutes.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Sir, I will simply follow the example of my hon. friend, the new Member from Haryana. This is the example set by the ruling party.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): He was making a maiden speech. You are not making a maiden speech.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I can-not be a maiden. Sir, I fully agree with my friend, Mr. Abdulia Koya, who has placed the demands of Kerala on this occasion. On all the aspects, the rightful claims of Kerala State are being neglected. I do not want to enumerate those. These matters have already been mentioned.

SHRI B. V. ABDULLA KOYA: Do you want all offices at Trivandrum?

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: I am opposed. I am supporting my hon. friend. I am supporting him. I was born and brought up at Cochin. How can I forget Cochin? I am supporting the hon. Member.

Sir, I would request that the demands of Kerala should be well-considered and accepted, including the Silent Valley Project, of which I was a little sceptical till recently, a few months back. Sir, coming to the point, here is the Budget. I do not know how this was looked at by my hon. friend from Haryana. He was saying all sorts of things. I do not know whether there was much sense in it. I have very little time before me. I have to do justice to the subject. I do not know whether I will be able to do that. The crucial point before us is that the hon. Minister, the learned and experienced Finance Minister, Mr. Venkataraman, has presented a Budget, with an estimated expenditure of Rs. 21,467 crores, estimated receipts of Rs. 19,827 crores and an estimated deficit of Rs. 1,640 crores. But actually, as my hon. friend, Mr. Sankar Ghose, of my Party, said the other day, the deficit

would be something like Rs. 4,800 crores in effect. Now, this is a Budget, as has already been stated, which is accompanied by two things. Firstly, an accelerated inflation. Secondly, a retered growth rate. This, in essence, is the feature of the Budget. Out of the disbursements of Rs. 21,467 crores, in this Budget which has been presented by a Government, which claims that it is wedded to the task of upbringing the weaker sections in this country, what is the amount which has been earmarked for the weaker sections? Let us see. The share of the Scheduled Castes is only Rs. 100 crores and the share of the Scheduled Tribes is Rs. 70 crores. In this connection, I would like to refer to page 9, para 34 of the Budget speech. In the Finance Minister's Speech, in para 34, it is said, I quote:

"The Budget breaks new ground by providing for a special central assistance of Rs. 100 crores to the States to act as a catalyst in the generation of more funds from other sources including financial institutions. This will enable the authorities to provide as a package all the inputs needed in an integrated programme of promotion of the socioeconomic condition of scheduled castes."

Then, Sir, in para 35 of the Finance Minister's Speech it is said, I quote:

"A provision for Central assistance of Rs. 70 crores has been made for the development of tribal people and areas under the Tribal sub-plan. Additional pockets with a population of 10,000 and having at least 50 per cent tribal concentration will be identified, thus bringing nearly 75 per cent of the tribal population in eighteen States and Union territories within the Tribal sub-plan."

This is the allowance that has been made for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Now again what is the position in relation to other

[Shri K. K. Madhavan] weaker sections, for instance, hand-loom weavers, small farmers and all that? In paragraph 41 of the Finance Minister's Speech there is a mention about the khadi, village and small-scale industries and other things. I am quoting from paragraph 41 of the Finance Minister's Speech:

"The House will recall that the 20-Point Economic Programme has particularly emphasised the development of the handloom sector in this context. In pursuance of this objective, We propose to set up a national level Handloom Development Corporation for providing a package of marketing and developmental assistance for the handloom industry."

Then, in paragraph 37 of his speech the Finance Minister has said, I quote:

"The Plan outlay on agriculture and rural development in the current year is being increased to Rs. 2,247 crores from Rs. 1,811 crores in 1970-80. This includes the provision in the Central Plan of Rs. 158 crores for Small Farmers Development Agency..."

So, this is the provision for the SFDA. What is the share of the small farmers? The Government says that they are deeply and sincerely worried and are interested in upbringing the weaker sections of the society. The handloom weavers, the small farmers, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes who form the bulk of the weaker sections of the society and I have mentioned what exactly is the amount earmarked for their welfare and development. If I may put it very moderately, I have to say that *the* Government betrays very scant respect for the interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of the society, it is clear from the budget figures that I have quoted. What more

eloquent testimony is required for the insincerity of this Government, for the parsimony of the Government, in the matter of development of the poorer sections of this country? They have no answer. That being the case, what is actually the feature of the Budget? The feature of this Budget, I may be permitted to state, is really reactionary. It is anti-working class, it is anti-agriculturist. It is the old type of feudalism painted in a very modern language. That is all. It fits very well into the interests and the framework that the big business in this country demands today. That is why the Budget evoked very interesting reaction' from interested corners. You know, Sir, as a matter of fact the press in this country is largely owned and controlled by big business. There is one daily newspaper which has got about 9 or 10 editions in the country from different parts of the country. They have been critical of this Government till very recently. They have been very bitter for the simple reason that then-headquarters—the big building in Delhi—was about to be demolished by no less a person than the present L.t. Governor of Delhi. There is a long-pending protracted case and this building was threatened with demolition. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, you also want to demolish my speech. This Express newspaper building was threatened to be demolished by the Lt. Governor of Delhi. Now we find, Sir, that that bitter critic of this Government—namely, the Indian Express—has on the 19th June come out with an editorial, not surprising for me, under the caption "Well Done". It gives a very good certificate to Mr. Venkata-raman and the Government with a glorious tribute under the heading "Well Done". Well done for whom? I am reminded of Ernest Hemingway's "For Whom The Bell Tolls". The bell here tolls for the capitalists. The bell of the present Government's Budget tolls for the capitalists. What else can it be? What else is the justification for a paper like the Indian Express, which was well known for its

bitter criticism of the present Government's policies, turning overnight pro-Venkataraman, pro-Government and clamouring with the term "Well Done"? There is nothing surprising. There is an old proverb in Malayalam—

"CHUTTU THALLUMBOL KOLLA-  
NUM KOLLATHIYUM ONNU"

"Kollan" means blacksmith. When the iron is red hot, the blacksmith and his wife who may have been quarrelling every day and till that moment, but when the iron is red hot and when it is the proper time to unite together and get it into the proper shape, the blacksmith and his wife forget all their quarrels and join together to hammer it properly in the end. This is the position. On the 19th of June, the Indian Express and the India Government forgot all their differences and joined hands as husband and wife. Of course the Indian Express may be the most obedient wife. They have joined together forgetting all their differences. Well done.

SHRI J. K. JAIN (Madhya Pradesh): That is why you are getting the opportunity to speak now.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: Not because of your courtesy. I was here long before you were here.

SHRI J. K. JAIN: If it had not published this, you would not have got the opportunity to speak now.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: This sort of wonderful logic can come only from the treasury benches. And that sort of entertaining speech can come only from this political party which is ruling.

One point more, Sir. What is the latest position? The latest position is, I will quote one thing more. I have got the *Indian Express* of 19th, the same date. They give the reaction to the Budget, reaction of so many people. Here they have said:

"Industry and trade circles here" ...here means Delhi... "describe the budget as 'pragmatic, realistic and the kind of budget that will put the economy back on the road to recovery'."

"On the road to recovery." Road, to recovery of what? On the road to recovery, the like of which we have heard only the other day—the recovery to what is indicated by that black deal of Carville. That is the recovery; from nationalisation, going back to private capital in civil aviation. It is the recovery or retreat. So, from the capitalist point of view it is recovery. It is a good certificate from the capitalists. Sir, I think you will find a little interesting if I give you a short story, in one sentence.

A young police officer wanted to remain a bachelor, but the IG of Police who also was a chronic bachelor and who was about to be superannuated, called him and told him: "Boy, why are you not getting married?" "Sir, I want to be a bachelor just like you", said this officer. The IG was a very vicious type of bachelor. After the IG repeated his advice to the boy to get married, the young man thought he should get married and he decided to marry. He found a young girl and reported the matter to his boss. The IG asked the young man, "Do you know this girl?" "Yes, Sir, I know this girl. She is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. so and so." Then the IG said, "I know the mother of this girl for pretty long years." Immediately the young man took the hint. He thought it was a very bad certificate. If the vicious IG knew the mother of the prospective bride for pretty long years, he thought, then, it was a very good compliment to the girl! The next day he rushed to the room of his boss and told him, "Sir, I have given up the idea of my marriage." Why? He gave up the idea of his marriage simply because of the good certificate given by his IG.

[Shri K. K. Madhavan]

So, Sir, the Budget has got a good certificate from the most reactionary people. This certificate is issued by whom? Mr. Ramnath Goenka has come out openly with an article written under his own name in his own paper, giving all-out support to the present Government. So, when the support comes from such questionable quarters, the people of this country who are genuinely interested in the welfare of the weaker section of the society, people who are interested in JBOcial'ism, have real reason to be afraid, We have reason to be afraid because this Government is going back on the road of socialism. Just as has been evidenced by the Caravelle deal they are going back on socialism, they were going back—in the words of the capitalists themselves—on the road to recovery.

TEDS VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. MORARKA): Please conclude.

SHRI K. K. MADHAVAN: In essence, this is a Budget which is working deliberately and entering into the realm of reaction, into the realm of unbridled capitalism which, in the present day context when, even after the second World War, capitalism has no other face except that of totalitarian Fascism. I am afraid that Fascism has had the same sort of certain history both in Italy and Germany. That Fascism makes it goose-step through democratic means and democratic institutions. I have reason to fear that our democracy is degenerating gradually but steadily into a very crude type of Indian Fascism which we have to resist tooth and nail. This black Budget deserves condemnation, however beautifully it has been dressed by Shri Venkataraman by his dexterity.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI B. R. MORARKA): Shri Hegde. I would request you to take ten minu-

**श्री साहिली मोहन निगम : हम लोग  
देर तक बैठने के लिए तैयार हैं। आप  
इनको बोलने दीजिये। आपको जरूर  
तकलीफ होगी।**

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE: Sir, the ruling party people may not be there, but the Opposition party people are here. We are ready to wait.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): So far as I am concerned, there is no worry.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the euphoria induced by a string of superficial reliefs has very quickly faded. We can perhaps now examine the Budget proposals in a more dispassionate and objective manner. The Budget proposals have been described by various people as clever, dextrous, presentable and by other adjectives. I would say it is basically a *status quo* Budget. I will come to that a little later to show how it is *status quo*. I must compliment the Finance Minister, Shri Venkataraman, for the art and skill that he has shown in making the Budget proposals look very convincing and slightly innovative. I do appreciate Mr. Venkataraman's handicaps when he formulated his proposals—a year of severe unprecedented drought, a high rate of inflation and price rise and a minus 3 per cent GNP and a fall in agricultural production and industrial production. I sympathise with him. But the Finance Minister was also singularly fortunate in having a predecessor in the former Finance Minister. His Budget proposals shine by contrast. He tried to match the crudity of his predecessor by his culture. He tried to match the rustic approach of the predecessor by his modern outlook. He tried to match the outdated ideas of his predecessor by his sophistication. In this, he has eminently succeeded and we must congratulate him for making the Budget proposals look beautiful. He comes from Madras. He has dressed

these proposals with a beautiful Dhar-Jtnavaram or Kanjeevaram saree—a Dharmavaram saree is as good as a Kanjeevaram saree—revealing only those portions which he wanted to expose and concealing the portions which he wanted to hide. Again he has succeeded very ably.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: It is a bathing suit. It reveals less and conceals the vital.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Surely Jiot tx'cause it is ugly.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: Sir, I would like to examine his Budget proposals in the context of two observations, one made by the Economic Survey and the other made by himself, and let us see, as the Finance Minister, to what extent he has heeded the warning given in the Economic Survey and to what extent he has not been faithful to his own observations. The Economic Survey had warned—I quote:—

"It would be preferable to plan for a more realistic target so that cuts in real expenditure are made in a rational and controlled manner rather than through uncontrolled price increase."

And his own observation is:

"The objective of this Budget is to set the economy on the path of stability, growth and social justice,"

Sir, to what extent has he succeeded in implementing his own ideas and to what extent has he been faithful to his own ideas?

Sir, the deficit shown in real terms is much bigger than the deficit in the revised estimates for the previous year. There is absolutely no doubt about it. It is not just Rs. 1,400 odd crores. This is over and above the Rs. 2,700 crores deficit last year. How? This is because too much reliance has been placed on market loans and external

assistance, all together to the extent of Rs. 2,500 crores, and this is Rs. 538 crores more than the revised estimates for the previous year. I do not think it is realistic.

The second is, in regard to small savings, again a very high unrealistic estimate has been made. When there is a fear and possibility of inflation of the order of 15 to 20 per cent, how can savings be generated, I cannot understand. It is hoping for too much.

Sir, the third is about foreign aid. Last year and the previous year we had cut down the foreign aid. And again this Government has resorted to it. I do not know on what basis the foreign aid has been taken into account to the extent of additional 2,900 crores of rupees. And again interest receipts are Rs. 400 crores additional. These are things which make the present estimate of Rs. 1,408 crores deficit totally unrealistic. Now let us see his tax proposals. I have observed earlier that Mr. Venkata-raman has created a mirage. From a distance it looks so real, and that is why practically all sections of the society were praising Mr. Venkatarama for his proposals. It is not as if only the industrialists were praising him. But this sort of illusion did not last for more than a couple of days. So a mirage was created. Now, in real terms, Mr. Vice-Chairman, the total additional tax burden on the people of this country is much more than in the previous year. Perhaps during the last ten years never has there been such a huge burden of taxation. But he had cleverly passed on the buck to his colleagues a couple of days earlier. He made the Petroleum Minister announce a hike in the prices of petroleum products. And the Railway Minister announced another hike. Therefore, in the actual budget proposals, as he has stated, the total additional tax burden would be, for the whole year, Rs. 440 crores. And this the post\* and telegraphs department of Rs. 27 crores. Railways Rs. 20»

[Shri Rama Krishna Hedge]

crores and hike in the prices of fertilizers and petroleum products, Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 2,100 crores respectively. All taken together, the total burden on account of all these proposals, in aggregate, would be Rs-3,007 crores. It is unprecedented. There had never been such a huge burden of taxation. But again he succeeded in presenting a picture that created a feeling in everybody that he got off very lightly. Sir, I must admit that the Finance Minister has imprinted his personality on lug Budget, in the intelligent way of putting his proposals and in many other ways except in one respect, and that is where he has indulged in public deception which is uncharacteristic of him. It is nothing short of public deception that you project certain things which are not real, which only look real. Let us come to his own statement. He talks of stability. I hope what he means by this is price stability, economic stability. It is not political stability. Political stability is now assured. There is no question of political instability. If he means price stability, how is it possible? Is he deceiving himself, may I ask? And in addition to the heavy tax burden, if inflation continues at the same rate as we have seen during the previous year—it was about 20 per cent—then it will be an additional burden on the people of this country. Big or small, poor or rich, it does not matter. \_ Inflation is invisible tax. It is not passed by Parliament or by any law. So, ultimately the effect will be one of snowballing and the people of this country will be crushed. There won't be, I am sure, price stability. Now, reliefs. It is really a great art he has shown in giving Rs. 43 crores worth of reliefs. For this he got so many bouquets from every quarter. That is why I said it is an intelligent way of handling. His own proposals for taxation will bring 400 and odd crores of rupees—forget about hike in prices of petroleum products, fertilisers, railway fares, etc. For this pit-

tance of relief, everyone heaved \* sigh of relief as if it was never been done before. Therefore, I would say that the praise and compliments he got are not totally earned. They are unearned. I am sorry to make this observation.

Let us analyse this relief of Rs. 43 crores. The articles of final consumption that get this relief are only 15 crores and the other relief goes to the manufacturers. Perhaps it is designed to increase their profitability. Therefore, if anybody is under the impression that articles of common consumption and final consumption have been exempted from excise duty and other taxes, he is totally mistaken.

Another point I would like to make here is regarding non-Plan expenditure which has been soaring. There is no corresponding link between Plan expenditure and non-Plan expenditure. Even though he has claimed that there has been a 16 per cent increase in the Plan outlay, as against 20 per cent possible inflation, it is actually minus. It is totally negative and it will be actually minus. The actual Plan outlay provided in \*he Budget is less than 16 per cent. It is only 15.8 per cent. For the rest there is a pious hope that the State Governments and the Union Territories will raise resources internally.

The development expenditure is cut down from 39.5 per cent last year to 36.6 per cent. So, this is a Budget which neither ensures stability, nor growth.

Now, I will come to social justice. I am sorry I have hardly any time. I will, therefore, only quote a few figures. I will pick up schemes which are meant to benefit the common and poor class people. On rural and public health schemes there has been a 30 per cent reduction. On housing schemes there is a 15.4 per cent reduction. On schemes for small and marginal farmers' development there is a \*W»-

tic reduction of 58.9 per cent. May I ask what has this Government done in this Budget for the relief of tenants? If you are serious to do something for them, you should have provided for some compensation. Most of the State Governments are unable to implement land reforms just because they have no money. Small farmers' development is a continuous scheme. There the reduction is almost 59 per cent. Command area development. Here the reduction is 72.9 per cent. In area planning for full-employment: 33.3 per cent reduction; in agricultural finance institutions: 33.1 per cent reduction; and in other agricultural programmes: 38.3 per cent reduction. With regard to the village and small-scale industries, about which he has devoted a couple of paragraphs and has given statistics as to how many people are employed, provision has been reduced by 42.8 per cent. (*Time Bell rings*). May I ask the Government: Is this the way to do social justice?

Sir, two more points. May I ask again why as against the provisional Budget, the interim Budget, in regard to the Defence outlay, an additional sum of three hundred crores has been provided? May I ask, may I know, what development has taken place during the last three or four months that warranted this additional outlay? It is not a productive expenditure. I do not want to make any insinuations. Is it because of certain deals that certain people were contemplating? I do not know. I do not know as to what happened during the period between the interim Budget and the regular Budget which necessitated this additional provision of three hundred crores. And, Sir, there is not a word in the speech of Mr. Venkata-raman about the economy in Government expenditure. It is increasing and it is increasing day by day. To give you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, an example, one illustration: There are in our country nearly 8.8 million Government employees\* as compared to 7.2 million employees in the organised

industry. When there is such a gross disproportion between productive and unproductive jobs, economic stagnation is the inevitable result, and you cannot help it. Therefore, may I make a suggestion for their consideration? Stop any further recruitment to the Government services for five years. Every year, I believe, 2 per cent of the Government employees retire which means over a period of five years there will be a net reduction in Government expenses to the extent of ten per cent. It will be substantial and this should be done if you really want to keep your deficit to the figures you have shown in the Budget.

My last point, Sir. I am sorry, I am transgressing your courtesy.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Please conclude.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE: Of course, Sir, they are very allergic to anything that the Janata Government has done. The Janata Government started the Food for Work Programme. They do not like the name and they call it the National Rural Employment Scheme. All right. But what was the crime of the Ant-yodaya scheme? It was a great success. Actually, people even from foreign countries came here and gave a certificate. Was it meant to benefit the rich people? No. It was meant to benefit the poorest of the poor and it was meant for those people only. Why did you discontinue it? Is it just for political reasons? Is it just because the Janata party started it. This is not fair and it is not good. You swear by the 20-point programme. You can add this one also and you call it the 21-point programme and you own it. We do not have any copyright on that, and we would rather appreciate if you implement that programme.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of black money. There is no mention about it in the Budget. I do not know why. Actually, Sir, I know Mr. Ta»-

[Shri Ramakrishan Hegde]

kataraman for the last so many year\* and he has been my colleague and he was my counterpart in Tamil Nadu. If he had really had his own way, perhaps this Budget would have been, more innovative and more original. Some invisible hand was there which restricted him perhaps from putting his own ideas completely. About black money, Mr. Sathe was telling a few months ago that in the film world itself the black money is of the order of Rs. 600 crores. Later on, he hurriedly withdrew that statement. But nobody can deny that there is a parallel economy which is really causing all misery. Have you given any thought to this? Is it not high time that some thought must be given to this?

About gold auction, it has been admitted by the Government that it was not what Mr. Sanjay Gandhi and Mrs. Gandhi during the election campaign in every city, in every meeting, were saying: Look here, the Janata Government has sold away all gold, we do not have a small bit of gold for your 'Mangalsutra', for your daughter's wedding ..... (Time bell rings) well, it has been admitted by the Government that this gold was the confiscated gold. Okay. You want to inquire into it? Have a thorough inquiry. I am not opposed to this inquiry. But whom did you appoint? Mr. K. R. Puri? What are his qualifications? Why don't you appoint a High Court Judge or a Supreme Court Judge? Is it not political vindictive-ness? You want to have a report written by him as you want him to write. What is his reputation? He was the Governor of the Reserve Bank. And this was because of some-body's grace. Therefore, this sort of action does not bring any credit to you.

I am sorry that I took a few minutes more. Sir, I wanted to say a few things more. But I thank you for your courtesy.

**श्री सदाशिव बगाईतकर :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, समय के अभाव में मैं कुछ मोटो बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। अभी मेरे मित्र हेमडे साहब ने बजट का वर्णन किया। मैं समझता हूँ कि एलाइन इन वंडरलैंड की जो कहानी है उसी तरह इस बजट में कुछ घटों के लिए, मर्यादित समय के लिए अच्छाई लोगों को मिली। लेकिन कल से ही—अब वह बात टूटने लगी है—दिल्ली के बाजारों में, राशन की दुकानों पर चीनी नहीं है। 7 रुपए 60 पैसे किलो अब चीनी का दाम हो गया है। जो एलाइस इन वंडरलैंड वाली कहानी है वह सच है। मर्यादित आनन्द, मर्यादित समय का आनन्द अब धीरे-धीरे टूटता जा रहा है।

दूसरी बात, श्रीमन्, इस बजट के बारे में जो कुछ कहा गया हो, एक बात तो नहीं भूलनी चाहिए कि इस बजट के माध्यम से 11 दिन के अन्दर करीब 3 हजार करोड़ के टैक्स आप ने लगा दिये हैं। तेल की कीमतें आप ने बढ़ाई, फर्टिलाइजर की बढ़ाई, बजट में जिन चीजों को शुमार किया उन सारी वस्तुओं की कीमतें बढ़ी हैं और इस का सारा भार पड़ेगा सामान्य जनता पर। इस के साथ-साथ पूरा बजट देखने पर एक चीज बिल्कुल सामने आ जाती है कि सत्ता-धारी दल का विश्वास ऐसा नहीं है कि बजट एक औजार है, इस्टीमेट है आप के जो राजनैतिक और आर्थिक उद्देश्य हैं उन तक पहुंचने का। इस की कोई शलक इस बजट में नहीं है। आप ने वोट मांगा था गरीब के नाम से। इसी तरह पहले गरीबी हटाओ वाली आप की घोषणा मुझे याद पड़ रही है। दुबारा भी मुसकत है लोग फसाये जायें। इस बजट पर विचार करते समय एक चीज हम नहीं भूल सकते

कि हमारी आबादी का आधा हिस्सा, गरीबी को रखा के तोचे रहने वाला जो तबका है उसका और इस बजट का सम्बन्ध क्या है। अमन में होने क्या जा रहा है? कुछ अमीर लोगो ने बक-आउट किये हैं। को व्यक्ति 57 रुपए का टैक्स आप ने लगाया है। आप हिसाब लगायें कि अगर पांच आदमियों का कुटुम्ब है और जो आमदनी बतायी गयी है सालाना को व्यक्ति 712 रुपए, तो उस हिसाब से 57 रुपए को व्यक्ति का जो टैक्स आप ने लगाया है

इस के अलावा मुद्रा स्फीति के कारण, 7 P.M. और खास कर टैक्स सीलिंग का जो डोंचा पुराने जमाने से लगातार चला आ रहा है उस की जो मार पड़ती है, अप्रत्यक्ष करों की जो मार पड़ती है वह किस पर पड़ती है। वह जो मामूली आदमी है, जो रोजमर्रा की चीजें लेता है, जो दिन भर मजदूरी करने के बाद शाम को अपना चूल्हा जलाता है, ऐसे आदमी पर इस की सारी मार पड़ने वाली है और मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि जब आप को इस के बारे में सोच कर कुछ कर सकने की गुंजायश थी तो आप ने कुछ नहीं किया। यह जो अप्रत्यक्ष करों की बात है तो मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि यह भारतीय कर प्रणाली में राजस्व अर्जन करने का क्या सब से बढ़िया तरीका नहीं है? इस की जड़ इम्पीरियल इकोनामी में है। अंग्रेजी साम्राज्यवाद के समय से यह लगातार चला आ रहा है और यह हर स्तर पर होता है। रेलवे में आप क्या करते हैं दूसरे दर्जे के यात्रियों से आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा पैसा इकट्ठा करेंगे लेकिन रियायतें और सहूलियतें उन को नहीं दी जायेंगी। उस में एयर कंडीशन्स क्लास का जो पैसेंजर है सहूलियतें उस को मिलेंगी। मुझे आश्चर्य इसलिए होता है कि यह नहीं कि सरकार ने इस को देखा नहीं। आप ने ज्ञा साहब के नेतृत्व में एक कमेटी

बिठायी थी। उस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट 1976 में आपने मंजूर की है। उस की सिफारिशें सरकार ने स्वीकार की हैं, लेकिन आश्चर्य है कि उन सिफारिशों पर सरकार ने कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की। इन्डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज इक्वायरी कमेटी की जो रिपोर्ट है उस में ज्ञा साहब की कमेटी इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंची थी कि 1973-74 के मूल्यों पर विचार किया जाये तो प्रति माह सौ रुपया खर्च करने वाले व्यक्ति को 45.16 रुपये अप्रत्यक्ष करों के रूप में देने पड़ते हैं। यह फाइंडिंग है ज्ञा कमेटी की। तो इस का बोझ किस पर पड़ने वाला है। और आप ने उत्पादन शुल्क को एक जरिया बना दिया है। अप्रत्यक्ष कर और उत्पादन शुल्क दोनों से जो कीमतें बढ़ती हैं उस की सारी मार गरीब पर पड़ती है। यह कोई छिपी हुई बात नहीं है और इस उत्पादन शुल्क में कितनी बढ़ोतरी हुई है इस को आप देखिये। 1951-52 में उत्पादन कर से राजस्व 85 करोड़ था जो कुल राजस्व का 20 परसेंट होता था। 1979 में इस रूप से प्राप्त राजस्व कुल राजस्व का आधा हो गया, यानी 50 परसेंट हो गया। इतना ही नहीं, 1980-81 के बजट में 286 करोड़ के नये कर लगाने का प्रस्ताव है। इस के साथ-साथ एक चीज और आप देखिये कि जिन वस्तुओं पर आप उत्पादन कर लगाते हैं उन की सूची की नामावलि निरन्तर बढ़ती जा रही है। 1965-66 में उस सूची में 74 वस्तुएं थीं, 1975-76 में उन की संख्या 124 हो गयी और 1979-80 में उन की संख्या 138 हो गयी। और इस की जो समीक्षा की है कौंसिल आफ अप्लाइड इकोनामिक्स ने, जो उन्होंने इस का अध्ययन किया है उन्होंने इस बात की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान खींचा है कि जब हम गरीब की और उस की आमदनी की चर्चा करते हैं,

[श्री सदाशिव ढगाईतकर]

जब हम उस के जीवन स्तर की चर्चा करते हैं तो केवल वह क्या कमाता है इतना ही देखने मात्र से नहीं चलेगा। जिस ढंग का ढांचा आप ने बनाया है, जितने टैक्स उस को देने पड़ रहे हैं, जिन-जिन चीजों के लिये उस को टैक्स देना पड़ रहा है, हर वस्तु जो आम आदमी इस्तेमाल करता है उस पर आज आप का टैक्स है, और उस से उस आदमी की गरीबी बेवसी में बढ़ती जा रही है। तो जो बजट आपने पेश किया है उसका एक परिणाम साफ यह होने वाला है कि देश में गरीब पर उसकी और मार पड़ेगी। पापुराइजेशन बढ़ेगा और जो गरीब हैं उनका जीवन स्तर उससे घटने वाला है क्योंकि मुद्रा स्फीति को आप रोक नहीं सकते हैं। जो टैक्स आपने बढ़ाये हैं, सारा बोझ गरीब पर पड़ेगा, यह निश्चित है। इसके दो मुख्य कारण हैं, साथ ही साथ और भी कारण हैं। समय कम है। लेकिन मैं आपका ध्यान इस तरफ खींचना चाहता हूँ कि जो बात मेरे मित्र श्री भानु प्रताप सिंह ने कहीं उसका आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं।

इकानामिक सर्वे के जो आंकड़े हैं आप देखें तो पता चलेगा कि हरियाणा में चावल का उत्पादन तीन गुना हो गया है। हरियाणा का उदाहरण मैं इसलिए दे रहा हूँ क्योंकि हरियाणा में चावल नहीं खाय़ा जाता है। आपके ही आंकड़ों के अनुसार वह तीन गुना हो गया है। इकानामिक सर्वे के आंकड़े अगर सही हैं तो साफ है कि आपका पूरा अर्थ तंत्र अग्रिकल्चर सेक्टर ही है। आपके पूरे अर्थ तंत्र में अग्रिकल्चर ही एक ऐसा सेक्टर है जो डायनमिक है। अग्रिकल्चरल सेक्टर से आपने सब कुछ पाया है। लेकिन दुर्भाग्य यह है कि किसान ज्यादा

पैदा भी करता है तो उस पर मार पड़ती है। उसने गन्ना पैदा किया तो 12 रुपये के हिसाब से उसको बेचना पड़ा। तम्बाकू उसने पैदा किया तो उसमें मार खाई। अभी अभी प्याज और कपास की कीमतों का सवाल है, प्याज की बात परसों हाउस में चल रही थी कि 40 रुपया उसके आंकड़े दिये जा रहे थे। मैं उस इलाके से आता हूँ जहाँ प्याज होता है। यहाँ किसान प्याज उगाता है, कंज्यूमर को भी सस्ता नहीं मिलता है। नफेड़ की तरफ से जब आप खरीद करते हैं तब भी उसको आप सही दाम नहीं देते हैं। 58 रुपये जब उसके उगाने का खर्च है तो उतनी कीमत लेने के लिए उसको आन्दोलन करना पड़ा। इसमें दो लोगों की जानें गईं। उनको जेल में जाना पड़ा ताकि कम से कम उनको नुकसान न हो। तो इस सारी नीति को आपने त्रिशकु की तरह छोड़ रखा है। अग्रिकल्चरल प्राइस और इंडस्ट्रियल गुड्स की प्राइस में संतुलन कायम करने की बात काफी जमाने से हम कहते आ रहे हैं लेकिन आपका विशाल बहुमत, आपकी विशाल ताकत होते हुए भी आपकी हिम्मत नहीं होती है कि उसको हाथ लगायें। इसका कारण यह है कि जो बजट आपने बनाया है यह स्टेटिस्टिक नहीं है, यह इलाइस्टिक बजट है। आपके सामने समाज के वह तबके हैं जो वोकल हैं, समाज के वे अंग हैं जो कि आपकी ज़रूरत के हैं, जिनकी ज़रूरत आपको मालूम होती है। कितना हमारा उत्पादन कम हो गया है, इसके आंकड़े आप देखें तो पता चलेगा कि रोजमर्रा की चीजों में इतनी गिरावट आ गई है कि वह 3.9 तक आ गया है। लेकिन दूसरी ओर जो विलासिता की चीजें हैं उनमें हम लोग देखें तो जैसे वैवरेजेज में 269, कास्मेटिक्स 435.7, एयर-कंडीशनर्स और रेफ्रिजरेटर्स 240.7, वाचेज, क्लॉक्स 290.5, कामशियल एण्ड हाउस होल्ड इन्विपमेंट्स 207.57 हो गया है। आखिर आपकी प्रायोरिटी क्या है?

यह सवाल है इसलिए उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ कि जब मैं कहता हूँ कि इलाइस्टिक बजट है तो मानो कि पिछली सरकार ने गलत कदम उठाये, गलत काम किया तो आप सही करने के लिए, उसको दुस्त करने के लिए आगे निकले हैं तो आप को रोक किसने है ? लेकिन आप बजट को इन्स्ट्रुमेंट के तौर पर रखना चाहते ही नहीं हैं। अर्थ संकल्प को आपने अधूरा छोड़ दिया है। क्या देश में पैरेलल इकानामी का मामला हल हो गया है ? एक भी उपाय आपके आर्थिक संकल्प में नहीं है जिससे उम्मीद की जा सके कि उस चीज पर, उस बुराई पर, उस कैसर पर रोक लगाने में कुछ कोशिश कर रहे हैं। जब तक आप उस पर काबू नहीं पायेंगे तब तक आप इन्फ्लेशन रोकने, मुद्रास्फीति रोकने की बात तो छोड़िये जिस तरह से देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था काले घन को लेकर, पैरेलल इकानामी को लेकर नष्ट हो रही है उसको आप संभारेंगे कैसे, रोकेंगे कैसे। इसका कोई भी उपाय आपके अर्थ संकल्प में नहीं है। अगर हम इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकालें कि काला घन एक माने में लेजिमिटाइज्ड कर दिया, जो बाल यंटरो स्कीम थी उसी तरह से आपने इसको मान लिया है कि यह रहेगा हमारी इकानामी में, हमारे अर्थ-शास्त्र में और आपकी यही अगर नीति है तो देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था सुचारु रूप से चलने की कोई उम्मीद आप नहीं कर सकते। इसकी सबसे बड़ी मार जो गरीब तबका है, जो पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहने वाला है, 50 फीसदी हमारी आबादी का जो तबका है, गांवों में, झुग्गी-झोंपड़ी में रहने वाला जो तबका है उस पर यह मार पड़ेगी। यह आपको भूलना नहीं चाहिये। 'Time bell rings'।

मैं अंत में इतना ही कहूंगा कि एक बात हमारे मित्र बिपिनपाल दास ने कही थी। वह थी रोजनल इम्बैलेंस की। मैं मानता हूँ उनकी बात बहुत सही है। मैं सौ फीसदी उनके साथ हूँ लेकिन एक बात मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो इकानोमिक डांचा बन गया है, जो माउण्ड देश का हो गया है, वह क्या

दो चार साल में बना है। हम लोग तो तभी से चिल्लाते आ रहे हैं जब आपने पहली योजना बनाई थी। हमने यह कहा कहा था कि यह योजना केवल मुट्ठी भर लोगों के लिये है। उनके लिये ही आप सब कर रहे हैं। जिस तरह से आपने विकास का नक्शा खींचा उसका ही यह नतीजा है। यह नतीजा कितना बुरा है मैं आपके सामने समय के अभाव में नहीं रख पाऊंगा। प्रो० राज कृष्ण जो आपके प्लानिंग कमिशन के सदस्य थे उन्होंने बम्बई में एक भाषण दिया था। उन्होंने आंकड़े देकर बताया है कि नौ राज्यों के अन्दर देश की 83 परसेंट पावर्टी कंसन्ट्रेट हुई है और इन राज्यों की सूची में महाराष्ट्र जैसा राज्य भी है जिसको आप समझते हैं बहुत ही आगे बढ़ा हुआ है इण्डस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट स्टेट है। महाराष्ट्र से बम्बई को अलग कर दिया जाए, पुना, नासिक को अलग कर दिया जाए तो महाराष्ट्र का देहाती इलाका किसी और राज्य से बहुत विकसित है ऐसी कोई स्थिति नहीं है रोजनल इम्बैलेंस की बात जो है यह गलत प्लानिंग के कारण है। मैं अर्थ मंत्री जी से अर्ज करना चाहूंगा कि आपकी बनाई हुई कमेटियां हैं आप उस की रिपोर्ट पर अमल क्यों नहीं करते। अगर अमल नहीं करते तो कमेटियां बनाने का क्या फायदा है। जो टैक्स स्ट्रक्चर है वह लोन्स साइडिड है। 90 फीसदी लोगों की जो जरूरत की चीजें हैं, नमक है, कपड़ा है, कैरोसीन है, डीजल है उस पर एक पैसा भी टैक्स लगायें तो सरकारी खजाना भर जाता है। यह दुष्टि जब तक आपकी रहेगी तो कोई डायनामिक, प्रगतिशील, आगे बढ़ने वाली आर्थिक नीति लेकर आप आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि मंत्री महोदय इन सारी बातों का जवाब कम से कम दे दें। और आपने जो योजनाएं बनाई है और जिन चीजों को लेकर आप आगे जा रहे हैं, मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप उनके बारे में ह बताएं। हमारे देश में जिन चीजों का अभाव उनके बारे में भी वित्त मंत्री को प्रकाश डाल चाहिए।

(श्री सदाशिव बगाईतकर). अन्त में एक बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। यह हिसाब लगाया गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान में पैदा होने वाला हर बच्चा अपने माथे पर दो सौ करोड़ रुपये का कर्ज लेकर पैदा होता है। इस बारे में आप क्या कर रहे हैं? देश के अर्थ विकास को चलाने के लिए आपको ठोस कदम उठाने होंगे। मुझे डर है कि हमारे मंत्री जो देश को बनाने के बदले, ऐसे अर्थ तंत्र को चला रहे हैं जिससे इस देश का विघटन होगा। नार्थ ईस्ट में इस प्रकार की हालत पैदा हो गई है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि आप अपनी दृष्टि को बदलिये और ठीक निर्णय लेकर उन पर अमल कीजिये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI JAHARLAL BANERJEE: May I request, Sir, that the reply of the hon. Finance Minister is very important and whereas only two Members from the Government's side and four or five from this side are present? Would you please so arrange that the Budget reply is given tomorrow?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The reply will come on Monday.

SHRI GHHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am very grate-ful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the present Budget. Sir, in order to assess the proper value of the present Budget, it is necessary for us to hear in mind the present economic situation of the country. The prices have risen nearly by 20 per cent. The prices of oil, sugar, cloth and other essential commodities have gone up.

The last Budget had shown a deficit of Rs. 2700 crores. The economy was in a critical condition. There is, therefore, urgent need to give relief to the common man, the middle-class poor in our country. The income-tax exemption limit has been raised to Rs. 12,000. By raising this limit, a

very large number of persons will be benefited. Today, it is not only the poor people, but the middle-class people also feel a great relief.

There is also a reduction in the Excise Duty on soap and tooth-brushes. These items are used by lakhs of people. Thus, a relief will be available to these people. In the present Budget, Sir, life-saving drugs have also been exempted from Excise Duty. This has provided genuine relief to the people. Then, there is exemption on controlled cloth and cotton cloth. Though the relief provided for these articles comes only to Rs. 30 to 40 crores but what is more important is the relief to the needy sections of our society.

There is also ample provision for the good of the common men, men coming from rural areas. An amount of Rs. 340 crores has been provided for the rural employment programme. This programme will be undertaken on a massive scale. This amount of Rs. 340 crores, as set apart for rural employment, will generate a job for every member of a family. It should be the endeavour of the Government to streamline the administration and bring in efficiency so that lesser amount is spent on administration and real benefit reaches the poor for whom it is intended. The Government should evolve a machinery to look after the proper implementation of the scheme so that well benefit may be delivered to the poor man, the man living in the village.

Sir, unemployment is a bane in our country. Unemployment is causing uneasiness and restlessness among our countrymen, especially, the youth, in our country. There is a demand in the country that right to work should be enshrined in the Constitution. Several State Governments have formulated laws to provide allowance to the educated unemployed. The hon. Finance Minister has provided in the Budget for this item. This is a good thing and we should welcome it. I Though I am not opposed to the allow-

ance being given to the young unemployed person, but may I ask whether this is a permanent solution. A young man is not expected to remain idle on the subsistence provided by the State. This is not good for young men. This is not good for the country. The best thing is to create more opportunities for work. This will instil a sense of dignity and a sense of confidence in the minds of the people. If they are engaged in gainful employment and for productive purposes, our country will be richer. The provision for employment in the rural areas is the salient characteristic of the present Budget. Another salutary provision in the Budget is the arrangement for the legal aid to the poor. We are making so many laws. Every day, new laws are being enacted. But what is the use of these laws if the poor people are not able to make use of them? In these plethora of laws, an average man seems to have lost himself. He does not know what laws are meant for his benefit. The condition of the poor village farmer is extremely pitiable. They spend a good deal of money on litigation, on fees for the judicial stamps and on lawyers and so on. The legal proceedings drag on for years and years. It is a long and protracted struggle for a man in the village. It is a great curse to get involved in court cases. There has been a long-standing demand for providing legal assistance to the poor. Several Committees had been set up and several studies had been made in the past to prepare schemes, special schemes, for providing legal aid to the poor. The present Budget provides for this.

Then, Sir, there is a provision for giving house-sites to the poor. The Budget provides Rs. 50 crores for this purpose. Nearly ten lakh families will be benefited by this scheme. There is also a provision for the States to share the burden. This will go a long way in the matter of provision of house-sites to the poor. In this res-

pect, I would use to Dimg 10 yuuc kind notice that in the State level as well as at the taluk level, the distribution of house-sites is not proper. Those people who are not having house-sites are not being provided house-sites but those who are having house-sites, are managing with the Tahsildars and soon and they are getting house-sites. If these things continue, the very purpose for which this scheme has been launched will be defeated. It will fail. Hence, you should see that there is proper distribution and the needy people get the benefit.

Sir, the Finance Minister has provided Rs. 116 crores for the development of science and technology. Sir, science and technology play a very important part. The world is progressing due to the more and more reliance being placed on science and technology. If we overlook this aspect, we will be lagging behind compared to the rest of the world. Our country has already created an impact in this field. India has produced many scientific luminaries. We have contributed a great deal to the development of science and technology. Science and technology can open vast potentialities for our growth in industry which, in turn, will provide employment opportunities for millions of our countrymen.

Sir, there is also a provision for agricultural development. Amounts have been provided for agriculture, irrigation, co-operative sector, development of agricultural universities and veterinary science. For power, there is an outlay of Rs. 2,745 crores. For coal, it is Rs. 4,473 crores. For petroleum, it is Rs. 835 crores. For steel, it is Rs. 803 crores. I would submit that all the important sectors of our economy have been taken care of. No heavy taxes have been imposed. This is an important thing, about the Budget. The Finance Minister has not imposed more burdens. He deserves our praise. He has to be applauded for this. Prior to the Bud-

[Shri Ghouse Mohiuddin Shaikh] get, there was an apprehension prevailing in the country that the Budget will be harsh and that it will impose heavy burdens on the common men. But this Government has not done so. The Government seems to be determined to give relief to the poorer sections of the society.

Some Members from the Opposition have said that this is a capitalist Budget, that it favours the monopoly, trade and big business people, but I do not agree with them. As a matter of fact, this is the realistic Budget. The Government could have increased the taxes but it did not do so. This is a growth-oriented Budget. If the common man or the village man is happy, the whole country is happy. I am sure this Budget will generate a new hope and aspiration among the people. The Budget takes good care of the unemployed, of the backward people and of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, but it does not mention a single word about the Muslim community, which is the actual and the largest minority community in the country. I have no objection if the condition of the poor AS improved. I am all for the encouragement and uplifting of the poor and weaker sections of the society, but who are the real minorities today in India? There are Muslims, Christians and other communities but the number of Muslims is more. What is the percentage of Muslims, particularly, in the Government service, in the army, in the judiciary, in the IAS, in the IFS and in other Allied services? My humble request is that the Government should give help and encouragement to the Muslims. They have been in the vanguard of the freedom structure. They have made valuable

contribution for the betterment aai strengthening of the motherland. Tiii Budget makes no mention about their promotion and as far as their financial status of the Muslims. Sir, in some States, like Tamil Nadu, Muslims are considered as a backward community. I request the hon. Finance Minister as well as the Prime Minister to consider giving them financial help and reckon them as 'backward community'.

Then there is no mention about promotion of the Urdu language and the institutions relating to the language and culture of the Muslims. I hope the Government would certainly do something for the welfare of the Muslims who are neglected in the country today.

In the end I wish to submit that the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister deserves all praise. Almost all the leading dailies of the country have held the Budget as good realistic and dynamic. I do share the view and again thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the present Budget. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The debate on the Budget is over. The reply by the Finance Minister would be given on Monday.

The House stands adjourned till 11-00 A.M.

The House then adjourned at twenty-eight minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Monday, the 7th July, 1980.