

of Finance. (Department of Revenue):—

(i) Notification Nos. 127[F. No. S. 51/77-TRU (CUS) and 128[F. No. S. 51/77-TRU (CUS) dated 1st July, 1980, under section 159 of the Customs Act, 1962.

(ii) Notification Nos. 116/80 and 117/80 dated the 1st July, 1980.

(iii) Explanatory Memorandum on the above notifications. [Placed in Library. See No. LT- 982/80].

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

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE** (Maharashtra): Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the proposals contained in the Budget presented by the Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha on the 18th June.

We are still under the shadow of a grim tragedy that left the nation dazed and benumbed. The beloved, dynamic, young and courageous leader of my party and the nation in his own right, Shri Sanjay Gandhi, is no more. He died the death of a hero. He was a man who had endeared himself to the nation for the matchless qualities of his head and heart, qualities which were nurtured and nourished by assiduous hard work and which were manured by political persecution, trials and tribulations. The nation is unconsolably mourning in anguish and sorrow along with Mrs. Gandhi and her family at the loss of this priceless jewel of Mother India. But the ways of the Lord Almighty are beyond human comprehension. Having paid this tribute, I merely beg to request my friends in the Opposition with the utmost humility, for the campaign is still continuing, that they should show a modicum of political wisdom not to raise any controversy either about the accident or about the funeral for,

to say the least, such a controversy at this stage is utterly in bad taste.

Sir, the Budget discussion calls for a very mundane and hard-headed approach, for which we are not as yet fully conditioned because of the shock of the tragedy. But the Finance Minister deserves high commendations for presenting a Budget which has been very widely acclaimed throughout the length and breadth of the country. Sir, the most redeeming feature of the Budget has been the reversal of the trend that we have seen in certain very vital areas of direct and indirect taxation, a trend which has been very cussedly and obstinately followed by his predecessors, as a result of which poor men, common men, were loaded with excessive taxation as they continued to groan under the burden of their own poverty, their own impecuniousness, under their own misery. In the realm of direct taxes, this reversal is particularly in the field of non-corporate assesseees and in the realm of indirect taxes, it is by way of relief that has been given on the taxation of items of common consumption. So far as direct taxes are concerned, the Finance Minister deserves our congratulations for raising the limit of exemption on income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 12,000, a measure which was long overdue, for it not only brings much-needed relief to those who deserve it because of the highly inflationary forces and pressures which have been working in our economy on a sector which can ill afford to bear the same. but it would also bring about some streamlining of the administration which would very substantially minimise unremunerative work. Also, Sir, the Finance Minister, so far as the assesseees in the non-corporate sector are concerned, has taken in their taxation an extremely laudable, praiseworthy and pragmatic step in reducing the highest marginal rate of taxation of income from 72 per cent to 66 per cent. I must refer to one more step that he has taken. Of course, that is in the shape of an

## Discussion

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

amendment in the Finance Bill. But I must mention it here since that affects a large many assesseees. It is, the deletion of section 37(3A) of Income Tax Act. The same related to advertisements, publicity and sales promotion expenses, and we inserted by the Janata Party Finance Minister, an extremely onerous and cumbersome provision which was not benefiting revenue but which was acting as a great impediment to the businessmen. Unheard of restrictions were placed on assesseees' advertisement sales, promotion and publicity expenses, for sale of their own products. That has fortunately been deleted.

Sir, it is necessary at this juncture that straightway I deal with the criticism which is very widely heard, the criticism which is being flaunted specially by my friends who walk on to the left of the road, that the Finance Minister has taken care only of those who can afford to pay taxes, that the Budget has favoured only the rich and the very rich by reducing the highest marginal rate of taxation of income from 72 per cent to 66 per cent. The other section has also criticised and asked: Why 72 per cent has been reduced to 66 per cent because that is bound to affect adversely the off-take of revenue and ultimately affect our growth and disable us to mobilise and harness all the resources to augment our Plan expenditure. This criticism is levelled by one section of the people. Those who complain that by reducing rates of taxes on income we are eating at the root of the resource mobilisation are people who do not understand the coefficient between the tax collection and rationalisation of tax rate. Our experience has shown that rationalisation of tax rate has always augmented revenue collection. I hope these ignoramuses will do well to kindly see what achievements some countries have made by reducing the tax rates to augment their revenues.

As far as other friends, who belong to the Communist Party are concerned, they are people who read Karl Marx in their college days, but have never grown beyond it. They will do well to realise that high rates of taxation have never taken us closer to socialism nor have they helped us to collect sufficient revenues. It has helped large-scale evasion. It has only brought about erosion in values. It needs to be understood once and for all that our experience of the working of direct taxation in this country has established beyond any doubt that in the absence of very high degree of regimentation and in the absence of use of massive police power under the direct tax laws, high rates of taxation neither yield high revenues nor do they take the country towards socialism or egalitarianism. High rates of tax increase disparities and adversely affect revenue collection. The Finance Minister has, therefore, done well in reducing the higher marginal rate of taxation to 66 per cent in the non-corporate sector.

In the field of direct taxes, it was sinful for his predecessors to have taxed items of common consumption. Every time the Budget was presented the day was dreaded the most by a common man. It was a cursed event for the common man—because he did not know what burden was going to fall on him. His predecessor was so utterly merciless and unsparing on common man that they were scared of the day when the Budget was to be presented. Fortunately this time, after the Budget proposals were announced the common man heaved a sigh of relief and that is why this Budget is called the Budget of the common man mainly because certain trends were reversed. He not only left out, and gave relief to, items of common consumption in indirect taxes but also exempted outright several items of common consumption which is a laudable trend. I hope he will find sufficient scope,

leverage and margin to be able to keep the good work going in this direction.

The worth or merit of the Budget cannot however be evaluated unless the extremely dangerous and critical state of economy in the country to-day is properly and fully appreciated. To understand how precarious the economic situation is, it is necessary and essential that we understand the bitter realities.

I was listening to Shri V. B. Raju, my esteemed friend on the other side. I really wish that while criticising the Budget he had juxtaposed the malaise in our economy with the objectives which had been pointed out in the Budget, namely, growth and price stability. After juxtaposing the two, if he had made a more analytical approach instead of a generalised approach, I am sure he would have been less uncharitable. Generalisation sometimes leads to political predilections and political affiliations of acquiring the front position. Be that as it may, I shall try to determine what are the factors or reasons which have ruined our economy or brought our economy almost to the brink of collapse. In 1979-80, Sir, there was all-round deterioration in the economic situation with a severe drought resulting in a ten per cent decline in agriculture as against a record production of 1978-79. Now, this is the bitter reality. And we are not blaming the clouds for this as mentioned by Shri Raju. I am only referring, as a student of macro-economics, to the existence of these factors which have their own ramifications. And, Sir, keeping in view growth and price stability, I will analyse the Budget proposals to see to what extent you are able to achieve these two objectives.

Sir, against a growth of 7.6 per cent in 1978-79, industrial production in 1979-80 declined marginally. Then, in the infrastructure sector, that is, coal, railways, power, they failed miserably and these distortions adversely

### Discussion

affected the overall production. Then, Sir, crude oil prices reached Concoridian heights and the price rise was nearly a hundred per cent more in August 1979. Additional demand on the industry between August 1979 and May 1980 aggregated to Rs. 2,466 crores. The price of imported crude, Sir, in August 1979 was Rs. 1,255/- per metric tonne. Now, that was jacked up. That was jacked up to Rs. 1,945/- per metric tonne. So, it was almost double and this is one single factor which has to be reckoned with and taken into account. How can you prevent import of inflation into this country as long as you are going to use imported oil? And the import of oil expected is: crude—16 million tonnes, and petroleum products—65 million tonnes. And, Sir, if it is necessary to keep the country and the economy going and if import of oil in adequate quantity is necessary for the revival of the economy of the country, then it is imperative that some degree of inflation is something with which the country will have to live with. Presently, the price of crude is 30 dollars per barrel. When it was raised from two dollars to four dollars and from four dollars to eight dollars, we made a hue and cry. I think Mr. K. C. Pant was then in the Finance Ministry. At that time, Sir, a terrible hue and cry was raised. But now it is 32 dollars a barrel. As a result of this, there is an adverse balance of payments position and there is a decline in our visible and invisible exports and the adverse balance of trade aggregated to Rs. 2,233 crores. There was also a decline in the foreign exchange reserves. Now, I will speak of a shattered public sector. So far as the industries are concerned in the public sector on a total capital investment of Rs. 14,173 crores, in 1977-78, the losses aggregated to Rs. 91 crores and in 1978-79, the losses aggregated to Rs. 31 crores. As against this return in the private sector appears to be much better. A study of 450 companies by the Reserve Bank of India

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

indicates that on the capital employed, the private companies on an average have shown a return of 8 per cent or so. What was worst was that the supplies declined because of the decline in industrial production but the demand management also showed very great distortions. The increase in supply aggravated by the velocity of the money, played havoc with the demand management on the monetary front. I just want to refer to two or three figures so far as the money supply position is concerned and it will give an idea of the tremendous distortion. Now, if the budget is analysed in this manner, one can always say: "That this is proper and this is dangerous." It is easy to talk in that vein. You can always say that in this Budget there is this error and there is that error. What is the alternative in the midst of the reality which has to be taken into account, duly reckoned budget has to be presented. Budget is considered to be the sharpest and most powerful instrument to set right the distortions in the economy. Sir, there is a tremendous spurt in the money supply, an amazing spurt in the money supply, and the figures for May 1979 show that the expansion in the money supply expanded by Rs. 750 crores as against Rs. 450 crores in the corresponding period of the previous year and this was in the face of the decline in foreign exchange to an extent of Rs. 343 crores whereas, in the preceding year, foreign exchange reserves had increased by Rs. 117 crores. Add to this, Sir, the borrowings from the Reserve Bank of India—that is the real deficit financing. Now, I am using the term 'deficit financing' in contradistinction to the term 'budgetary gap'. borrowings from the Reserve Bank in May, 1980, aggregate to Rs. 1126 crores as against Rs. 1083 crores earlier, over and above the moneys borrowed from commercial banks which amounted to Rs. 602 crores in May 1980 as against Rs. 318 crores in the preceding year.

With this amount of money supply and constraints in supplies of goods because of declining industrial production, inflation was absolutely inevitable. And, therefore, unlimited monetary expansion, limited supplies inevitable inflation—all these caused the wholesale price index to rise by 19.9 per cent. And the economy, therefore, was absolutely in doldrums when the Finance Minister was called upon to present the Budget. I think it was the most unenviable task for anyone today to present the Budget to cure this malaise, all these evils, all these problems, and so manage the economy of the country as to bring about price stability on the one side, and take measures which will galvanize the economy on the other side, and at the same time, mop up resources which should bring about the requisite growth, targeted growth, that we have kept before us, of 5 per cent. The two supreme objectives which were kept in the Budget by the Finance Minister of—economic growth and price stability and social justice—which has to be co-extensive, along with these. Therefore, in the light of this, when the Budget was considered by macro-economists and experts they said that it has an element which is likely to bring about a certain degree of inflation, but each one of them ultimately had to admit and say that this is a balanced Budget under the circumstances presented by the Finance Minister. I should like someone to tell though it is easy to criticize and say that this is done and that is not done and so on. But to get out of the most precarious situation, in the circumstances, what is the alternative that could have been adopted, specially when you want to achieve...

SHRI K. C. PANT: May I pose only one question? He has said that it is a balanced Budget. The point really is: Does he as an expert—I regard him as an expert—think that this

Budget will achieve those objectives? That is the real point.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: And, Sir, who are those macro-economists who have said that this is a balanced Budget? I would like him to name them.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Nandaji, I will send you a list of those macro-economists once I go home... (Interruptions).

SHRI PILOO MODY: Macro or metro?... (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am making a statement on the floor of the House, and...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Don't enter into a debate.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: So far as the question of Shri Krishna Chandra Pant is concerned whether we would be able to achieve the objectives, that depends on a large many factors—how we will manage the economy of the country, how things will come about, how the monsoons fare, and so on. June is a very delicate time to present the Budget when we do not know what things are likely to happen. All that I can say is that this is the best Budget, according to me, with which the Government could achieve the ...

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: (Rajasthan) Is it the only way? (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: You may not agree but this is how I analyse it. Maybe, it is one way of looking at it. I do not expect you to accept whatever I say. Obviously, the growth rate of 5 per cent in these circumstances is really admirable along with the price stability. And in an over-heated economy there are very many built-in constraints to simultaneously achieve growth and price stability. Sometimes, measures work in opposite directions. If you have

growth consideration, mobilising excessive resources by mopping up more revenues, disproportionate to the growth of income and production, this affect price stability adversely. And if you give too many concessions in the levies in which to galvanise the economy and stabilise prices, you are likely to hit adversely the resource mobilisation effort. From this point of view, a student of public finance must acclaim the budget as a balanced budget which seems to achieve growth and price stability harmoniously. This is a part of the answer to Shri Pant's point. Therefore, I say that it is an ardent effort to achieve 5 per cent growth and it wants to achieve stability. I will be critical where, according to me, it will work against growth and it is in direct taxes. I will be coming to it a little later. We have provided in the Plan Rs. 14593 crores in the aggregate, that is, 16.6 per cent more than the last year. For Central Plans it is Rs. 7340 crores and for State Plans it is Rs. 7253 crores. The total is 14593 crores. I do not want to go into the details of priority nor do I want to go into the entire mechanics of how it has been worked out. A few rupees this side or that side do not make any difference. So far, we have been judging our plans only by our expenditure which is an extremely wrong way of looking at the entire matter. This 16.6 per cent will be eroded if there is inflation to the extent there is inflation. Therefore, assuming that part of it will be eroded as a result of inflation, I do hope, taking into account better utilisation of the existing capacities and augmentation of the new capacities that will come into being and also taking into account that our infra-structure sector industries will work better, we should be able to achieve a little better than the target of growth that we have set for ourselves. Now, Sir, I come to another most important question. I think I will be able to answer Mr. Raju. He is a very revered and senior Member of this

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

**House.** He was critical of the budget saying that it was likely to push costs and bring about some inflation. I agree with him to the extent he says that the budget is likely to lead to cost push and some inflation. But the second question that arises is this. In which manner is it possible to avoid cost push and inflation? Can we sacrifice our plan expenditure at this time? The other thing, as we know, is the non-plan expenditure. The only way out is to cut the non-plan expenditure. The biggest consumer of the non-Plan expenditure is the Defence. The only way out is, without reducing our fire power, to have reduction in defence expenditure, if we can evolve some method. Sir, in the United States of America, the leading economists were asked to look into the defence expenditure and to pinpoint as to how to minimise and economise on the budget expenditure without reducing the fire power. But the total burden will be quite heavy on the country. I want to make no secret about it. The total burden will be in the vicinity of Rs. 5000 crores. Rs. 2100 crores we will have to pay on petroleum, on fertilisers and pesticides—Rs. 500 crores, on Railways—about Rs. 200 crores, indirect taxes will be about 300 crores. All this comes to Rs. 3100 crores. I expect that the deficit financing will come to about 1800 or 1900 crores of rupees if the management is extremely efficient. It comes to about Rs. 5000 crores. Sir, this by itself, I submit, is no matter for me to cause a very grave anxiety for two reasons. Firstly, I do expect that the growth rate will go much beyond 5 per cent if the management of the economy is much better and if we utilise the existing capacity fully which has been less than 50 per cent at the moment, and secondly, if we are able, as a result of better monsoon, to augment our agricultural production. I want to submit at this juncture that the laws of economics are ruthless laws. They do not know any miracles. They only yield to determination, hard work, discipline

and monetary and fiscal management. That is all that can be done to rebuild the economy and there is no short cut. Now, look at this point. It is being complained that the Singer sewing machine continues to be sold at Rs. 1,075, the Godrej refrigerator of 165 ltrs. has also increased by Rs. 67, and a 290 litre refrigerator has increased by Rs. 155. Now, between the last Budget and this Budget, the increase is by Rs. 1,000/-. But one thing which everyone seems to be forgetting is that if this psychology of relief had not been built by the Finance Minister—and for which the credit is not being given by the Opposition—by now profiteering mentality would have come into force and we would have been in the midst of run away prices. That was the basic error of Chaudhuri Charan Singh's Budget last time. He raised the levies indiscriminately by one per cent and he kept on saying, "We have raised cost only by one per cent", when prices increased by 11 per cent in a month. That is why I want to say that in one very vital area, a right decision was taken by giving the relief.

**SHRI A. G. KULKARNI** (Maharashtra): You please reply to two points. You are talking about the concessions by the Finance Minister on consumption goods to the middle class or whatever class it is. I am quoting from the "Marathi Times" which is reproduced from the 'Economic Times'. It is in Marathi. I will read in Marathi because you understand everything. This is the survey made by a Bombay newspaper.

(**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE** spoke in Marathi).

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Sir, we do not understand what they speak.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI):** Mr. Salve, the way you are replying to all the points. I hope you will leave something to the Finance Minister.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Sir, I only hope you will not add the time taken for interruptions to my time.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Sir, why we are raising this point is that I am not finding the real Salve in Mr. Salve.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: He is defending a weak case.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I am about to ring the bell, Mr. Salve.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I am given 40 minutes by my party.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA: He is giving a command performance.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): Let him complete. You have to read in between the lines.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, I need another ten minutes because I have to speak on direct taxation.

Sir, I know that the price of Life-buoy Soap has not come down but has gone up from Rs. 1.50 to Rs. 1.80. The price of Hamam and Rexona is also higher. (*Interruptions*). That is precisely what I am trying to explain. If the Finance Minister at this juncture had skilfully not brought down the levies, with the increased railway freight and with the higher cost of raw materials which is going into them, by now the prices would have been much higher.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: There he is!

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, on consumer durables, a very rational approach has been taken. And relief has been given on air-conditioners, TVs and refrigerators. And these items have been treated as items which we treat with vengeance as it were. Sir, I want to keep a very simple proposition before him, regarding air-conditioners. And I am telling this to the Finance Minister after Finance Minister but no one listens to me. If you keep a duty of one thousand rupees and make 5 lakh units, you

raise Rs. 50 crores. If you keep a duty of Rs. 5,000 and make one lakh units, you raise Rs. 50 crores. But which is better? By making five lakh units, the growth is five times and the employment is many times more and ancillary industries are many times more. But nobody was listening to me. And this is what he has done this year. Even if no one appreciates this point at least, Mr. Morarka will appreciate this aspect of the matter. Sir, on tobacco, there has been a further levy. But I am told that gradually we are drifting to making unsafe cigarettes. I hope the Finance Minister will look into it. On bidis we have reduced from Rs. 60 lakhs to Rs. 30 lakhs. What I am told is that this is making the racket of spurious sales of bidis under spurious labels extremely profitable.

THE LEADER OF THE HOUSE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Mr. Salve, we should have somebody who is a smoker as our Finance Minister.

SHRI PILOO MODY: The number of spurious smokers by now would have gone up.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Now you come to sugar. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Lastly, Sir, I am speaking something on the direct taxes, which is very important, over which the entire country is agitated. I come to certain changes proposed in the direct taxes by way of retrospective legislation. Normally, I should have reserved my comments on this point for the Finance Bill. But since these measures have a direct nexus with the object of the Budget, namely, that of growth, and are likely to completely upset the very foundations and calculations on which the revival of industrial growth is based, I must refer to them now.

SHRI K. C. PANT: That is another 'if' added to other 'ifs'.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I hope we will be able to bring the Finance Minister round. (*Interruptions*). While introducing the Budget, the

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

Finance Minister in paragraph 85 referred to this retrospective legislation and, Sir, this is precisely what he had to say. I will just quote three lines.

"I also propose to make certain amendments in the Income-tax Act to counteract certain court decisions which have resulted in unintended benefit to taxpayers. The Finance Bill further contains certain proposals for the amendment of direct taxes which are of minor significance. I will not take the valuable time of the House in explaining the same."

Sir, underline the words "which are of minor significance". The mischief, the terrible mischief, of adding these words has been done by the bureaucrats. I do not want my Finance Minister to be tricked in the same way as Chaudhari Charan Singh was. That is why I want to warn him. Further, I find from the Budget figures that no credit whatsoever was taken for the additional taxes to be realised on account of retrospective legislation. Consequently on hearing the speech when I spoke on TV I thought that the changes proposed retrospectively must be of an insignificant nature. I am sure the Finance Minister also must have been similarly led to believe by the bureaucrats of his Ministry that the changes proposed are minor so far as their impact on revenue is concerned. I want to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister that some of the retrospective changes sought to be made in the direct tax laws are not only arbitrary but are also going against the very grain of sound principles of legislation and if they are given effect to they will throw thousands of industrial undertakings into financial chaos and disarray. It will mean retrospective taxation of assessee big and small. The retrospective legislation, it is calculated by experts, will yield anything between Rs. 120 crores and Rs. 250 crores, which is by no means a minor and insignificant figure. Since most of this legis-

lation relates to incentives given to industrial undertakings, it will put their existing cash flow completely out of gear, affecting adversely their production programme. Sir, what is necessary is that every possible effort has to be made to fully utilise the existing capacity of our industries which, at present, is hopelessly under-utilised due to several distortions in the economy. Every care has, therefore, to be taken to ensure that nothing is done which impedes the process of maximisation of production and optimisation of productivity from the existing capacity. To block such a process would be a retrograde step. Retrospective legislation perniciously blocks such an effort.

Sir, I should like now to explain what these retrospective legislations are. Sir, I hope the Deputy Finance Minister will bear with me and try to understand and then explain my objections to the Finance Minister. I shall first take up the amendment to section 80J. Now, this is made retrospective way back from 1972. Now, Sir, this section, if amended from 1972, is going to affect thousands of industrial undertakings and lakhs of assesseees, whose assessments have been completed. In terms of section 80J a tax holiday was given for a period of seven years to co-operatives and for a period of five years to others. The exact concession was to be calculated at the rate of 6 per cent for the non-corporate assesseees and 7.5 per cent to corporate assesseees, i.e., the companies on what was precisely and designedly described by Parliament in the section as capital employed in the industrial undertakings. Now, this was the crucial phrase "Capital employed in the industrial undertaking". 6 per cent or 7.5 per cent depending upon the nature of the assessee; tax holiday for 5 years of 7 years depending on whether you are in the co-operative sector or whether you are in the non-co-operative sector. That was tax holiday given by the Parliament in the relevant section.

Now, while computing capital employed in the industrial undertaking,

the Parliament left the computation of such capital in its wisdom, to the bureaucrats as per the rules to be framed. From 1968 to 1971, the rules were so framed that the capital was computed on which 6 per cent and 7.5 per cent was calculated, which included the capital of the assessee in the industrial undertaking plus his reserves plus his debentures plus long-term borrowings. In 1972, suddenly, the rule was amended and rules deleted and excluded the long-term borrowings. At that time, a dispute arose and the dispute was that when the Parliament says that you are entitled to 6 per cent relief or 7.5 per cent relief on the capital employed in the industrial undertaking, in terms of the rule, what was virtually calculated was the relief based on the capital of the shareholders in the company or the capital of the proprietor in the undertaking and capital of the undertaking as such which are too different concepts. When the matter went to Calcutta High Court, relying on a famous decision of the House of Lords on the point in the case of Birmingham Small Arms Company reported in (1951). All ER296 their Lordships considered the concept, which was a well-known concept of capital employed in an industrial undertaking as distinct from proprietor capital and held that the rule is, therefore, *ultra vires* the section. The same decision was followed by Madras High Court, by Allahabad High Court—5 member special Bench of the Tribunal with three experts extensively reviewed the entire matter and held that the rule was in conflict with the section, and as such the section must prevail. Now, as a result of this, what one expected was that in deference to the wishes of Parliament and the intent that the Parliament clearly had in mind, it is the rules which should have been retrospectively amended. Instead, what has happened is, they are amending the section to bring it in harmony with the rule. Apart from anything else, the most dangerous effect of this retrospective amendment is tax effect would be anything between Rs. 120 crores

to Rs. 200 crores, whereas the Finance Minister has been given to believe as per the statement that he made on the floor of Lok Sabha, that this is a minor and insignificant change. I cannot understand when have we reached a stage where Rs. 100 crores and Rs. 200 crores have started becoming minor or insignificant.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Are you suggesting the Finance Minister did not understand what he was doing?

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Sir, if he does not disturb me, it will be a little better. I do not understand why in a serious matter like the Budget, buffoonry must come in. At least, for once, let him be serious.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I was very serious and I continue to be serious.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** If this is seriousness, I do not know what buffoonry is.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** It is obvious that you have not known it for years; otherwise, you would not have spoken in this House.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** No, I know you and therefore, know both. My submission, therefore, to the Finance Minister is that if he has taken this step and if the law is amended retrospectively, it will be a retrograde step; it will be counter-productive; it may go against the very objective that he is seeking to achieve. Unfortunately, I do not know what the bureaucrats have told him. If they have given the impression that as a result of this retrospective amendment, a large burden will fall on the department, it is utterly incorrect and untrue. And I want to make one statement on the floor of the House since I have myself conducted several cases related with this section and I know it as a fact, that most of the large houses who are fighting this particular section, in their cases taxes have never been paid because they knew that the rule as it is would never stand. Since taxes have never been paid, the question of payment of taxes in their cases will not arise. Therefore, there is going to be no

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

additional burden, if this section was not amended retrospectively if that is the apprehension of the Finance Minister. On the other hand, if you are going to turn the apple cart upside down completely, imagine, you will be putting off gear the entire cash flow of those very assesseees, who are engaged in running industrial undertaking and how will they be able to carry on their production schedule? If this is what you intend to do, it will be the most unfortunate unwise Act. It will completely upset your calculation. It will completely upset their calculations. Instead of lifting the industry from the mire of stagnation and declining production you will be pushing them further into the abyss of financial catastrophe. And by illegal retrospective taxation. You should stop this. There is one more point, which I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister. Now, section 35 is sought to be amended. Section 35 is to be amended from 7-4-62 retrospectively for eighteen years. This sort of retrospective effect is unheard of in the annals of fiscal legislation in any country. Show me any country which boasts of having a civilised society which amends a section retrospectively for eighteen years to withdraw incentives. And for whose benefit? If the law is not correctly drafted, willy nilly, for any reason, who has to pay for it? The Government or the assesseees? Why do you want to amend it for eighteen years? The law is amended today for eighteen years. I do not know how many generations have passed in the meanwhile; how many wars have been gone through; how many fortunes have been made and how many fortunes have been lost. Today, you want to amend it. Why? Because, a doubt has arisen in the mind of some bureaucrat somewhere. Are we joking? (Interruptions).

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Why do you give concessions?

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am making one thing clear. I am personally against all incentives. If I have any-

thing to do any time, I will abolish all these incentives and only rationalise the rates of taxation because, incentives bring about the biggest of the distortions in the economy. But what I am arguing is something different, which you are incapable of understanding, Mr. Kalyan Roy. (Interruptions).

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I understand very well. This is exactly what the 'Capital', the 'Commerce' and the FICCI have said (Interruptions). This is the voice of the monopolists. This is the voice of Clive Street and Dalal Street. (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I referred earlier to a set of people who read Karl Marx during their college days and have never grown thereafter.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: At least Karl Marx; something good will come to you. (Interruptions).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I will teach you Karl Marx. Please sit down. Sir, I want all the incentives to be abolished, here and now. Rationalise rates taxation and that is enough. Give everybody a fair treatment. Have proper rates of taxation. But the question is, having given them incentives, having made them work on a particular basis, is it fair that, today, you force them to rework the whole thing for eighteen years? This is impracticable. This is not proper. If you are to go by the predilections, the prejudices and the irrationalities of a few officials, then, it is a different story. If you want to listen to reason, which wants the twin objectives of the budget to be achieved, then, I am making my suggestions in that context.

Finally, Sir, all that I would like to submit is that, by and large, the Finance Minister, in the midst of a very difficult situation, has well performed a very delicate task. It was a tight-rope-walking he did. But I would like him to consider properly the question in regard to retrospective legislation. Now, take the cases of partial partitions of HUF. This is retrospectively sought to be stopped. Joint families are not monopoly

houses or anything. They have been partitioned long ago. Small people are also involved. What does he understand by section 80J? A man came to me the other day. He was making buckets, small buckets, in my constituency a few years ago when I was representing the Lok Sabha. He has put up a small shutters factory. He says 'In my shutters factory, my capital is in the vicinity of Rs. 40,000—this is by no means a large capital—and he will be required to pay a tax of Rs. 15,000; if section 80J is amended retrospectively, from where do I pay the tax?' These are not monopoly houses. They can take care of themselves; Mr. Kalyan Roy, you should know that. It is only those who do not get expensive legal advice...

**SHRI LADLI MOHAN NIGAM** (Madhya Pradesh): With the connivance of the Government.

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Sir, the trade, the industry, wants to co-operate with the Government. Let not a climate be created in which unnecessarily you push them into this difficulty, for no fault of theirs. This is my submission.

**SHRI KALYAN ROY:** If you have tears, shed them now.

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have had the misfortune of listening to the budget speeches for the last 14 years and I must admit, Sir, that of all the budget speeches that I have heard, this was by easily the worst. Not only was it devoid of all humour, but it was also devoid of all senses. The first half of the speech consists of cheap jibes, false excuses and the second half consists of patent lies and an attempt to deceive not only the common people of this country but also hon. Members of this House.

Sir, we have just now seen a very erudite discussion between Karl Marx on the one side and Garucho Marx

on the other and between the two I do not know who got the better of whom.

As far as this Finance Minister's speech is concerned, I think Mr. Salve did a very poor job of salvation. I am really surprised because for the new Finance Minister, whom I have not known all these years but have seen and heard of him at some distance, I had cultivated some respect and, therefore, I sincerely hope that he did not write this speech. I am rather inclined to believe that Mr. Salve wrote it because it has nothing but cheap jibes in it and I am shocked to see that a responsible Government, which claims so much support from the people and thinks that they have ridden here on a massive mandate, should indulge in this cheap jibe that for everything in the world the Janata Party was responsible. And I was wondering if all the politicians did the same thing. So, I promptly sent for Mr. H. M. Patel's speech, the first speech he made on the assumption of the Janata Government. Then I went through that speech and I found what a dignified document it was. After having suffered 11 years of misrule at the hands of the Congress(I) Party and two years of inglorious emergency, the tone and quality of Mr. H. M. Patel's speech over here is really something that one has to be proud of. When one reads the present document, that is, before us...

**SHRI N. K. P. SALVE:** Where is he by the way?

**SHRI PILOO MODY:** I think he is doing some constructive work at home. Where are you?

Now that he has asked me, I would like to say that after hearing his speech, I feel that I had been unfortunate enough to hear Mr. Salve for 14 years, speaking on the budget, always trying to roll up his sleeves and trying to defend something. I want to know, Sir, ultimately, is Mr. Chavan a better Finance Minister or Mr. Venkataraman? Can you give

[Shri Piloo Mody]

me a reply to that question? There is a deadly silence, as you will notice. Why? Rightly so, because Mr. Chavan has gone and Mr. Venkataraman is here and who will come next who knows. Well, according to the speech that he has made, God forbid if he replaces Mr. Venkataraman, he will have to fulfil all the commitments that he has just now made—abolish all incentives. Incidentally, bringing taxation down from 77 per cent to 66 per cent also is an incentive. (*Interruptions*).

So, coming back to the speech, Sir, it says here that the decline in industrial production was mainly the result of a serious deterioration in the infra structure. I am really surprised how a statement like that could be made because the Economic Survey which this very Government has produced seems to say quite the contrary and I would like to know about what particular item Mr. Salve or the Finance Minister would like to know because it is quite clear from the Economic Survey that on any number of items the production has gone down only after they took over. When I say "after they took over", there is a certain mischief involved in this because the interim Government that was also proposed by this party, supported by this party, encouraged by this party, installed by this party, rejected by this party, toppled by this party, I do not think, can escape any more responsibility for what happened under that Government than we can. We never want to escape responsibility for what happened in the first three months. What happened in the last three months, the total responsibility for that is entirely theirs. What happened in the penumbra of six months in between is the joint responsibility between them and the friends on my left and the friends on my right.

Thank you, Mr. Finance Minister, for gracing the occasion. What would you like to know? Would you like to know about the food manufacturing industry, which is minus 10 per

cent without considering inflation? Would you like to know about beverages which are minus 33 per cent? This I can understand because ever since the new Government was installed, they stopped drinking soft drinks and have taken to hard liquor. Or is it the manufacture of footwear that you were referring to which has gone down by half a per cent? Or is it furniture and things like that which have gone down by .2 per cent? Or is it the manufacture of rubber products which have gone down by 3.6 per cent? I wonder why the use of rubber has gone down by 3.6 per cent. The basic metal industries are down by 3.5 per cent, manufacture of transport equipment is down by 2.5 per cent and so on. The whole list is there. I do not think I have to quote chapter and verse because the last time I quoted chapter and verse, the Prime Minister was replying to the debate and she said that what Mr. Mody had talked was utter rubbish. She has this habit of making sweeping statements. Unfortunately, all the rubbish that I talked about on that occasion has been reproduced in this rubbish, the economic survey, produced by her Government. So make up your mind. Is this or is this not rubbish? Because if it is rubbish, stop publishing it; and if it is not rubbish, stop making those absurd claims.

Sir, I take you to the Finance Minister's speech again which I seem to have misplaced over here. The Finance Minister has said that in the fiscal year 1979-80, the prices rose by 20 per cent. Thank you, Mr. Finance Minister, because it is an honest statement that has been made in this document and I am going to hold you to that statement throughout my speech because every figure quoted means that what you are saying today is 20 per cent less than what you have written down and, therefore, the fact that there has been a 20 per cent inflation during the course of last year is a matter that we have to take serious note of.

## Discussion

Now let us see what he says. The first thing that he takes credit for is: "we still have food stocks of about 18 million tonnes owing to our earlier foresight". Even that is due to their earlier foresight that he has 18 million tonnes of foodgrains! And he says: "Foreign exchange reserves stood at Rs. 4890 crores as on May 30, 1980". That also must be due to some foresight or some other reason! Let us see what the Economic Survey has to say about this. It says "Even though the overall weather conditions during 1978-79 in terms of extent and spread of rainfall were not more favourable than those in 1975-76, foodgrains production in 1978-79 was 10 million tonnes higher than the level in 1975-76". So, you will have to admit, Sir, that to a large extent, we have been able to countermand the effects of the weather good and, therefore, when he says that his foodgrains stock remained at 18 million tonnes because of his earlier foresight. I think the 'earlier foresight' produced considerably less than what his later hindsight has been able to produce in terms of food stocks which still stand at 18 million tonnes in spite of the fact that there was a shortfall of 10 million tonnes last year. As far as foreign ex-

3 P.M. change reserves are concerned, Mrs. Gandhi has gone around the whole country telling people that the Janata Party has dissipated all our foreign exchange reserves. Sir, I would like to know what she left behind for us when she was unceremoniously ousted in 1977. In 1977, Sir,—I seem to have lost my place—the foreign exchange reserves stood at something like Rs. 2,500 crores when Mrs. Gandhi quit office and it had reached the highest peak hitherto under the Janata rule, up to Rs. 5,200 crores or something. We left them Rs. 5,100 crores and today they have Rs. 4,800 crores, and this is the foreign exchange that we have dissipated. Now let us see your dissipation in the same direction. As it is, it has started being dissipated on sugar and other essentials which

you could have easily managed. Here are some nasty remarks about sugar also in this: "Vacillating sugar policy." The crime, Sir, that we committed, as you know—since you were one of the beneficiaries amongst 650 millions—is that we fed the people of India sugar at Rs. 2.25 a kilo which is something they had not dreamt of. And we continued to feed them sugar at Rs. 2.25 a kilo for two years which is something they had not dreamt of. And we gave them as much sugar as they possibly wanted, which is something they had never dreamt of. And we stopped them from standing in lines and wasting mandays and labour hours which is something they had never dreamt of. These are the crimes that we had committed. We take full responsibility for all these crimes.

Now I go on to another statement. The Finance Minister says that "The hon. Members are aware of the critical role played by our exports in our development effort." We all know about the critical role, and this critical role was somehow given a setback by the Janata Government. And I want, therefore, to quote as to what the Finance Minister has done on his part:—

"Clause 8 seeks to amend section 35B of the Income-tax Act..."

The proposed amendment will take away the major portion of the expenditure incurred on development of export. I think this is what Mr. Salve was ranting and raving about.

Are you exhausted or what, Mr. Salve? There are times when one must be prepared to educate oneself.

Such an amendment is bound to discourage and provide a disincentive to exports outside India. That is so much for exports. Of course, this Government, with its past thinking and conventional wisdom, immediately there is a crisis, they want to set up a committee or a bank or something, and now they have set up an Import-Export Bank. We have

[Shri Piloo Mody]

seen how some banks under their control have done in the past and we will watch very carefully how they will do in future.

The same thing goes about his complaint about infrastructure. He says that it was something "that will brook no delay"—if I remember the phrase correctly—and, therefore, the Government constituted immediately a Cabinet Sub-Committee over which he has the privilege of presiding. Sir, I would like to ask the Finance Minister how many meetings of this Cabinet Sub-Committee have been held.

AN HON. MEMBER: Zero.

SHRI PILOO MODY: And if it was held, I want to know, with the few meetings he has held how he has been "able to monitor the situation continuously." I wonder whether he understands the meaning of the words, "monitoring the situation continuously." You imagine a roomful of panels and gadgets and lights buzzing and all manner of things and all the members of the Cabinet Sub-Committee sitting there and waiting to see. Immediately a red light goes on and they all move into action and go to the Prime Minister's House and plead with her to release a little more of grain or wagons or something.

Sir, I was surprised at the way this document has been prepared. As I said, Mr. Minister—that was before you, Sir, came—I sincerely hope that you had not written it, that it must have been a man like Shri Salve who had written this document, because not having known you all these years, I sincerely had great admiration and respect for you based on what I had heard about you, but this speech of yours is something that has made me very very unhappy. Every man makes a mistake. I hope you will correct it in future.

We all are concerned with planning which the Janata Party had foresaken and we had a system known as a

'rolling plan,' which received a lot of ridicule. They immediately changed the name of the rolling plan. Now he makes plans which will be 'dove-tailed' into the main Plan. So instead of rolling now we have dovetailing going on. Take your choice. India is India and you will never change, whether it is a rolling plan or a dovetailing plan.

Now, Sir, we come to the 20-point programme which has been prominently mentioned as per *de rigour* in this document on several occasions. But each time the 20-point programme has been mentioned, an allocation under that head has gone down. I must say that this is a strange form of worship where the more you believe the less you do. I can give you scores of examples. Take, for instance, the provision for house sites. Incidentally, Mr. Minister, it is Rs. 50 crores as mentioned in your speech whereas you have actually allocated Rs. 55 crores. I will give you the credit for providing Rs. 5 crores extra on that score. But you must take inflation into account. Last year, the provision for house sites was Rs. 78 crores—take into account 20 per cent inflation—and this year they have provided Rs. 55 crores, because they believe in the 20-point programme which must go through to salvage the poor of this country under any circumstances.

Then we come to another very interesting observation. "Since India lives in its villages..." Sir, did you know that? "...and nearly 70 per cent of its population derives its livelihood from agriculture, the prosperity of the country depends upon the modernisation of agriculture. The year 1979-80 is a grim reminder of the importance of the performance of agriculture to the development of the Indian economy." This is what the document says. I would like to remind the Minister—a grim reminder—that the last Government in their last Budget provided Rs. 1,084

crores for agricultural development and this Government has provided only Rs. 956 crores.

AN. HON. MEMBER: And that with 20 per cent inflation.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Yes, after counting for 20 per cent inflation. And then he goes on to say—here is something that really amuses me beyond all expectations—“This includes the provision in the Central Plan of Rs. 158 crores for small Farmers Development Agency. Drought Prone Areas Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme etc.; Rs. 32 crores for better exploitation of inland and marine fish potential, Rs. 54 crores for Operation Flood II Project; Rs. 59 crores for schemes of agricultural research and education...” Now, in substance what have they done? If I may be allowed to have a glance at the Budget, I may say that in respect of agriculture and allied services whereas the last Government in their last year provided Rs. 1,084 crores, they have provided only Rs. 956 crores. Now let us see where the cuts have been made. The National Rural Employment Programme has been given a special paragraph, this being the main thrust of the 20-point programme and the main thrust for eradicating poverty. Even Mr. Charan Singh and his Government provided something like Rs. 420 crores, and bearing in mind inflation this Government has provided Rs. 340 crores, 420 against 340. On the Small and Marginal Farmers Development the last Government provided 163, this Government 56 only. On the Drought Prone Areas Programme the last Government provided 71, this Government 49.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: A massive thrust has been made.

SHRI PILOO MODY: On the Command area Development Block the last Government provided 63, this Government 15. On the Area Planning for Full Employment the last

Government provided 21.22, this Government 12. On the Command Area Development Programme the last Government provided 49, this Government 37. I want to know where the poor are. Where are they looking for them and whom are they trying to help? Because it seems to me that all the poor have got to receive a cut and all the rich, according to Mr. Salve, have got all the incentives! On Fisheries the last Government provided 44.5, this Government 34. On the Agricultural Financial Institutions the last Government provided 296, this Government, 109. On other Programmes—that means all the little programmes that help little people—the last Government provided 342, this Government 205. My heart bleeds, Sir, for the Government because there is no point in my heart bleeding for the poor people in this country because from this Government they can expect to receive nothing nothing at all. This Sir, is the performance on that score.

Now come to another statement. He says:

“We have to press on with the task of increasing the area under irrigation...”

He says that they have

“stepped it up to 1,380 crores from 1,258 crores last year.”

I will remind him what he said about 20 per cent inflation. So, the figure really is that whereas the last Government provided Rs. 1,510 crores, this Government has provided Rs. 1,380 crores. In respect of drinking water, in fact, the most spectacular performance of the Janata Government was on this front. For thirty years they did not dig as many wells or provided as many villages with drinking water as the Janata Government did in 27 months. I am glad that they have finally woken up after three years of our rule. It has been a good performance. It is

[Shri Piloo Mody]

not a bad performance. They are at least promising 30,000 additional villages with drinking water. Sad to remind them that the Janata Government provided 60,000 villages with drinking water which they had neglected over thirty years.

Now we come to the khadi village and small scale industries sector. He says:

"The Khadi village and small scale industries sector has the highest potential of employment next to agriculture."

What has he done about that? He will say that he has provided Rs. 150 crores for additional production.

Actually, Sir, it is Rs. 145 crores. I am taking away the Rs. 5 crores credit that I gave him on the last occasion. And the actual figure for khadi, village and small scale industries sector is that as against Rs. 226 crores provided by the last Government he has provided Rs. 145 crores.

I wanted to see the vast disparities of these figures. These are very important items. These are items on which the wheels at the lowest levels are lubricated and moved. And it is these wheels that are deprived of oil which has been poured into other things? What has happened? Out of this measly allotment he has promised to set up a Handloom Development Corporation so that all their sycophants can be accommodated and found berths in this organisation. He has also promised an institute of handloom technology. An excellent idea. But I wonder whether it will ever be able to achieve the purpose for which it is suggested.

Now, we come to chemicals and fertilisers. He says that the allotment for this has been raised—I have underlined the word "raised" and put a question-mark on it—to Rs. 319 crores. Actually, Sir, he is providing Rs. 319 crores while the last Government had provided Rs. 365 crores. How can he claim that it has been raised? You go to something else, like family planning, for which he

was taking great pride. He says "We have allotted Rs. 140 crores for this which the Janata Government completely neglected." Sir, the allotment of the last Government was Rs. 139 crores. As far as Health is concerned, there has been a dismal failure because the last Government provided Rs. 327 crores, and this Government is providing only Rs. 250 crores. It is all a question of robbing Peter to pay Paul. I don't know if it is a question of robbing Salve to pay Zakaria.

So, Sir, what I want to say is that if you take scientific research or technology, clause 7 of the Bill seeks to amend section 35. The proposed amendment prohibits any claim of depreciation with effect from the assessment year 1961-62, which is what Mr. Salve was complaining about bitterly a little earlier on. All his clients cases will be opened for the last 18 years and he won't be able to come and make any speeches here to defend the Government. He will be so preoccupied with old assessments. Then he talks about growth. Clause 17 of the Bill seeks to amend section 80-J which deals with the concessions available to newly established industrial undertakings, hotels and ships. This will create a very serious liquidity problem to the industries inasmuch as arrears of tax will have to be paid in the current year. Sir, it has also to be noted... (*Time bell rings*).

Did you ring the bell? You all heard; he rang the bell. Sir, it has also to be noted that normally there is a gestation period of several years before a new industry starts making profits. Therefore, since the benefit under section 80-I is related to profits, many of the new units may not be able to avail of any benefit or may get only a very limited benefit.

Then, of course, there is clause 12 of the Bill which seeks to insert a new section, section 80AA, which takes effect from the assessment year 1968-69. It is seriously affecting the taxability of inter-corporate dividends

and technical know-how fees received from Indian companies and foreign enterprises. Sir, the changes in the various sections are, from the economic point of view, most unsound. But there is a moral point of view also to be considered, if morality is still fashionable with the ruling party. When you do anything like this with such retrospective effect, it creates havoc with the economy, it creates havoc with the confidence in the Government. I sincerely hope that the Finance Minister will cure all this before he finishes with this year's Budget.

Sir, to end, I would like to quote a particular line with certain modifications, which says that this Budget has a large deficit and the enormous cost-push is going to create a tremendous inflation. I do not know whether he knows it or not. If you want to curb inflation, I strongly recommend that you consult Mr. Patel who has done a magnificent job of it at the time he was the Finance Minister of the Janata Government. You consult him on how you can have your cake and eat it too and still maintain prices. It is a remarkable feat under any circumstances.

The present Budget has a cost-push element in it to the extent of Rs. 3,549 crores—Rs. 3,549 crores—which he has collected from the people in exactly 12 days. These many crores of rupees have been sucked up from the people by way of Rs. 2,108 crores from petroleum price, Rs. 665 crores from fertilizers and Rs. 300 crores from the Railways and from the General Budget—not the innocent figures that he has given for six months, but—Rs. 476 crores for a full year, making the total of cost-push in the economy to the extent of Rs. 3,549 crores. On top of that, there is a deficit—an area left unlimited—of Rs. 1,470 crores. When you add this deficit to the cost-push, you have something like Rs. 5,000 crores that you have to content with—Rs. 5,000 crores. This is the nature of inflation that is going to rage in this

country. All you have as an insurance against this is your optimism that God will shower His blessing on us. I pray that smiles and we will have a good monsoon and maybe we will collect 10 million tonnes of additional foodgrains. I do not think this is sound policy, I do not think this is a sound Budget. The Finance Minister has taken a tremendous risk. It is his neck. He is welcome to use it any way he likes. I am a liberal and I do not dictate how each man should use his neck. But do not fall into the hands of Mr. Salve and the bureaucrats on the other side. Please apply your own mind—which I know from your reputation to be quite sound—in a manner in which you can do something to save the poor people in this country from the inflation that is inevitable. It is inevitable. It is the worst form of taxation. What this Government has never realised is that inflation is the worst form of taxation. It is a form of taxation which falls only on the poor people and on the middle class and salaried class people. Inflation does not affect me. As prices go up, my remuneration and fees go up. For Rs. 5 lakhs I will collect Rs. 30,000 and for Rs. 50 lakhs I will collect Rs. 3 lakhs. It makes no difference to me. There are few people in this country who can buffer themselves against inflation. About 95 per cent, 98 per cent or 99 per cent of people in this country cannot. Not even Members of Parliament can buffer themselves against inflation. Therefore, it is the worst form of taxation that any Government can levy on its people. I have quoted the figures. After Rs. 3,550 crores of cost-push and Rs. 1,400 crores of inflation, you are in for a sizzler. If anything were to happen to your expectation on monsoon—I do not know what astronomical figures will be there—the inflation will be much more.

On one occasion while speaking on the Budget in the Lok Sabha, I had brought an album of notes of the

[Shri Piloo Mody]

Weimer Republic where inflation was the highest. I had notes in my album for ten billion marks. They were printed only on one side because it was not worth printing on the other side. There, people, as soon as they got their salaries, rushed to the shop to buy their sausages because if they were late by two hours they would get two inches less. This is the sort of inflation which will also come to India, if you are not aware of what can happen. Therefore, I plead with him that with this Budget with so many crores of costs-push the economy is flush with liquidity. A policy of sweeping taxation on articles of common consumption in a situation of declining production will be responsible for a spurt in prices. This, Sir, is a statement quoted from the Finance Minister's speech. I return the advice to him. Thank you, Sir.

**श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त (बिहार) :**

उपसभाध्यक्ष (होद), वित्त मंत्री का भाषण इसी वाक्य से शुरू होता है—“इन वर्षों में अन्तरिम बजट प्रस्तुत करते समय मैंने यह बताया था कि हमारी राष्ट्रीय अर्थ-व्यवस्था का हालत कितनी खस्ता है और उसे ठीक करने के लिए राष्ट्र की कितनी भारी काम करना होगी” ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, काम करने के लिए लाखों नौजवान बेकार बैठे हैं, उ की भुलाएँ पड़ रही हैं कि हम काम करें परन्तु उनकी काम नहीं मिलता । वित्त मंत्री कहते हैं उन्हें भारी काम करना होगा । क्या काम करना होगा यह बताया जाए । क्या नेताओं के स्वागत में प्रोसेशन निकालने में काम हरेंगे या अखाड़े में दंड बैठक करने में काम हरेंगे ? आज काम करने के लिए लाखों बेकार नौजवान बैठे हैं । लेकिन उन काम का जोना होना नहीं कोई बात नहीं बताई गई । यह भी नहीं बताया गया कि आखिर ऐसे कितने बेकार नौजवान हैं और कितने वर्षों में यह बेकारी समाप्त हो जाएगी । परन्तु अर्थ-व्यवस्था की हालत खस्ता है इतना

भर उन्होंने जरूर मंजूर किया है, यह अर्थ-व्यवस्था के खस्तापन का उदाहरण देते हुए उन्होंने अपने भाषण में यह भी कहा है कि 1979-80 में उत्पादन में 13 प्रतिशत की गिरावट, कृषि उत्पादन में 10 प्रतिशत और औद्योगिक उत्पादन में एक प्रतिशत की कमी आई है और भयानक सूखे के कारण आधारभूत ढांचे की बिगड़ी हुई हालत बतायी है । बिजली, कोयला, रेल की उत्पादन संबंधी त्रटियाँ बताई हैं । सूखे के कारण पनहु बिजली के उत्पादन में 2.2 प्रतिशत की कमी हुई परन्तु तापीय बिजली के क्षेत्र में भी वह घट कर 45 प्रतिशत ही रह गई । 1979-80 में भारी पूँजी के बावजूद कोयले और लिगनाइट का उत्पादन 10.6 करोड़ मीट्रिक टन हुआ जो 4 वर्ष पहले से थोड़ा ही अधिक है । रेलवे, इस्पात, सीमेंट, बिजली, अल्यूमीनियम और सूती वस्त्र के उत्पादन में भी गिरावट आई । चीनी के उत्पादन में तो 28 प्रतिशत की कमी हुई है । 1979-80 में कोयले 20 प्रतिशत बढ़ी । मुद्रास्फीति 1979-80 में विश्व स्तर पर 10 प्रतिशत हुई, आयात में 20 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई और व्यापार का घाटा 1979-80 की तुलना में दुगुना यानी 2232 करोड़ रु० हो गया और यह खस्ता हालत जिस कारण हुई उसका हवाला देते हुए पैरा 10 में कहा है : “यह असंतोषजनक आर्थिक स्थिति पिछली सरकार की नीतियों, या मैं य कहूँ कि, नीतियों का अभाव के कारण और नीतियों का गड़बड़ी के कारण हुई” । मैं तो वित्त मंत्री से हूँगा, वह आर्थिक समीक्षा जो उन्होंने खुद प्रस्तुत किया है उसी की देखें कि पिछले दो वर्षों में जितने समय जनता सरकार शासन में रही है, उसके बारे में आर्थिक समीक्षा क्या कहती है । हर जगह जनता पार्टी की सरकार की प्रशंसा की गई है । पार्टी का नाम न कह कर, प्रशासन का नाम कह कर यह कहना कि यह नीतियों के कारण हुआ, मैं समझता हूँ वित्त मंत्री के लिए बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण स्थिति है । परन्तु वित्त मंत्री ने अपने भाषण में यह नहीं कहा कि 1980 के

अंत में 180 लाख मोटोकटन खाद का भंडार रहा और विदेशी मुद्रा 48.90 करोड़ की थी यह पिछली सरकार के कारण थी। यह अपने भाषण में नहीं कहा लेकिन यह कहा यह मई के अंत तक रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यद्यपि संपूर्ण घाटा 1980 में 1470 करोड़ रु० का दिखाया गया है परंतु जब बजट मार्च में प्रस्तुत किया गया था उस समय 1235 करोड़ रु० का बताया गया था। वह अब बढ़ कर 1417 करोड़ हुआ और मैं समझता हूँ कि वर्ष के अंत तक यह 3100 करोड़ का घाटा हो जायेगा। 79-80 में 2700 करोड़ का घाटा दिखाया गया था, 80-81 में 3100 करोड़ का घाटा कम नहीं है। यह भी तब जब कि बजट के ठीक तीन दिन पहले इन्होंने पेट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स की कीमत बढ़ा दी। पेट्रोलियम प्रोडक्ट्स से 2100 करोड़ रुपया, फर्टिलाइजर से 665 करोड़ रुपया, रेलवे से 290 करोड़ रुपया और पी एंड टी से 27 करोड़ की आमदनी अलग रखी गयी। अगर यह बजट के साथ मिला दी जाती तो काफी घाटे की बात होती। लेकिन इन्होंने जान बूझ कर तीन दिन पहले एनाउन्स किया और बजट से इसे अलग कर दिया।

इस बजट में कोई डायरेक्शन नहीं है कि आखिर यह किस तरह का बजट है, सोशलिस्ट है, केपिटलिस्ट है या किस तरह का है। जब चरण सिंह का बजट आया था तो उसे कहा गया था कि वह विलेज आरियेन्टेड है, लेकिन यह झूठा है। मेरे मित्रों ने ठीक ही कहा कि यह धोखा देने वाला बजट है—देखने में कुछ मालूम हो और भीतर से कुछ।

बजट भाषण में बीस पॉइंट प्रोग्राम का जिक्र किया गया है। बीसवर्षाइनट कार्यक्रम का नाम ले कर आप ने इमयर्जेंसी लगायी। जो कुछ इमरजेंसी एक्सेसेज हुई वह कहने की जरूरत नहीं है, लेकिन अब बीस सूत्री कार्यक्रम आप ने भाषण में दे कर आप देश का उपकार

नहीं कर सकते हैं। यह फास है, यह सिर्फ नारा रह गया है जो पब्लिक को एट्रैक्ट नहीं कर सकता, अपने साथ ले नहीं जा सकता।

आज प्लान इनवेस्टमेंट जो दिखलाया गया है उस से भी कम कर दिया गया है, यानी जब इनव्हेलेशन का रेट 20 प्रतिशत बढ़ रहा है उस समय प्लान इनवेस्टमेंट में सिर्फ 14.7 परसेंट की ही बढ़ोतरी की गयी है। प्लान एस्टीमेट जो पहले था उतना खर्च न कर के उस को भी कम किया जा रहा है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इनकम टैक्स के विषय में कुछ बातें कही गयी हैं और उस में एग्जेंशन लिमिट दस हजार से बढ़ा कर बारह हजार की गयी है। चीजों की जो कीमत बढ़ी है और मुद्रा की जो कीमत घटी उस हिसाब से देखते हुए बारह हजार तक रखना अधिक नहीं होगा। हकीकत में इस समय कम से कम 15 हजार का एग्जेंशन देना चाहिए था।

इसी तरह वेल्थ टैक्स में आप ने एक लाख का डेढ़ लाख किया है। डेढ़ लाख से भी अगर आप देखें तो जो भी ऐसी हैं उन को अपनी सम्पत्ति की कीमत कम लगा कर देनी पड़ती है। आज जो आयकर देने वाले हैं उन को प्रोत्साहन मिले और ईमानदारी से वे रिटर्न दे सकें इस के लिए बहुत ही उचित है कि वेल्थ टैक्स की भी लिमिट डेढ़ लाख से बढ़ा कर दो लाख कर दी जाय।

इस भाषण में भी और इन्दिरा जी द्वारा भी कई बार सेल्फ रिलायेंस की बात कही गयी है। बजट जो भी हो सेल्फ रिलायेंस होना चाहिए। लेकिन बजट को देखने पर लगता है कि कांग्रेस की गवर्नमेंट से सेल्फ रिलायेंस की उम्मीद नहीं कर सकते 76-77 में 1007 करोड़ आप ने एड के रूप में लिया था दूसरे देशों से या इंस्टीट्यूशन से। जब जनता पार्टी सरकार में आयी थी तब 77-78 में वह 1007 से घट कर 374 करोड़ रह गया था।

[श्री राम लखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

78-79 में 384 करोड़ हो गया, लेकिन इस सरकार के खाली 6 महीने के अन्दर वह फिर बढ़ कर 800 करोड़ हो गया है। इस के बावजूद दूसरे देशों से एड मांगी जा रही है। यह इस बात का द्योतक है कि सेल्फ रिलायेंस का नारा एक तरफ हम देते हैं लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हम अपने देश के ऊपर निर्भर न रह कर दूसरे देशों से भीख मांगने की कोशिश करते हैं और इस में हमें तनिक भी लज्जा नहीं आती है।

इस बार पिछल चुनाव के समय में जहां भी हम लोग गये, कांग्रेस आई की तरफ से यह प्रचार होता सुना कि जो कुछ भी रिजर्व फारेन एक्सचेंज उन लोगों ने रखा था वह सब जनता पार्टी ने समाप्त कर दिया। सोना उन लोगों ने जितना रखा था वह सारा सोना बेच कर जनता पार्टी खा गयी और इस तरह का वातावरण चारों तरफ देश में बनाया गया जिस से कि यह लगे कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने सचमुच में रिजर्व बैंक का सारा सोना खा लिया है। परन्तु लोकसभा में एक प्रश्न हुआ था 1425 नंबर का जिस के उत्तर में बताया गया है कि जब जनता पार्टी की सरकार सत्ता में आयी थी उस समय देश में विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार था 2862.99 करोड़ और जब जनता पार्टी ने सत्ता छोड़ी 31-7-79 को उस समय विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार था 5333.89 करोड़ और अब 6-6-80 को जो विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार है वह है 4851 करोड़। इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में यह भी बताया गया कि रिजर्व बैंक के ईश्यू डिपार्टमेंट के पास सोना 31.3.77 को 222.5 टन था और 3.7.79 को जब जनता पार्टी ने सरकार छोड़ी उस समय रिजर्व बैंक के पास सोना था 207.1 टन और 6.6.80 को उस के पास सोना 266.3 टन था। इस तरह से जनता पार्टी की सरकार के खिलाफ बहुत तरह की अफवाहें फैलायी गयीं और उन का उत्तर केवल इस प्रश्न के उत्तर से ही मिल जाता है कि जो लोक सभा में दिया गया है।

इकोनामिक सर्वे जो 1979-80 की दी गयी है उस के कई पृष्ठों को अगर देखा जाय तो लगेगा कि सचमुच में जनता पार्टी की सरकार के समय में हम लोग कितने आगे थे और हर चीज में कितनी वृद्धि हो गयी थी। उस में पृष्ठ 75 पर है कि पर कैपिटा नेशनल प्रॉडक्ट 1976-77 में करेंट प्राइसेज के रेट पर 1085.8 रुपये था प्रति व्यक्ति, 1977-78 में वह बढ़कर 1189.1 हो गया और 1978-79 में वह बढ़ कर 1249.5 रुपये हो गया। इसी तरह सेइस के पृष्ठ 30 में है कि पर कैपिटा एवेलिबिलिटी क्या है उस में 1977-78 और 1978-79 के फीगर्स दिये गये हैं जिन में इंडेबिल आयल 3.8 किलोग्राम से बढ़ कर 4 किलोग्राम हो गया, चीनी 7.3 से बढ़ कर 9.8 किलोग्राम हो गयी, चाय 419 ग्राम से बढ़ कर 498 ग्राम हो गयी, काफी 72 ग्राम से बढ़ कर 73 ग्राम हो गयी और विजली उत्पादन 10.9 किलोवाट से बढ़ कर 11.8 किलोवाट हो गया। यह आंकड़े जो दिये गये हैं, पिछले तीस वर्ष जो कांग्रेस की सरकार रही है उस के सब से अधिक आंकड़े हैं और इस पीरियड में जनता पार्टी की सरकार थी। इसी तरह से पृष्ठ 88 में पर कैपिटा कंजप्शन पर डे के हिसाब से दिया गया है सीरियल्स का जिस की कमी बतायी जाती है। सीरियल्स के फीगर जहां 1977 में 391.2 ग्राम थे वहां 1978 में वह 426.6 ग्राम रहे और 1979 में वह 433.7 ग्राम हो गये। इस तरह से हमारी जनता पार्टी की सरकार में गल्ला हो या सीरियल हो या पल्सेज हों या शुगर हो, तेल हो या कपड़ा हो, हर एक चीज की एवेलिबिलिटी प्रति व्यक्ति बढ़ी है, कम नहीं हुई है और कीमतों के विषय में कहना चाहता हूं कि आर्थिक समीक्षा के पृष्ठ 28 में दिया गया है कि दो वर्ष तक कीमतों में उल्लेखनीय स्थिरता रहने के बाद 1979-80 में तेजी से वृद्धि हुई और उस समय थोक कीमतों का सूचकांक 1970-71 के आधार पर 1977-78 में 182.9 रहा और फरवरी 1978-79

में 184.7 हो गया परन्तु 31-3 79 से 29-3-80 तक सामान्य सूचकांक के अंदर 19.9 प्वाइंट्स की वृद्धि हो गयी।

इस तरह से जो प्राइस की स्टेबिलिटी रही है वह भी हमारी सरकार के समय में अधिक थी। परन्तु सब चीजों के बावजूद जो भी बजट पेश हुए हैं उनमें से यह बजट किसी तरह से एक सामान्य बजट, बैलेंस्ड बजट नहीं कहा जा सकता। हम तो इसको दमघोटू बजट कहेंगे। इससे दम घुटता है। जितने भी लोग हैं, मध्यम वर्ग के लोग हैं, गरीब लोग हैं उनका दम घुट जाता है और मैं समझता हूं कि इस बजट के ऊपर वित्त मंत्री को फिर से ध्यान देकर जो भी उचित कार्यवाही, जो भी यहां पर भाषण दिये गये हैं, सजेस्शन दिये गये हैं, उनके अनुसार करें।

इतना ही कहकर मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I am calling a new Member—Mrs. Nargis Dutt. I will call you later, Mr. Rameshwar Singh.

SHRIMATI NARGIS DUTT (Nominated): Hon. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I entered this House only a fortnight ago and was deeply touched by the warmth and spontaneity with which I was received by one and all. Please allow me here to express my gratitude to all of you. Today, I am speaking for the first time in this House and, therefore, seek the blessings of the hon. Chairman and the Members of the House and I hope I will enjoy your co-operation in days to come. Thank you very much, Sir.

Sir, as you all know, the duty on unexposed colour film has been increased. Today, I do not merely want to protest against it nor am I going to stress the fact that the film

industry is probably the only industry in the country this year which has not merited any incentive in the eyes of the hon. Finance Minister. On the contrary, Sir, he has loaded it with additional financial burdens which I will deal with later. This singling out of film industry obviously reflects what has now come to be known as the traditional attitude of the Government towards the film-makers of this country. I will only be stating the obvious when I say that since independence of the country, the film industry has enjoyed a very low priority, that is, if at all it has enjoyed any priority in the past. Although the reasons for this have not always been very clear to me, I have on occasions been told that in a developing country engaged in the more important and herculean task of building an infra-structure for a rapid economic reconstruction, entertainment industry cannot legitimately claim any kind of priority. And I am not standing here today to argue in favour of changing these priorities. What I would like Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, is that a little more thought should be given to the right of the common man to have an access to the only entertainment which is available to him in this country, and that is the cinema. Sir, cinema is the cheapest form of entertainment which a common man can get. I am not accusing the Government of having deliberately created circumstances in which cinema goes beyond the reach of a common man for whose welfare the State machinery is working day and night. But, for the last 30 years or so, there has been no cohesive effort by the Government to help us improve the quality of entertainment, and what is more, to ensure that the cost of seeing films does not go up to the extent beyond which it becomes impossible for the common man to enjoy films. This is not to deny the fact that the Government has in the past made some commendable efforts to improve the technical qualities of the film. It set up a Training Institute at Poona which provided a large

[Shrimati Nargis Dutt]

number of good technicians and competing actors and actresses. They made a name for themselves and also helped the industry in improving its standards. The Government also set up a Film Finance Corporation. These institutions eventually managed to give us what is popularly known as the new wave or new cinema. All of us can legitimately take pride in the fact that they kept alive the efforts of Mr. Satyajit Ray who put the Indian cinema on the world map about two decades ago. In the last decade and a half all agencies of the Government have helped these film makers. No one can and, I think, should quarrel with the Government over this, for many of these film makers are our hope of the future. It was primarily through the efforts of these film-makers that regional cinema has come to be on its own. Having said all this, it is necessary to point out a major lacuna in the efforts of the Government.

The new wave was essentially started by the urban elite. They lent western sensitivity to the eye of the camera. Their sophistication was deeprooted in the western tradition. These films, therefore, appealed only to a minority audience who had western education. The Government's effort to put the cinema on a sound footing thus tragically by passed the major chunk of Indian cinema, that is the entertainment industry. I am not against starting a parallel cinema. In fact, it serves as our research and development section as far as the technical aspect is concerned. But, may I point out that no significant change in the Indian cinema can be engineered without tackling the basic problems of the main chunk of film makers, who keep the wheels of entertainment industry moving?

Those who are engaged in the task of solving the bread and butter problems of the millions and the ever-increasing housing problems have apparently not given sufficient thought to the fact that the man does not

live by bread alone. A temporary escape-route should be open to him from the grim realities of life so that he could come back to them with renewed energy to face them and to work for the solution of those basic problems. It may sound odd but in the final analysis a man needs entertainment as much as he needs bread and butter or housing.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we all know that the prices in the last two years have not been rising but soaring, putting many consumer goods beyond the reach of the common man. No one seems to have paid the kind of attention it deserves to the fact that the cost of seeing a film has gone up considerably and the proposed increase in duty this year might just start the chain reaction which may ultimately put the cinema beyond the reach of the common man. For example, the first thing that will happen is that the audience in the rural areas will suffer because of the high cost of prints. Now, this is very highly technical. So, I would like the hon. Members to understand this. Normally 100 prints are taken out for distribution all over India. That too by very few producers who can afford it. Now each print is going to cost Rs. 2,500 more, which approximately comes to Rs. 2.5 lakhs more. Only big producers will be able to bear this extra burden. A large number of producers, or rather the majority of producers, operate on a small budget and, therefore, they will be unable to supply the required number of prints. This, in turn, would mean that there would be fewer prints for the rural areas because the return from these areas is lower and will not cover the cost of prints. In the urban areas the rates of admission would almost certainly have to be revised to meet the additional cost of production. Should this happen, Sir? A large section of population living in the urban areas will have to do with seeing fewer films. I will quote an example. Only yesterday I asked a middle class man here,

who was typing the script for me, as to how many pictures could he see in a month? He is a salaried man. He gets Rs. 750 and he has a family, a wife, himself and a child. And, he says, well, I go and see a film normally once a month. I asked him, why only once a month, why not more often? And he said: "Well, I cannot afford because each time I go to see a film, it costs me Rs. 30", and I asked him how is it that it costs him Rs. 30. The highest denomination ticket cost varies from State to State. In Delhi the cost of the highest denomination ticket is Rs. 7. He told me that he goes in the middle-class stall and the ticket costs him Rs. 4.80 each. He buys three tickets. Though his child is small, he has to buy a ticket for his child as well. So he has to buy three tickets. That comes to approximately Rs. 15. Going from home to the cinema house and back costs him Rs. 7 to 10 by a scooter. Then when he goes to a cinema, he has to entertain his wife. He has to buy her a drink and take himself also a bottle of Campa Cola or whatever is available. Then his little child starts crying for a slab of chocolate or something and he has to spend additional Rs. 5 on that. So, the total works out to Rs. 30. He also told me that he has to sometimes go without fulfilling the demands of his family. If there is a new picture and if he has already seen one film, he cannot afford to take his family to another film. Sometimes if there is somebody else, an additional member of the family who has come on a visit and these people are planning to go to see a film, they rather postpone seeing a film than taking this additional member to the film because they cannot afford to buy another ticket. He said he can ill-afford Rs. 30 on seeing a film and had to deny himself and his family the pleasure of seeing films more often despite repeated requests of his family. Now, this is the plight of a salaried man who gets Rs. 700 or Rs. 750 per month. Can you imagine what is going to be the plight of a casual labourer who

hardly gets Rs. 5 or Rs. 7 per day and who after doing 12 hours of manual labour would like to have some entertainment, would like to go to a cinema house and identify himself with the character on the screen? For those two hours he would like to feel that he is Dharmendra or Amitabh Bachchan. He would like to forget that he is just an ordinary labourer. And, Sir, this is a world of dreams. We sell him this dream and we would like to sell him this dream for the amount that he can afford. If this amount that he can afford, if this denied even this sort of entertainment, I think it is being very hard on this labourer. And, Sir, even assuming that he can afford to go and see a film even if costs him Rs. 15, how many films can he see? This clearly indicates that cinema is going to be a luxury rather than a common man's entertainment. May I, therefore, request the Finance Minister to withdraw this monstrous proposal of increasing the duty on unexposed colour films. I regret to point out that the Government and the people in high places, apart from periodically pronouncing high moral judgments, debunking the mercenary qualities of the film-makers and enjoying all the gossips about the doings of the film-stars, have done nothing to reconstruct the financing system in the film industry which is the root of all evils.

I do not wish to go into the harrowing tales for the financing of the films, but a film producer has said it time and again through various forums that for every Rs. 100 that their film earns, only Rs. 5 come back to him. It is the tyranny of this ratio between the investment and the return that compels the producer to cater to the lowest common denominator. A very large chunk of the earning goes as interest to the moneylenders and to the Government, which is the second biggest beneficiary, because, it gets entertainment tax. Unless the Government takes a cohesive approach, which embraces all aspects of the film industry, from production to

[Shrimati Nargis Dutt]  
distribution to exhibition, I am afraid nothing worthwhile can be done to retrieve the old glory of the Indian cinema.

In my opinion, Sir, at the first opportune moment, Government should devise a comprehensive policy which takes into account the entire perspective of film-making in this country, instead of looking at it periodically, with a limited purpose and a restricted approach. The Government must not forget, as I had stressed earlier, that film-making activity in this country does not centre round the glamorous film stars or the producers or the exhibitors, but it centres round the common man, for whom these films are made and it is for the benefit of this common man that the hon. Minister must withdraw his proposal to increase the duty on unexposed colour film. Thank you very much.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, let the hon. Minister be chivalrous for once.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): I hope, he will give some indication in his reply. Wait for the reply.

SHRI PATIPABAN PRADHAN (Orissa): He has only a broad smile.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI): To get a broad smile, is no easy task.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले तो मैं वित्त मंत्री [The Vice-Chairman (Shri R. R. Morarka) in the Chair]

जी को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ। जो बजट इन्होंने पेश किया है यह बजट ऐसे समय में इन्होंने पेश किया है जब कि मुल्क की, देश की आर्थिक अर्थव्यवस्था अपनी चरम सीमा पर पहुँच गई है वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो बजट पेश किया है, इसके बारे में मैंने जो अपनी राय बनाई है, मैंने अपने मित्रों से जो बात की है, जो लोग इसके एक्सपर्ट हैं उनसे जो मैंने चर्चा की है तो मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचा हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री जी के बारे में देश में अच्छी राय लोग

रखते हैं। लोग समझते हैं कि वित्त मंत्री बहुत ही क्वालीफाईड और बहुत ही योग्य आदमी हैं। मगर लोगों का कहना है और मेरा भी कहना है कि यह जो बजट इन्होंने तैयार किया है यह बजट इनका तैयार किया हुआ नहीं है। यह बजट किसी और ने तैयार करके इनको दिया है और उस बजट को इन्होंने सदन के पटल पर रख दिया है। श्रीमन्, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसीलिए मुझे कहना पड़ रहा है कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने इतने समझदार होते हुए भी जिस ढंग का बजट पेश किया है, जो इन्होंने भाषण दिया है उसमें जो इन्होंने तथ्य रखे हैं वे तथ्य सच्चाई से बिल्कुल ही परे हैं। मैं कुछ ऐसी ही बातों की तरफ सदन और वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा। इस बजट में वित्त मंत्री जी ने देश में जो बेरोजगारी बढ़ रही है, जो बेतहाशा किसान गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं, जो बेतहाशा खेतों में लेबर काम करती है, उनकी जो आमदनी है, वह आमदनी कैसे बढ़े, किसानों की जिन्दगी में कैसे सुधार आये, इस पर कहीं भी इन्होंने ध्यान नहीं दिया है।

श्रीमन्, इस बजट को मैं पूँजीवादी 4 P.M. बजट की संज्ञा देता हूँ। इस बजट को

पूँजीवादी मुझे इसलिए कहना पड़ रहा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा 1980-81 का यह बजट जनता को भरमाने के लिए मृग-मरीचिका के समान है। इस बजट के प्रस्तुत किए जाने के पूर्व ही आम आदमी तथा किसानों द्वारा उपयोग की जाने वाली वस्तुएं, रासायनिक खाद, पेट्रोल और डीजल के दाम बढ़ा दिए गए, रेलवे का माल भाड़ा एवं यात्री किराये बढ़ा दिए गए। जनता के सीने पर कुठाराघात करने के बाद प्रस्तुत यह बजट ऊपर से दीखता कुछ है और उसकी वास्तविकता कुछ और है। इस बजट का दूरगामी परिणाम अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से भारतीय

जनता पर पड़े बिना नहीं रह सकता । कहने एवं वाह वाही लूटने के लिए बजट में कुछ रियायतें दी गई हैं लेकिन इन रियायतों का यदि लाभ किसी को मिलेगा तो वे हैं इस देश के कुछ बड़े घराने एवं पूंजीपति एवं उद्योगपति । तभी बजट का स्वागत करने वालों में फेडरेशन आफ इंडियन चेम्बर्स आफ कामर्स एण्ड इंडस्ट्री के अध्यक्ष के०एन०मोदी का नाम सर्वप्रथम आता है । उन्होंने इसे यथार्थवादी बजट की संज्ञा दी है । पूंजीपरस्त एवं शहरी घरों में रहने वाले कुछ समाचार-पत्रों को भी यह बजट सुविधाजनक और अच्छा लग सकता है । इसका कारण साफ है । अब तक समस्त कांग्रेसी सरकारों ने अपनी पूंजीपरस्त नीतियों द्वारा कुछ खास घरानों की पूंजियों में लगातार इजाफा करने के इस कार्य को किया है । श्रीमन्, बड़े घरानों की पूंजियों में जो पर केपिटा वृद्धि हुई है इसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ । महोदय, 1951 में भारत के 10 सबसे बड़े पूंजीपति घरानों की कुल पूंजी 594 करोड़ थी जो 1975-76 में यह पूंजी 5111 करोड़ हो गई है । श्रीमन्, इतनी बड़ी बढ़ोतरी हो गई है । एक तरफ आप देखेंगे कि जो पूंजी 1951 में 594 करोड़ थी आज 1975-76 की बात मैं अभी कर रहा हूँ जब कि यह 1980 चल रहा है क्योंकि ताजा आंकड़े हमको नहीं मिले हैं, मगर यह पूंजी 1976 तक 5111 करोड़ हो गई है । इसमें अकेले दो परिवारों बिड़ला और टाटा की पूंजी 1951 में 269 करोड़ की थी जो 1975-76 में 2000 करोड़ के करीब हो गई । श्रीमन्, 1951 में बिड़ला की पूंजी 153 करोड़ थी आज बिड़ला साहब की पूंजी 1978 में 1374 करोड़ हो गई है । आप यह समझिए कि यह 13 अरब की पूंजी उनकी हो गई है । यह 13 अरब की तथा टाटा की 1951 में 116 करोड़ के मुकाबले 1978 में 1369 करोड़ की उनकी पूंजी हो

गई । यह अप्रत्याशित वृद्धि अगर किसी की सब से अधिक हुई है तो मफत लाल गुप्स की पूंजी में हुई है । उनकी पूंजी 1951 में 13 करोड़ थी और 1978 में यह 475.41 करोड़ हो गई । श्रीमन्, 1963 में टाटा प्रथम, बिड़ला द्वितीय और मफत लाल गुप्स 16 वें नम्बर पर थे । 1978 में बिड़ला प्रथम, टाटा द्वितीय और मफत लाल गुप्स तृतीय नम्बर पर आ गए । श्रीमन्, वित्त मंत्री महोदय, एक तरफ तो पूंजीपतियों की पूंजी दिन दूनी रात चौगनी बढ़ती गई जबकि औसत प्रति व्यक्ति की आय नगण्य रही । यह तथ्य चौंकाने वाले है । 1949-50 में प्रति व्यक्ति आय 2280.8 रुपये थी । श्रीमन्, मैं आपको कुछ आंकड़े देना चाहता हूँ ।

मुझे माफ करेंगे, श्रीमन्, यह जो आंकड़े हैं, इनसे आप अन्दाज़ लगायेंगे कि आज यह मुल्क—मैं जो आपको बता रहा हूँ स्थिति यह है और आज सदन में भी बात आई कि फी व्यक्ति आमदनी हिन्दुस्तान में 1949-50 में 228.8 रुपये थी, यह आमदनी 1951-52 तक रही और 1958-59 में यह आमदनी 281.1 रुपये थी, यह पूंजी आज फी व्यक्ति जो पर-केपिटा है, यह इस देश की हालत है । पूंजीपति घराने एवं एक आम भारतीय की आमदनी के अनुपात में इतनी बड़ी असमानता कांग्रेस सरकार की नीतियों की देन है । गरीब आदमी की आमदनी में वृद्धि और बड़े घरानों की आमदनी में वृद्धि पर रोक लगाने के लिए सरकार ने बजट में क्या प्रबंध किया है जिससे यह असमानता खत्म हो सके । आखिर अमीर और गरीब की आमदनी के फर्क को मिटाने के लिए सरकार ने कौनसा उपाय किया है ?

वित्त मंत्री जी ने सूखे पर जिक्र किया है । सूखे के सवाल पर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाऊँ । वित्त मंत्री जी ने स्वयं कहा है कि

[श्री रामेश्वर सिंह]

पिछले साल खेतों की पैदावार दस प्रतिशत कम हुई है। मैं भी मानता हूँ कि दस प्रतिशत कम हुई है, इसमें कोई दो राय नहीं हैं। कारण भी कुछ उन्होंने जिक्र किये, जिसमें एक प्रमुख कारण है देश में पिछले साल का ऐतिहासिक सूखा। पिछले साल 1979-80 में अद्भुत सूखा पड़ा। उसके पहले लोगों ने बाढ़ की विभीषिका भी देखी। इस अद्भुत एवं ऐतिहासिक सूखे की चपेट में देश का सोलह करोड़ आबादी आ गई थी और 3,500 करोड़ रुपये की फसल नष्ट हो गई। जनता बाढ़ और सूखे की मार से बिलबिला उठी थी। आप देखेंगे कि बाढ़ की विभीषिका और सूखे के कारण मुल्क कहां चला गया है। इस स्थिति को यदि आप एक एक करके देखेंगे, इन्होंने अपने इस बजट भाषण में और भी कुछ जिक्र किया है।

मैं एक-एक करके आपको सुना देना चाहता हूँ ताकि वित्त मंत्री—मैं जानता हूँ—यह बात कहने में मुझे तनिक भी संकोच नहीं है कि जब-जब मुल्क पर संकट आया है, इस मुल्क में काम करने वाले को मोहरा बनाया गया है और बलि का बकरा बनाया गया है, इस वित्त विधेयक के बाद, इस बजट के बाद मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश की हालत बिगड़ेगी, देश में अर्थ-व्यवस्था बिगड़ेगी और चीजों के दाम इतने बढ़ेंगे कि उनको रोका नहीं जा सकता है।

आज मैं वित्त मंत्री को आगाह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि कोयला इस देश में रु० 25-30 प्रति मन बिकेगा। मैं दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि चीनी रु० 10-12 से कम नहीं बिकेगी। आप इसको घटा नहीं सकते और मैं यह भी वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि तैयार रहें इसके लिए कि चार-छह महीने के अन्दर या साल के अन्दर अन्दर इनके हाथ से वित्त विभाग लेकर किसी और को दिया जाएगा और कहा जाएगा कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो विधेयक पेश किया, वह फेल हो गया है।

यह सारी बातें कहने का मौका मुझको इसलिए मिला है कि इन स्थितियों को हमने देखा है। मुल्क ने इन स्थितियों को पार किया है।

सूखे की जो इन्होंने बात की है, सूखे से जनता को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए आपने इस बजट में कौनसी नई व्यवस्था की है। कुछ प्रावधान जो आपने गिनाए हैं, वह जनता, लोक दल सरकार द्वारा ही लागू किये गये थे। हमारे मंत्री जी जनता पार्टी में और लोक दल की सरकार में मंत्री थे, मैं समझता हूँ कि इनका भाषण दो एक रोज में बजट पर होगा।

जो जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने काम किया है, जो लोक दल की सरकार ने किया है उस को आपने तहस-नहस करने का काम किया है। 30 वर्षों के बाद जो सरकार विरासत की सरकार मिली थी हम को और वह सरकार मिली थी जो 30 वर्षों में इस मुल्क की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को बिगाड़ चुकी थी, उस अर्थ व्यवस्था के ठीक करने का पूरा पूरा मौका हम को नहीं मिला। उस के लिए हो सकता हूँ जिम्मेदार मैं हूँ, इसको एक्सेप्ट करने में माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे संकोच नहीं है कि मैं भी इस के लिए रिस्पांसिबल हो सकता हूँ, हो सकता है जनता पार्टी की सरकार और लोक दल की सरकार चलाने वाले भी उसके लिए रिस्पांसिबल हो सकते हैं। मगर देश की बागडोर आज जिनके हाथ में है मैं थोड़ा उनका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, आप देखेंगे कि सूखे की लपेट में क्या हालत हुई है। सूखा एवम् बाढ़ इस देश के बड़े भूभाग की जनता के लिए अप्रतिहार्य बन गया है। आप ने कौन सा ठोस एवम् स्थायी प्रावधान इस बजट में किया है जिससे इस प्रकोप से किसानों को स्थायी राहत दिलायी जा सके? आपने उन गरीब एवम् पीड़ित किसानों को राहत दिलाने की बजाए

उनकी स्थिति पर चोट की है। लोक दल की सरकार ने किसानों के हित में रासायनिक खाद के दाम कम किए थे। मैंने अभी जिक्र किया हमारे वह मंत्री जी अभी पीछे बैठे हुए हैं जो जनता सरकार में कृषि मंत्री थे, वह जानते हैं हमने खाद का दाम कम किया और डीजल का दाम कम किया था। आपकी सरकार ने रासायनिक खाद के दाम बढ़ा दिए हैं, साथ में डीजल का दाम भी बढ़ा दिया है। गांवों में किसानों की सिंचाई का माध्यम डीजल से चलने वाले पंपिंग सेट वगैरह हैं। एक तो पहले ही डीजल का अभाव एवम् ब्लैक, ऊपर से दामों में वृद्धि, इस सब का किसानों के ऊपर क्या असर पड़ेगा, यह शायद आपको नहीं मालूम क्योंकि आपकी दृष्टि ही भिन्न है। श्रीमन्, हमारी दृष्टि भिन्न है क्योंकि मैं स्वयं एक किसान का बेटा हूं। श्रीमन्, किसान के घर में पैदा हुआ हूं, मैं झोपड़ी में पैदा हुआ हूं, मैं उस गांव का रहने वाला हूं जहां बारिश में कैसे रहा जाता है, गरमी के दिनों में कैसे रहा जाता है, इसका पता लगता है। श्रीमन्, मैंने आज ही सूखे पर कालिग अटेंशन दिया था जो कि एक्सेप्ट नहीं किया गया। मैं वित्त मंत्री से दावे के साथ कहना चाहता हूं और जो भी सजा वित्त मंत्री देंगे, इनकी सरकार देगी, मैं उसको भोगने के लिए तैयार हूं यदि मेरी बात सही नहीं हो। श्रीमन्, मंत्री जी ने खुद जिक्र किया है, पिछले साल बाढ़ से तबाही हुई थी, खरीफ की फसल बरबाद हो गई थी और रबी की फसल बरबाद हो गई। श्रीमन्, इतना जबर्दस्त सूखा अब की बार पड़ा है कि शायद 100 वर्ष पहले ऐसा सूखा पड़ा था, लगभग 1884 और 1895 में। तो श्रीमन्, मैं उस इलाके में गया हूं जहां आज किसान के पास खाने के लिए अन्न नहीं है। श्रीमन्, अभी बारिश शुरू हो गई है। वित्त मंत्री ने अभी दो दिन पहले बजट पेश किया है। तो मानसून आया है, बारिश हुई और

किसान अपने खेत पर हल लगाना चाहता है लेकिन उसके पास बैल नहीं हैं। बैल बच कर खा गया। सूखे से बैल और भवेली मर गए हैं। लाखों जानवर तो पानी बिना और चारे के बिना पहाड़ों पर मर गए हैं। आप मिरजापुर के इलाके में, मध्य प्रदेश के इलाके में चले जाएं, हजारों हजारों जानवर मर गए हैं। गांवों में बिना पानी के मर गए हैं। श्रीमन्, आज बारिश की पहली बूंद पड़ी है लेकिन किसान के पास खेत जोतने के लिए बैल नहीं हैं और जो पिछले साल का धान का बीज था वह बीज भी किसान खा गया। आज उसके पास बीज नहीं है, बैल नहीं है, वह क्या खेत में डालेगा! श्रीमन्, जो मध्यम श्रेणी के किसान हैं, जो 10 एकड़ तक के किसान हैं, उनके पास गल्ला नहीं है। ग्रामीण हरिजन या गरीब तबके के लोग या ब्राह्मण-ठाकुर, जो जमीन पर काम करते हैं उनकी 10 एकड़ वालों की स्थिति यह है कि आज वह उनको मजदूरी देने में भी अपने को असहाय पाते हैं।

श्रीमन्, इस ओर मैं सदन का ध्यान, सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं।

आप को नहीं मालूम कि उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में क्या हुआ है क्योंकि आप शहरी चश्मे से सब कुछ देखते हैं और आप की नीतियां पूंजीपतियों का हित साधती हैं और वे आपकी पार्टी को चुनाव लड़ने के लिए चन्दा देते हैं। मैं पुराने मामलों में न जा कर हाल के प्रसंग में नौ प्रान्तों की विधान सभाओं के चुनावों के बारे में कहूंगा कि कांग्रेस पार्टी ने अपने उम्मीदवारों को कैसे पैसा बांटा। मैं एक रिपोर्ट आप को पढ़ कर सुनाता हूं, जो हमारी रिपोर्ट

[श्री रामेश्वर सिंह]

नहीं है, हम ने नहीं छापी है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मुल्क कहाँ जा रहा है। जो पार्टी पूँजीपतियों से पैसा लेगी और विधान सभा के चुनाव में, लोक सभा के चुनाव में पैसा खर्च करेगी उस के बारे में क्या कहा जाय। श्रीमन्, 1957 में मैं ने विधान सभा का चुनाव लड़ा था, साइकिल से चुनाव लड़ा था, तांगे पर चुनाव लड़ा था। मैं ने 62 में विधान सभा का चुनाव लड़ा था, बैलगाड़ी और घोड़ागाड़ी पर चुनाव लड़ा था, घोड़ागाड़ी से गांव-गांव जा कर चुनाव लड़ा था। 67 में पार्लियामेंट का चुनाव लड़ा था एक जीप से। मैं पूरी कांस्टीटुएन्सी में दौड़ा करता था। मुझे फक है, मुझे इस बात का गौरव प्राप्त है कि 67 में एक जीप से हम ने 11 आदमियों की जमानत फारफीट करा दी थी, मगर बदकिस्मती थी कि एक तरफ एक जीप से लड़ने वाला और दूसरी तरफ सैकड़ों जीप से लड़ने वाला। वह हम से मुश्किल से दस हजार वोट से जीत गया। 67 की बात मैं बताता हूँ। अभी करेंट की न्यूज है। 200 करोड़ रुपया 9 विधान सभाओं में... वित्त मंत्री जी चल दिये, वित्त मंत्री जी को बैठना चाहिए, वे भागे जा रहे हैं।

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): Sir, I am here as the substitute.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह: आपने बजट नहीं पेश किया है। वे भागे जा रहे हैं, सुनना नहीं चाहते।

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): You will be hearing from his own mouth.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह: माफ करिये चट्टोपाध्याय जी मैं आप की इज्जत करता हूँ। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय यह मुल्क कहाँ जा रहा है। मैं आप को सुनाता हूँ इसी से

अन्दाजा लगा लीजिए—इन्दिरा कांग्रेस नौ विधान सभाओं के अपने उम्मीदवारों में से प्रत्येक को अगर दस हजार रुपये भी देती है तो कुल रकम 20 करोड़ से ज्यादा होनी चाहिए। मैं ने यह हिसाब इस लिए लगाया कि प्राप्त रिपोर्टों के अनुसार—जिन की पुष्टि कांग्रेस (इ) के मठाधीशों ने भी की—उत्तर प्रदेश और राजस्थान में केन्द्रीय पार्टी संगठन द्वारा प्रत्येक प्रत्याशी को दस हजार रुपये की राशि दी गयी। दोनों ही जगह रुपया बांटने का काम पार्टी के पुराने और विश्वस्त नेताओं को नहीं बल्कि नये और कच्चे लोगों को सौंपा गया। उत्तर प्रदेश में रक्षा राज्य मंत्री (Interruptions) चट्टोपाध्याय जी मेरी बात को ध्यान से सुनिए मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ कि सदन को गुमराह कर के चला जाऊँ। मैं कुछ रेस्पॉसिविलिटी समझता हूँ मैं कुछ अपनी जिम्मेदारी समझता हूँ। यह हमारा मुल्क है यहाँ हम रहेंगे और आने वाली हमारी पीढ़ी रहेगी। हजारों वर्षों से यह मुल्क रहा है यह राम और कृष्ण का मुल्क रहा है यह गांधी और भगवान बुद्ध का मुल्क रहा है यह देश जयप्रकाश का रहा है यह मुल्क डा० लोहिया का रहा है। यह मुल्क जवाहरलाल जी का भी रहा है। लेकिन जवाहर लाल जी को मैं फैशनपरस्ती का नेता मानता हूँ। जवाहरलाल जी की भी कुर्बानियाँ थीं मगर आज उन के हाथ में देश की बागडोर चली गयी है जिन लोगों की कोई कुर्बानियाँ नहीं है। यह मुल्क कहाँ जा रहा है आप खुद अन्दाजा लगा लीजिए। अगर यह बात गलत है तो कांग्रेस पार्टी के नेताओं को इस अखबार पर मुकदमा चलाना चाहिए। मेरे पास फोटोस्टेट कापी है वह भी मैं सदन में रख दूंगा। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ कि सदन में कोई ऐसी बात कह कर चला जाऊँ कि बाहर जा कर कहा जाय कि तुमने गलत बयानी की। श्रीमन्, आप इस को देखें कि राज्य मंत्री कौन हैं। कच्चे लोगों को यह काम सौंपा गया। वे पक्के लोग नहीं हैं। पक्के लोग हैं श्री कमलापति त्रिपाठी, पक्के लोग हैं श्री

चट्टोपाध्याय जी, जिन्होंने कुछ कुर्बानी की है। पक्के लोगों में कौन लोग हैं, मैं उन को मानता हूँ और उन्होंने आजादी की लड़ाई में कुछ कुर्बानी की है। लेकिन जिन लोगों ने उस आजादी की लड़ाई में कोई सिकत नहीं की, किसी तरह की जिनकी कोई कुर्बानी नहीं है देश को बनाने में, उन के हाथ में यह काम सौंपा गया; क्योंकि यह गंदा काम था और यह काम अच्छे लोगों के हाथ में इसलिये नहीं सौंपा गया; क्योंकि यह एक गंदा काम था और ऐसा काम वह लोग शायद करते भी नहीं। उत्तर प्रदेश में रक्षा राज्य मंत्री श्री सी०पी०एन० सिंह ने रुपया बांटा और राजस्थान में वित्त राज्य मंत्री श्री जगन्नाथ पहाड़िया ने रुपया बांटा। लेकिन आप को 20 करोड़ की राशि सुन कर चौंकने की जरूरत नहीं है इस लिये कि यह आला हजूरों ने बताया कि यह महज पहली किश्त है। यह बीस करोड़ केवल पहली किश्त है। यह दूसरी किश्त नहीं है, यह तीसरी किश्त नहीं है, यह चौथी किश्त नहीं है। चौथी किश्त बनती है पोलिंग के दिन। मैं भी चुनाव लड़ा हूँ। मैं पहली किश्त क्या होती है जानता हूँ। दूसरी किश्त क्या होती है जानता हूँ, तीसरी किश्त क्या होती है जानता हूँ और चौथी किश्त क्या होती है उसे चट्टोपाध्याय जी भी अच्छी तरह से जानते होंगे। तो बीस करोड़ रुपया बांटा गया। सच तो यह है कि इंदिरा कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवारों के लिये दस हजार की रकम तो अंट के मुंह में जीरे के बराबर है। वहरहाल राजस्थान में जिस दिन धन वितरित हुआ उस दिन स्थिति का एक और पहलू सामने आया। यह मैं क्या पढ़ कर सुनाऊँ।

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Wherefrom are you reading it? Which paper is that?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : तो य आप के यहां से निकलता है और आप के यहां के लोग इस के मालिक हैं। हम लोगों के मित्र हैं, आप के, श्री हैं यह है रविवार नाम का अखबार। श्रीमन्, इस में लिखा है "रविवार सूखा 1980" यह विशेषांक है, और यह विशेषांक

भी नहीं है। इस में 1980 के बारे में लिखा है, लेकिन मैं प्रसंगवश ही इस को सुना रहा हूँ। मैंने पहली बार भी कहा था कि 200 करोड़ रुपया बांटा गया। 100 करोड़ रुपया पहली किश्त में दिया गया; क्योंकि 200 करोड़ रुपया लीबिया की सरकार ने उन को दिया है। मैं हाउस में इस बात को रख रहा हूँ कि लीबिया की सरकार ने लोक सभा के चुनाव में 200 करोड़ रुपया दिया और विधान सभा के चुनाव में हिन्दुस्तान के पूंजीपतियों ने 200 करोड़ रुपया आप को दिया है और यह रुपया उन को बांटा गया है।

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: Why are you saying all these baseless things?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, अगर मेरी कोई बात अनुचित हो तो आप अपने उत्तर में उस के बारे में कह लीजियेगा।

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Factually it is incorrect.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : अगर मैं कोई अनुचित बात करता हूँ तो आप का फर्ज हो जाता है कि आप उस का जवाब हम को दें और यह मेरा अखबार नहीं है। मैं इस का संपादक नहीं हूँ। मैं इस का मालिक नहीं हूँ। यह अखबार लाखों की संख्या में छपता है और अगर यह गलत है तो आप को इस पर मुकदमा चलाना चाहिए। मैं तो कह रहा हूँ कि यह अखबार में छपा है और मैं आप को सुनाता हूँ। आपको धराने की जरूरत नहीं है।

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: It is a very entertaining story.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, लगता है कि शायद एक मैं ही ऐसा आदमी हूँ कि जो अपनी बात दिल से कह रहा हूँ और मैं यहां से बात करता हूँ पेट की नाभि से बात करता हूँ, मैं यहां से बात नहीं करता और मैं यहां से भी नहीं करता। मैंने एक हिसाब लगाया। वह हिसाब मैं आप को सुनाता हूँ। नौ राज्यों में चुनाव हुए और फी आदमी 20 हजार रुपये के हिसाब से मैं ने लगाया।

[श्री रामेश्वर सिंह]

नौ राज्यों के हिसाब से यह 180 करोड़ रुपया बनता है। 35 हजार रुपया इन लोगों ने दिया और जो उन्होंने अपने सोर्स से इकट्ठा किया, कुल मिला दिया जाए तो मैं जानता हूँ कि संजय सिंह जो अमेठी से चुनाव लड़े हैं, अपने चुनाव में कम से कम 10 लाख रुपये खर्च किये हैं। मैं वहाँ का रहने वाला हूँ, क्या हम से आप बात करेंगे मंत्री जी ?

... (Interruptions) श्रीमन्, यह बात मेरी गलत हो जाए तो मैं सदन से इस्तीफा देकर जाने के लिए तैयार हूँ। जिस आदमी ने हवाई जहाज का अपहरण किया भोला पांडे बलिया में उसको 10 लाख रुपया दिया गया और उसने जाकर के उस उम्मीदवार को हराया है जो उम्मीदवार 1952 से 1977 और 1980 तक कभी चुनाव नहीं हारा, बन्दूक और पिस्तौल की गोली पर। आप बोल रहे हैं आप हरिजनों के हमदर्द हैं। यह बजट पूँजपतियों का है, किसानों का नहीं है।...

(Interruptions)

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: Sir, I am on a point of order. The hon. Member is making wild allegations, baseless and false allegations. I would request that he should be at least responsible in making statements about money being taken, about money coming from foreign countries and candidates getting Rs. 20 crores. His arithmetic is wrong.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): There is no point of order in this, but you can reply to these points.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: But it should not go unchallenged. Baseless allegations in the name of foreign countries should not be made in this light way.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You can challenge them when your turn comes. Yes, the lady Member there wants to say something?

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA (Himachal Pradesh): This is a Budget discussion and these wild allegations will not help us.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): The lady Member must know that the scope of the Budget discussion is unlimited. A Member can raise any point he likes.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: He can't say Rs. 200 crores and all that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (Shri R. R. MORARKA): When your turn comes, you can answer.

डा० भाई महाबीर : श्रीमन्, मिनिस्टर साहब प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर का मतलब समझते हैं ?

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, मैं जनतंत्र में विश्वास करता हूँ। मैं डा० लोहिया और महात्मा गांधी का चेला हूँ। मैंने प्रतिज्ञा की है श्रीमन्। मैं बताऊँ आपको कि 1947 में हमने प्रतिज्ञा की। मैं राजपूत घर में पैदा हुआ हूँ जिस को अपर-कास्ट कहते हैं लेकिन आज तक मैंने जेनेऊ धारण नहीं किया, जेनेऊ उतार कर हमने फेंक दिया, हमने डा० लोहिया के साथ प्रतिज्ञा की थी, मारना नहीं पर मानना नहीं। अपनी बात को हम कहेंगे और जिस दिन हमारी जवान को दबाने की कोशिश की जाएगी उस दिन इस धरती पर तूफान आयेगा और वह तूफान आपको मटियामेट कर देगा।

A Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You would be leaving very little time for the other Members of your party.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, मैं जल्दी समाप्त कर रहा हूँ।

सूखे से पीड़ित जनता को राहत पहुंचाने के लिए आपने इस बजट में कौन सी नई व्यवस्था की है। कुछ प्रावधान जो आपने गिनाये हैं वे जनता व लोक दल सरकार द्वारा ही लागू किये गये थे। फिर आप उसकी वाह-वाही

बूटने की उत्सुक क्यों हैं। सूखा या बाढ़ इस देश के बड़े म-भाग की जनता के लिए अपरिहार्य प्रकोप बन गया है। आपने कौन से ठोस एवं स्थायी प्रावधान इस बजट में किये हैं जिससे इस प्रकोप से किसानों की स्थायी राहत दी जा सके। आपने इन गरीब एवं पीड़ित किसानों को राहत देने के बजाय उनकी स्थिति पर चोट की है। लोक दल की सरकार ने किसानों के हित में रासायनिक खाद का दाम कम किया था। आपकी सरकार ने उसे पुनः बढ़ा दिया। साथ ही डीजल का दाम भी बढ़ा दिया। गांवों में किसानों की सिंचाई का माध्यम-डीजल से चलने वाले पंपिंग सेट आदि हैं। एक तो पहले ही डीजल का अभाव एवं ब्लैक था अब दामों की वृद्धि के बाद किसानों पर क्या असर पड़ेगा, यह शायद आपको नहीं मालूम क्योंकि आपकी दृष्टि ही भिन्न है। आप शहरी चश्मे से सब कुछ देखते हैं और आपकी नीतियों से पूंजीपतियों का ही हित साधन होता है; क्योंकि वे आपकी पार्टी को चुनाव लड़ने के लिए चंदा देते हैं। पुराने मामलों को न लेकर इन मामलों को मैं लेता हूं। श्रीमन्, प्रत्येक उम्मीदवार को सिर्फ 20 हजार रुपया ही दिया जायेगा। इसके अलावा प्रचार के साधनों के रूप में लगे रुपयों का हिसाब अलग है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You must conclude now.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : मैं बहुत जल्दी खत्म करूंगा। मैं आपको परेशान नहीं करूंगा। वित्त मंत्री जी द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट में कुछ रियायतों के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा।

‘बजट द्वारा’ आयकर से अवकाश की राशि दस हजार के स्थान पर 12 हजार कर दी गई है।

आयकर पर अधिशुल्क 20 प्रतिशत से घटा कर 10 प्रतिशत कर दिया गया है।

संपत्ति कर से अवकाश की अवधि एक लाख रुपये के स्थान पर डेढ़ लाख कर दिया गया है।

नये उद्योगों को मिलने वाली सात वर्ष की छुट्टी जारी रहेगी।

अनेकों उद्योगों के लिये मशीन तथा कच्चे माल पर सीमा शुल्क समाप्त कर दिया गया है।

अनेकों उद्योगों में उत्पादन शुल्क पर छूट दी गई है। उत्पादन शुल्क से बिल्कुल छुट्टी की राशि पांच लाख से बढ़ा कर पन्द्रह लाख कर दिया गया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उपरोक्त छूटों एवं रियायतों के द्वारा पूंजीपतियों एवं उद्योगपतियों को अपनी पूंजी बढ़ाने की खुली छूट दे दी गई है। इससे आम आदमी का क्या भला होगा।

आपने इनकम टैक्स में ऊपर की अधिकतम सीमा को 72 परसेंट से घटा कर 60 परसेंट कर दिया है। आपकी इस घोषणा से फिक्की वालों को खुशी हुई होगी क्योंकि उनकी मांग भी यही थी।

आपने किसानों का कृषि सम्पत्ति कर समाप्त कर दिया है। आप खुश हो सकते हैं आपकी सरकार ने किसानों के लिये बहुत कर दिया है किन्तु इससे कितने किसानों को लाभ होगा (Time bell rings)। श्रीमन्, मैं खत्म कर रहा हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Out of 50 minutes, you have taken 35 minutes. You are not leaving any scope for any other Member.

श्री रामेश्वरसिंह : श्रीमन्, थोड़ा समय और बढ़ा दें तो देश का कल्याण होगा (Interruptions) । श्रीमन् आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं इसलिये मैं इसको छोड़ दे रहा हूँ । इस बजट से जो खतरे हो सकते हैं वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ । वर्तमान बजट में जो घाटा 1,467 करोड़ का है वह 1979-80 के 2,700 करोड़ के घाटे के ऊपर है । 1979-80 में व्यापार अंतराल 2,232 करोड़ का था यानी 1978-79 से दुगना । चालू वर्ष में यह अंतर विश्व-व्यापी मंदी और तेल के ऊपर हमारी बढ़ती निर्भरता के कारण और भी बढ़ने की संभावना है । हम सिर्फ तेल के आयात पर ही 5,000 करोड़ रुपये प्रति वर्ष खर्च कर रहे हैं । अब मैं कीमतों में वृद्धि के ऊपर आता हूँ ।

घाटे के बजट के कारण मुद्रास्फीति बढ़ती रही है और आगे भी बढ़ेगी । 1979-80 के बाद कीमत 20 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है जबकि शक्कर, वनस्पति तेलों, मांस, मछली एवं आवश्यक चीजों के दामों में तो तीन गनी वृद्धि हो गई । (Time bell rings) । आप घंटी बजा रहे हैं इसलिये मैं इसे रखे दे रहा हूँ और जो मेरी अपनी भावना है वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ ।

श्रीमन्, जो कुछ भी मैंने शिक्षित बेरोजगारों के बारे में कहा है उसके बारे में एक मिनट में सुन लीजिए । श्रीमन्, इस वक्त देश में सरकारी आंकड़ों के मुताबिक शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की संख्या को अगर मैं पढ़ने लगूंगा तो उसमें बहुत समय लग जाएगा । इस -

लिए शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की संख्या स्टेटवाइज मैं नहीं पढ़ूंगा । शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की संख्या सरकार के रजिस्टर के मुताबिक एक करोड़ चालीस लाख के लगभग है । वित्त मंत्री जी ने कहा है कि हम पांच लाख लोगों को काम देंगे, लेकिन वह भी ये कहते हैं कि डेफिनिट नहीं है । सरकार यह नहीं कहती है कि वे पक्की तरह से पांच लाख लोगों को रोजगार दगे सकेंगे । इनका कहना है कि हमारी ये-ये योजनाएं हैं, जिनके अन्तर्गत हम समझते हैं कि इतने लोगों को काम देंगे । इस प्रकार से पांच लाख लोगों को भी काम देने की बात ये डेफिनिटली नहीं कहते हैं । श्री चटोपाध्याय जी, मैं आपको सम्बोधित कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि आप सरकारी पक्ष के हैं और सरकार में मंत्री भी रह चुके हैं । आप कोई मामूली आदमी नहीं हैं । इनका यह भी कहना है कि हर साल 13 लाख शिक्षित बेरोजगारों की वृद्धि हो रही है । सरकार केवल पांच लाख लोगों को रोजगार देने की बात कह रही है । अगर सरकार की बात मान ली जाये कि वह पांच लाख लोगों को रोजगार देने जा रही है तो 13 लाख बेरोजगार जो हर वर्ष आ रहे हैं उनमें से आठ लाख आदमी फिर भी बेरोजगार रह जाते हैं । हमारे देश में एक करोड़ चालीस लाख लोग पहले से ही बेकार हैं ....

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: After knowing full well all these facts, the united Janata Party assured removal of unemployment within ten years. What happened in 1979-80.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्होंने यह सवाल मुझ से किया ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Let him complete it, please. Mr. Rameshwar Singh, kindly conclude now.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमान्, अगर आप चाहते हैं कि मैं उनकी बातों का जवाब न दूँ तो मैं उनका उत्तर नहीं दूंगा।

मैं यह कह रहा था कि अगर हर साल सरकार पांच लाख लोगों को काम दे भी देती है तो इसका हिसाब लगाया जाये तो आपको पता चलेगा कि जो हमारा पोता होगा, अर्थात्, हमारे लड़के का लड़का और फिर उसका लड़का जो होगा वह भी पांच सौ वर्षों तक नौकरी के लिए इंतजार करता रहेगा और ये लोग उस वक्त भी हुकूमत में होंगे। ऐसी हालत में यह मुल्क कहाँ जाएगा और इस मुल्क के बेरोजगारों को कितने दिनों तक इंतजार करना पड़ेगा, इसका आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं। मुझे डर है कि इस देश में ऐसी परिस्थितियाँ पैदा होने जा रही हैं जो किसी भी मुल्क से अच्छी नहीं हो सकती हैं। शिक्षित बेरोजगारों के अलावा इस देश में 10 करोड़ लोग गांवों में बेकारी की हालत में रहते हैं। कुछ वर्ष पहले कुछ लोगों ने नक्सेलाइट का रास्ता अपनाया था, लेकिन सब लोगों ने यह रास्ता नहीं अपनाया था। मैं इस सरकार के साथ को-ऑपरेशन करने के लिए तैयार हूँ, अगर यह सरकार इस समस्या को ठीक प्रकार से हल करना चाहती है। हम कोई एजिटेशन भी नहीं करेंगे, कोई सत्याग्रह नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन आप लोगों की परेशानियाँ दूर करने के लिए कोई ठोस कदम तो उठाइये। मैं जानता हूँ कि आप इस रास्ते पर नहीं जा रहे हैं। वित्त मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है उससे इस देश में बेरोजगारी की समस्या हल नहीं होगी, बल्कि बेरोजगारों की संख्या में और बढ़ोत्तरी होगी। इस बजट से इस देश में मुद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ेगी। एक प्रकार से वित्त मंत्री द्वारा इस बजट के माध्यम से देश को तबाह किया जा रहा है। आपको इसके लिए देश माफ नहीं करेगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह कहता हूँ कि आप इस

बजट में आमूल परिवर्तन कीजिये और गंधियन ध्युरी के अनुसार इसमें आमूलपरिवर्तन कीजिये। मुल्क के अन्दर कुटीर उद्योगों को बढ़ावा देने के लिए, गांवों के लोगों को रोजगार देने के लिए, किसानों के लिए सिंचाई की व्यवस्था करने के लिए और जमीन में सुधार लाने के लिए व्यवस्था कीजिये। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना बजट भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Shri V. Gopal-samy; not here. Shrimati Noorjehan Razack; not here. Mr. Sankar Ghose; not here. Shri A. G. Kuikarni; not here. Shri K. K. Madhavan; not here. Yes, Mr. M. R. Krishna.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if Mr. Rameshwar Singh had confined himself to the question of agricultural labour and other things, I think the House would have been benefited, instead of indulging in something which he won't be able to substantiate.

Sir, the first thing that he said was that the Congress (I) was getting money from foreign countries to fight the elections. Sir, which party needs money from the big business and foreign countries to fight the elections in our country? It is only the party which does not have the personality to attract the voter have to spend more money to buy votes. Other parties will have to depend upon the money of the big business and money from foreign countries. Now, everybody in this country, including the Opposition Member, honestly knows that it is Mrs. Indira Gandhi who gets votes for the Congress (I) Party. In my State, that is, in Andhra Pradesh, there are persons who have been elected to the Assembly and also to Parliament, by spending very paltry sum of money. Sir, if any political party or any political personality were to think that he does not have to depend upon the money of the big business, it is just a lie. Under some pretext of other they will have to collect money;

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

whether to celebrate somebody's birth day or to celebrate some other thing, they will have to collect money, and collect money from the corrupt businessmen, and that money is very liberally utilised in the elections. Nobody will be in a position to defend it in spite of the fact that they might speak about purity and morality which have to play a big role in the elections. Therefore, Sir, simply to decry and defame our party is not justified.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** बिना पैसे के कोई चुनाव नहीं लड़ सकता। तो क्या डकैती करके पैसा लेंगे ?

**SHRI M. R. KRISHNA:** Sir, I can tell you that I have been fighting elections to the Lok Sabha since 1952. In the first election I spent just a paltry sum of money when other political parties were not that powerful. But when other political parties started spending money, getting money, using all kinds of fraudulent methods, it was at that time that the expenditure on elections has increased. Sir, you fought elections to the Lok Sabha. You know how to face, whom, you faced; and all types of things have happened in your election. Therefore, let us not speak about election . . .

(Interruptions)

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** इस पर कमीशन बिठा दीजिये।

**श्री प्रकाश मेहरोत्रा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** कमीशन तो आपने बिठाये हैं। आप चाहते हैं तो आप बिठाइये।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** हमारा कमीशन तो फेल कर गया। आप अपना कमीशन बिठाइये। कमीशन देखेगा कि क्या हो रहा है।

**श्री प्रकाश मेहरोत्रा :** ओमीशन और कमीशन के बारे में तो जनता ने फैसला दे दिया। हम कमीशन नहीं बिठायेगे।

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** श्रीमन्, मेरा प्वाइंट आफ आर्डर सुन लीजिये। ये कहते हैं कि जनता ने फैसला दिया है; देश की 65

प्रतिशत जनता ने वोट नहीं दिया है। 35 प्रतिशत जनता मे से साढ़े बारह प्रतिशत वोट इनको मिले हैं।

(Interruptions)

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

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** श्रीमन्, पहले मेरी बात खत्म होने दीजिये।

(Interruptions)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA):** Order, please. Please sit down, Mr. Rameshwar Singh.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** 35 प्रतिशत में से साढ़े बारह प्रतिशत पर ये आज हुकमत चला रहे है। 65 प्रतिशत जनता वोट देने नहीं गई। साढ़े बारह प्रतिशत लोगों के अलावा सारे के सारे इस देश में आपके खिलाफ खड़े हैं।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA):** Please sit down.

**श्री रामेश्वर सिंह :** हमको जब छेड़ रहे थे तो आपने कुछ नहीं बोला। . . .

(Interruptions)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA):** It is not proper to defy the Chair like this. You must listen to the Chair. I won't be able to control the House if you continue like this Please . . .

(Interruptions)

**SHRI M. R. KRISHNA:** I do not like to enter into this kind of quarrel. But I would like to remind the hon. Member that it is known that in this country and outside that there are certain persons and parties—I can't say parties; there are persons—who do not allow the Harijans to cast their votes. I do not want to name them. But it is known. I am not talking of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia or Mr. Rameshwar Singh. But I am talking about the attitude in elections that are being exhibited here and the manner in which people get elected. It is known that Harijans are prevented from going out and casting their votes . . . (Interruptions) Therefore, let us not get into all these things. What I am trying to say is . . .

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : श्रीमन्, हरिजनों को बोट नहीं देते हैं यह बात जिस पार्टी के लोग बोल रहे हैं उसी पार्टी के लोग हरिजनों के कान में रांगा घोलने की बात कहते हैं और वे ऐसी व्यवस्था चलाना चाहते हैं ।

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: It is not a new thing. The Congress Party's programme for the Harijans is well known. It is nothing new.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : आनके यहाँ कितने हरिजन मंत्री हैं। कितने कैबिनेट मंत्री हरिजन हैं ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Rameshwar Singh, order please.

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह : 19 मंत्री कैबिनेट में हैं जिसमें 10 किस कास्ट के हैं ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): Mr. Rameshwar Singh, please sit down. (*Interruptions*) Whatever Mr. Rameshwar Singh speaks will not go on record.

(*Shri Rameshwar Singh continued to speak.*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): This is the limit. In spite of my warnings to you, you are not listening to me.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: I am sorry, my hon. friend tries to forget things. My dear friend, Mr. Piloo Mody, is very able and an expert in matters of budget, etc. When he was speaking, he was trying to find fault with the Finance Minister by saying that since there is 20 per cent inflation which has been agreed to by somebody, whatever allocation has been made in this budget is going to be less than what had been earmarked by the Janata Party. This is a very unfair way of looking at the budget. I do not want to say many things. But I would definitely like to remind Mr. Piloo Mody and his friends that it is one thing to earmark some large amounts of money and not spending

them. What was the situation at that time when the Janata Government was in power. It was not one party in the States. It was not one party at the Centre. Even for the then Finance Minister, Mr. Charan Singh, to give a larger quantum of money for agricultural development became difficult and there was a lot of opposition. Therefore, even if they were very generous in allocating large amounts of funds, the unified command in the States and in the Centre was not there. But today the Finance Minister and the Government are quite sure and confident that whatever may be the allocation, the machinery in such and the leadership is such that it will be able to spend that money and the results will be very fruitful. This is one thing which should not be forgotten. The machinery on which this Congress Government is depending on and the machinery which they are capable of gearing up is going to be very effective. If we have to make any suggestion about the capacity to spend it is a very fair thing and the Members will be really doing justice to the budget Sir, if one tries to look at the budget, there are two things. The first thing is that so many concessions have been given to the big business and industrial houses. Sir, we are helpless. It has come into existence not because of the Congress Government. It was in existence and the great men like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who cannot be dubbed, as a stooge of the capitalists or the big houses wanted that both the private sector and the public sector economy, should go together. That is how we have accepted the mixed economy. Some Members criticised the Finance Minister that these are not his proposals that that the speech has not been prepared by him. It is very unfair. This Finance Minister is not a person who is new to the political life of this country. He is a Gandhian. He has worked with all great men. Nobody can say that he has been engaged or that he is working for any big business houses. He has all along been a trade unionist.

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

His Contribution for the development of this country, particularly Tamil Nadu is unquestionable. And therefore, when he makes certain allocations for the welfare of the weaker sections or gives certain concessions to the big industrial houses, you cannot just dub him that he is either parochial or he is patronising the industry. He wants the industries to develop. You have to make the industries develop in this country. Then, you can say in fairness to the Finance Minister that he is really giving a chance for the industries to produce more. Unless the production is increased whether in the public sector or the private sector, the country cannot progress. Therefore, whatever concessions he might have given to the industrial houses, it is only to see that they are going to function properly and produce more. And he has done that with the intention of helping the country and helping the industry. If any industry in this country, whether it is in private sector or public sector, is starving and in ruins, it is the country's loss. Therefore, any Finance Minister cannot view them as if they belong to aliens or enemies and do not give any patronage or help. He cannot look to these industries in that way. Well, Sir, every person, who is a worker, who is a labourer, who is a low-paid employee first looks at the Budget and finds out whether this Budget is going to increase his cost of living. Sir, various concessions have been given—there are exemptions on certain types of essential goods; second-class railway fares have not been raised; post cards and inland letters are not to cost extra. These are definitely going to help directly the poorer classes, middle classes and lower middle-classes. There, if the hon. Finance Minister could ensure that these prices are going to be static and do not increase, that should satisfy the middle class and the lower middle classes. Beyond that, we cannot expect many things. Mr. Piloo Mody said that this is a very grim Budget, that it has no scope, it does not promise anybody anything, and that when compared to

the help given by the Janata Government, the help which is now being promised by the Congress (I) Government is not enough. Now, Sir, here the Finance Minister has only indicated one thing that about Rs. 100 crores have been earmarked for the welfare of the weaker sections. It is not just Rs. 100 crores that is going to be spent for the welfare of the weaker sections. It is only a catalytic arrangement in order to attract more funds from various other sources. It is also to encourage the State Governments to spend more money on these weaker sections that Rs. 100 crores have been allocated in this Budget. Well, if anybody wants to criticise the Budget, he can say that the allotment made by the Janata Government was higher than the allotment made by the Congress(I) Government. But this is not a very fair way of treating the Budget.

Sir, I would like to point out one serious thing to the Finance Minister. That is, everybody needs discipline, particularly the big industrial houses who have to really keep the prices at the level which the Government wants it and at which level the common man will be able to buy. They have to be subjected to certain discipline. More than that, they need supervision. The amount of control which the Government has to exercise over these industrial houses must be more effective. If they are allowed to go in the same old fashion, it will be difficult for the Finance Minister or the Government of India to ensure that the prices are stabilised. Therefore, whatever controlling agency you may think of, it should be effective. As regards the distribution system, just by saying that distribution will be through cooperative societies is not going to help. The co-operatives, the State agencies and even the departmental agencies will have to be streamlined and the scrutiny or supervision over them should be more vigorous. The cooperative also have not played their role properly and there are a lot of

things which are said against the co-operatives. Therefore, this distribution system will have to be very carefully scrutinised and the controls system should be made more effective.

Now, Sir, in this Budget the expenditure on defence has been enhanced by about Rs. 300 crores. This Rs. 300 crores is only chicken feed, seeing the things that are happening on our borders, especially in the Indian Ocean. There is the combination of the USA and the UK helping China and Pakistan and that danger is growing every day.

In Assam the situation is becoming worse. The Assam situation is definitely helping Pakistan and China to create every kind of defence problem for India without spending any money. Therefore, the Government of India will have to very seriously view these things.

Out of this Rs. 300 crores, nearly Rs. 50 crores will be spent only on one single item, namely, refitting the Vikrant. Now, you may be getting very sophisticated planes and they will have to go on the Vikrant. But this type of arrangement alone is not going to help India to safeguard our interests in the Indian Ocean. Now, Sir, however strong you might be, with the combined forces of the USA., the UK, China and other countries, it will be simply impossible for a country like India to make all the arrangements to protect itself. Therefore, it is necessary, that our Prime Minister, who is hailed as the greatest leader in Asia today, must get the international support to see that without spending more money on our defence preparations we are able to protect our boundaries.

Even in Assam if it is necessary for the Government of India to spend more money there, the Government of India should not hesitate. It is not merely for the Government of India which has to make a heavy contribution but it is also for every State Government and every State Chief Minister, in fact, for every one to come

forward and help the Prime Minister to solve the Assam problem. It is not the problem of the Central Government alone. Every State Chief Minister and every State Government will have to make some sacrifice. Sir, we have been doing that in Jammu & Kashmir, because that is also a part of India. We cannot lose Assam. We cannot afford to make the people of Assam unhappy with the Government of India and therefore any amount of sacrifice, any amount of effort or service to the people of Assam, to solve this problem of Assam, we should not mind and the Prime Minister of this country should get all the help and assistance from everybody, all the political parties and even individuals. Only then we will be able to save our country.

Sir, while I am speaking on defence, I would like to point out one thing. There are many establishments which are functioning under the Defence Ministry where a lot of things are being produced, where in fact the production is overlapping in some departments. I can give you the instance of HAL, the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, which tries to develop various kinds of aircraft, design them and finally drop them. Now, there is no agency in the Defence Ministry to find out how far they can go and spend on development without any use. In connection with HF-24, everyone in this country knows what all the exercises and drills were gone through and what amount of money as spent and then that project was discarded. There was another plane which was to be developed in collaboration with Hawker Sidleys. After going through everything when one of the test pilots was killed in an aircraft that project was abandoned. Now, Sir, some such things are happening. Now, Sir, under the D.G.O.F., Directorate General of Ordnance Factories, a lot of things are designed, a number of prototype are produced, but the final production does not take place. In connection with the Jaguar plane, we have entered into a collaboration with the Jaguar

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

and we have to produce and manufacture all the components and spare parts. After 7 or 8 years, the 8 P.M. moment you are in a position to manufacture the components, and the spare parts, Jaguar will be discarded. This country cannot afford to go on spending money on the projects which are not going to be helpful. Even during the British days, they used to have a high-powered committee which used to constantly go into this kind of thing in order to avoid duplication and also to find out the items and the equipments that were to be produced which could serve the country for all times or for a number of years. Well, that type of a committee is most essential today because whatever money is allocated towards defence preparation, should not go into the drain and it should be able to produce something otherwise it will not help us and we would not be able to protect our borders effectively. (Time bell rings). Since you rang the bell, Sir, I would like to say something else by increasing my speed.

Sir, the Finance Minister was kind enough to say that lots of sums of money will be spent on the weaker sections. In his speech he has very nicely said that investment has been increased for the public and private sector industries and then he immediately adds: "because we want to improve the conditions of the weaker sections." I do not know what is the relationship between these two things. It is almost like saying that I want to feed a man with milk, honey and badam and other thing because he is going to help the Harijans to protect themselves. But he perhaps does not believe in making the Harijans and Adivasis stronger. It is almost like this. He is going to give more money to the industries and says that this industrial development is going to help the Harijans. All along, the planning was done probably on these lines but actual help did not go to the weaker sections; rather it went to some other people. The Finance Minister should

have at least avoided to link up Harijans' uplift with larger investments into bigger houses.

Sir, one favour was done to sports. This subject is dearer to me and to friends like Raja Ram. He said that the sportsmen who are coming from foreign countries, would be allowed to bring the money which has been paid to them. This will not help the development of sports in a big way. I would say that there are only about a dozen persons who go abroad and who are paid there and who will be bringing that money into India. But that is not the way to help development of sports in this country. I would request the Deputy Minister to inform the Finance Minister that if the Finance Minister really wanted to help the development of sports, he should allow sophisticated equipments for the various federations connected with games in the country to import so that these equipments could be utilised and our sportsmen will be able to compete with other countries which are using these sophisticated equipments.

Coming to my own State, the oil prices have been increased tremendously and the country as a whole cannot escape because in everything, transport is involved and, therefore, however much we might try, our cost of living is definitely going to increase. Now, in Andhra Pradesh, they have seen a site, Krishna-Godavari basin, where the Ministry of Petroleum say that there is every possibility of getting oil on commercial scale. But the work which is being done there, I am told, is done with equipment which is not suitable for that area. Besides that, the amount that has been allocated for this very purpose, is also very very meagre. The personnel who are engaged there also come from different areas. So, especially at a time, Sir, when we are hard-pressed for oil. The Government should not hesitate to spend and expeditiously exploit the available oil resource. Since we have to pay increased oil price through our nose, we have to encourage this and see that this oil exploration in Andhra Pradesh is done speedily and whatever resources, whatever equipment and

whatever personnel are required, are provided without any delay. Sir, are you going to allow me more time?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): You can take one or two minutes more.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: Sir, one major thing, the most important thing, for any development, is power. Now, this power position in this country is in a very very bad shape. The reasons can be many. One of the reasons is that the Electricity Boards in the States are not properly manned and there are no good managers. Even though a lot of money has been invested, the losses are also equally very enormous. About Rs. 800 crore is said to be the loss incurred by the State Electricity Boards. Now, it should not be left purely to the State Governments. You can give them a lot of autonomy. You can give them a lot of power. But the Boards have to manage them properly and use them properly. But this kind of thing is not done and, therefore, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to examine this, because, some of the States are getting assistance from the World Bank for the development of thermal and hydel projects in the various States. Hence, in regard to anything which is done in this sphere, the Government of India has to come forward. The plan, the programme, for the development of power in this country should be more vigorously pursued. Unless the power position is improved, this country cannot have more production. Many of the industries, which have to depend on power, are almost sick. Some of the industrialists, private industrialists, particularly, in Maharashtra, West Bengal and U.P., who have been given licences, to own their own power plants and so on, are facing problems because the industries have been crippled for want of power. But some of them are in a position to get profits.

Sir, in the U.S.A., where, they must be producing one-eighth of the world power production, the system prevalent, specially in regard to transmission, is very effective. Even the accounting system is said to be one of

the best. In Britain also, almost the same system prevails. In Britain, it is not just serving the country, but it has also a bit of profit-motive. In Britain, they are able to get profits. In India, there is also a clamour from the electricity board workers for increase in wages. Their condition is not that good. But still, the electricity which is supplied in India should be far cheaper because the labour cost is very cheap. Now, it is time for the Government of India to see that the power position in the country is improved so that the country can become more prosperous.

DR. M. M. S. SIDDHU (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, the euphoria which was created by the recent Budget is being lost every day. As people dip deep and as lot of figures and more details are forthcoming the picture becomes gloomier than it was, presented. In today's Times of India I may be allowed to quote an article, one paragraph. The title of the article is 'Dangers of stagnation' by Shri K. C. Ksanna. I quote:

"Even the prospects of a normal, if not better monsoon have failed to chase away the blues.

Amid the uncertainties that beset the economy, two causes of the pervasive gloom are reasonably clear. On top of an average rise of 16.7 per cent in wholesale price last year, the index is likely to move up further by 15 to 20 per cent this year. And, according to the Governor of the Reserve Bank himself, the trade gap will widen from Rs. 2236 crores in 1979-80 to Rs. 3500 crores or more in 1980-81."

This is the assessment of no less a person than the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India. The prices have risen. The cloth prices have gone up by rupee one to Rs. 3 per metre from fine cloth to polyester-cum-cotton cloth. The prices of other commodities have not come down and the hon. Minister of Finance is reported to have warned the manufacturers to scale down the prices to the extent of the excise relief which was promised in the Budget.

[Dr. M. M. S. Siddhu]

Moreover, if one were to go by the scripts, again in an interview the Finance Minister has said or is stated to have said that the Unit Trust of India and the LIC may enter the share market. I quote:

"The Union Finance Minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman said here today that the Life Insurance Corporation and the Unit Trust of India might enter the share market to take advantage of the slumps in equities, reacting to the reports of the sagging share markets after the short-lived buoyancy, following the Budget presented by him."

So, it has been ably stated by my previous speakers, specially by hon. Mr. Raju and hon. Mr. Piloo Mody, that the deficit gap is not the real one as it has been shown, but it is three-times more than it has actually been shown. I will not deal with those things. After all, the budgetary exercise has got certain policies or certain promises which have been made in the election manifesto of the ruling party to be implemented. Take for instance the minimum needs programme which forms one of the major factors of the 20-point programme. What has been the allocation for it? And I need not quote again the same figure for the rural reconstruction or the other matters which are connected with the Rural Reconstruction Ministry. Every figure that one comes across—whether it is of command area development, area planning, subsidy in minor irrigation, assistance for poultry, piggery or sheep-breeding or assistance for others, one finds a dismal picture. One may refer to Statement IV of the Ministry of Rural Reconstruction for the Budget for 1980-81. I need not go into it. From this one can realise that the Minimum Needs Programme, which is actually needed for the rural areas, does not find the same emphasis as it should have found. As a matter of fact, it has been slashed down and I do not understand how the Minimum Needs Programme can be carried out when the Plan allocations are lower than the previous ones, or

have been reduced lower because of the inflationary trends in the prices.

As far as the Minimum Needs Programme is concerned, under the Health sector, recently a meeting of the officers of the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare was held in Delhi in February, 1980. The progress of the Minimum Needs Programme was reviewed in the States programme. Some of the reasons they found in February, 1980, for the slow progress were that the Plan allocation under the revised Minimum Needs Programme is by far too inadequate to meet the laid down physical targets; further, the allocations recommended by the Planning Commission are not made available for the Health sectors revised Minimum Needs Programme in the State budgets; the annual allocations made under the revised Minimum Needs Programme are not adequately proportionate to the total Plan allocation; the unit construction costs calculated work out allocation under the Revised Minimum Needs programme were fixed at the beginning of the Fifth Plan and are unrealistic in today's context. I need not go further into it. If in the previous budget, these were inadequate and one does not find more in this Budget, I do not understand how the Minimum Needs Programme can work through. The constraints under which it could not be implemented are still there and I do not see any hope in the present Budget that something will be done to ameliorate the situation.

Same is true about the nutrition programme for the children and the integrated programme. Then, again, look at the problem of unemployment and the way it has been going on. Here I may be permitted to quote from an article by no less a person than Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, our former Minister as well as a reputed economist: "Thus, there has been a significant increase in the estimated number of unemployed and under-employed in the urban areas, as can be

seen from the following table." And the table shows—unemployed throughout the year for 1970-71—1.88 million, for 1977-78—2.37 million; unemployed throughout the week—2.41 million in 1970-71 and 3.04 million in 1977-78; unemployed part of the week—3.24 million in 1970-71 and 4.09 million in 1977-78. Then he says: "In terms of percentage of the total working force, these percentages are higher for the urban areas than for the rural areas. Another indication of urban unemployment, which presents an even more dismal picture can be obtained from the number of persons who are applicants on the live register of the Employment Exchanges." I will not bother the honourable House with the figures, but I may be allowed to quote only one that is, the figures for the workers who were employed in the rural areas and their counterparts in the urban areas:—

	Rural areas	Urban areas
Agriculture and allied activities	83.7%	11.5%
Manufacturing processes	5.9%	29.4%
Construction	0.8%	3.6%
Trade and Commerce	2.7%	21.4%
Transport and storage	0.09%	10.8%

Therefore, Sir, if we have to remove poverty and unemployment, it is in agriculture and allied activities where the largest number of workers have to be given employment.

The Budget does not, again, give a very encouraging picture about employment. As far as one can see, the employment potential has been reduced. The Planning Commission Committee, which went into 20 districts in ten States on "Food for work Programme" has found that only about 50 per cent of the States or 50 per cent of the districts which they visited had utilised the full amount of allocation. In other places

they found great deficiencies—unemployment, misutilisation of funds for other purposes like purchase of crockery and purchase of other articles—and the work had suffered for want of proper care. Therefore, if the Food-for-Work programme is to be carried out, it has to be monitored properly and, again, it has to be ensured that people get employment at least for six months in a year. It has also to be ensured that the works that they carry out, construct or build are of a durable nature and are assets to the community. For instance, construction of roads along with community houses, storage capacity, houses, hospitals and primary schools will add wealth to the nation. But the way it has been carried out is itself a warning that such programmes may not always bear fruitful results.

Then, Sir, one comes to another factor, and that is the needs of the poor man, common man who has to walk three to four kilometres to go to the Out Patient Department of a hospital and waits there for half a day to get medicine. Do you have anything for him? I had the good fortune or misfortune—I do not know—to review the working of the hospitals of Delhi in the year 1967 and lately also in 1977-78. The Committee which was established under the chairmanship of Dr. K. N. Rao, the then Director-General of Health Services, had made 179 recommendations which covered all aspects of hospitals from the out-patients departments to the in-patients departments, laboratory services, nursing etc. When we reviewed the position in 1977-78, we found that many of the recommendations, 90 per cent of the recommendations, were not implemented. What is the fun in having committees after committees to improve the conditions of hospitals in Delhi when nobody is to implement the recommendations made by a committee which is chaired by no less a person than the Director-General of Health Services? Sir, in the year 1977-78, we found such overcrowding in some of the hospitals that one

[Dr. M. M. S. Siddhu]

would say that it is against all medical ethics for a doctor to keep patients under those conditions. Imagine a woman who has given birth to a child lying on the floor space. And there are rows of women lying there on the floor space, one after the other. Sometimes two or three ladies are found sharing a single bed. Now this is the state of affairs of the maternity wards in a reputed hospital run by the Government of India in Delhi. For God's sake, implement the recommendations of that Committee. I may be allowed to quote only one or two recommendations which will show that implementation recommendations is genuinely necessary for the health of the community. "The Committee recommends that the Out-Patient Block housing all the above-mentioned facilities be constructed on a priority basis at the Safdarjung Hospital. Out-Patients Department of the hospital are in a mess. One has to walk from one place to another and it is also disheartening to note that the Emergency Ward which was a hospital for 300 beds was converted into a Medical College, University College of Medical Sciences of the Traumatology and the Injury Department which was housed in that has been taken away from it." The same state of affairs has been there in most of the hospitals.

Then, Sir, come to the figures in these demands. I may refer to the demands for grants for the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare. We find that the Plan allocations are so meagre that none of the recommendations made can be carried out properly. Think of cancer, think of tuberculosis, think of communicable diseases. None of these can be effectively tackled. The only thing that we hear sometimes is the speech of the hon. Prime Minister which is circulated to the members of the Medical Council of India and the Medical Association to remind them what the Prime Minister thinks is to be considered. But, have the Government of India ever considered

some of the suggestions that have been made by some of the committees. I quote from the speech of the Prime Minister. Talking about the Delhi hospitals she has said:

"This has resulted in considerable inconvenience to the middle class and even the poor who flock to the capital from all parts of the Country in the understandable hope of better treatment and care only to find that they cannot even find a place to stay."

But in the year 1968-69 the same recommendations were given, and one cannot say that for that the Government of India is not responsible or that it cared to implement them. And after that we receive homilies.

The other factor—I will take a couple of minutes. Sir—which is engaging the attention of the medical profession as well is the medical education. Unfortunately, the number of medical colleges and the number of seats have been increased to such a number that the facilities for teaching, laboratory, research, are not adequate. At the same time, the institutions which were receiving *pagdi* premium or capitation fee for admission, are still continuing. Some of them have been taken over by the Government, and it is the Government which takes the money. I need not go into it. But is it not shameful that a brilliant student should not be admitted but a person with purse should be admitted, and yet we call it a socialist society? (*Time bell rings*) One minute more and I have done with my points.

The main point again is the question of the post-graduate medical education. For M.D. and M.S. regulations have been made by the Medical Council of India. But the high-ups in the Government, who save got pulls get persons admitted against the rules and regulations in the medical colleges which are run by the State Governments. Then a situation is created. Then someone goes to the court and gets a writ, and the person who has been deprived of admission

is also admitted. Then the matter comes before the Medical Council of India to regularise the admissions which were done against the rules. One is done under the pressure of the VIPs, and another is done under the pressure—I do not want to use the word “pressure”—on the advice or the orders of the honourable court because it wants to do justice to the person who has been aggrieved. Such cases are multiplying in the State of Uttar Pradesh in the medical college in Lucknow and the medical college in Agra, in the State of Karnataka and others. These cases then come before us. It is high time that the Government of India should take note of it because the Medical Council of India finds it difficult to regularise them, and the Medical Council of India needs the support of the Government of India to see that the rules and regulations are properly and effectively followed.

As for the health measures, the provision for Tuberculosis has been slashed drastically from 1978-79. I do not know whether the Tuberculosis patients deserve such a treatment for a disease which is said to be scourge. (*Time bell rings*). I am sorry. Sir; you have been ringing the bell. I have other points, I thank you once again for giving me this opportunity.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA:

Mr. Vice-Chairman. Sir, I rise to support the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. But before doing so, I would like to say that since I am a new arrival in this august House although not the newest one, if there is any lapse on my part, you will kindly bear with me.

My honoured colleagues across the floor have said so much to prove that all was well with the economy when the reins of the Government were handed over to us. The statistics they gave to prove it, I think, went against them. I would like most humbly to question them, which was that miracle which saw them across the floor, and

us here to shoulder the responsibility of putting the economy straight? None else but our beloved Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi, her charisma, and the party she leads, and the policies and programmes of which the people of India hold so dear to their hearts. The answer lies in the popular mandate of the great people of this great nation who felt insecure. And the onerous responsibility fell on our shoulders to bring stability and revitalise the economy. We do not have to reply to all that has been said by them. I think whatever they have said explains what the economy is like today.

To start with, I must congratulate our hon. Finance Minister for presenting a very balanced Budget, the best ever presented after independence. In an admittedly grim economic situation, with the shattered economy which we face, he has made an earnest attempt to bring about economic revival. We all know that the country is fighting hard to place itself in a position to give relief to the needy, to the weaker sections, to the common man. The Budget has sought to do so and give incentives to production. The hon. Minister has lifted or lowered levies on a wide range of articles. It has been a Herculean task which he had to perform, and a Herculean effort he has made to put the country's economy on the path of stability and growth. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister that the concessions, and all that has been provided for the weaker sections should reach them. There should be provisions to see that the traders do not get away with the concessions that have been given to the common man and that the consumers actually benefit by all these concessions given by the Government.

The Finance Minister has also announced several concessions to revive industrial growth in the form of tax holiday to new industrial undertakings. This is a very welcome measure, I should say, for the youth of the country, the entrepreneurs

[Shrimati Usha Malhotra]

Other special features are a massive rural employment programme and a reorientation towards the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and weaker sections. The hon. Finance Minister has followed the party's manifesto to the letter.

I would like to emphasise that the tourism industry should receive extra attention. There should be a national policy for the tourist industry. It has the potential of crossing the world oil turnover, according to expert economists. Tourism is a multi-billion industry in countries which have concentrated on it. India is second to none in what attracts the tourists, scenic beauty. India has everything to offer which attracts international tourists—coast-line beaches, cultural and artistic heritage and historical monuments. My mind goes back to our State, Himachal Pradesh, which abounds in so many of the items I have already mentioned—scenic beauty, ancient temples and all that a tourist dreams of. I would also request the hon. Minister to kindly see that all these tourist places and archaeological places which interest them are protected and are not damaged. If all these places are damaged, how can we justify tourism in our country. Tourism can form the backbone of our economy to an extent which we have not been able to realise. Or, we have not been able to appreciate the significance of tourism earlier. We have to lure tourists to our country. We have to give them tourist accommodation and all other facilities. I think we are not providing sufficient Budget provisions for this. By providing more funds and developing this industry, we can earn more foreign exchange for our country. Why is it that the tourists are in a hurry to leave our country when we have so much to give them? It is just a question of planning and changing priorities. We have to give more priority for tourism in our country.

I would also like to mention here that in addition to providing tourist

accommodation, lot of attention should be paid to highway tourism and to the improvement of buses which ply on the highways. They should be comfortable and should be air-conditioned. I was told that we are not in a mood to import air-conditioning plants for them which I think we ought to. If we have to build up tourism as an industry, we have to look to the minutest details of the industry.

Himachal Pradesh from where I come is a backward State. I feel that a lot can be done to develop this State if the Centre is willing to give us funds which can let us become economically viable, which can make us stand on our own feet and which can make us less of a burden on the Centre's exchequer. In this connection, I would like to stress that impetus can be given to electronic industries, and ancillary industries, in Himachal Pradesh. Why? The reason is that we have a dust-proof atmosphere over there. We can give incentives to certain entrepreneurs to go and set up these industries over there. Watch-making industry could be one. Television industry could be another. I would request the Central Government to help us out and make us feel self-sufficient so that we do not have to come here with begging bowls but on the other we could be of some help to the Centre through what we earn through tourism.

We produce potatoes and apples. But to carry these out of the Pradesh we have some problems. We do not have markets. We do not have rail-heads. We do not have proper transport facilities or other amenities. I would request the Railway Minister through you to provide some rail heads at different places, already mentioned to him, connecting Haryana, Punjab and U.P. with Himachal Pradesh.

I think it will do a lot of good to our farmers whose produce rot on the roads for lack of transport and other facilities. It is a heartrending sight to see the apples and potatoes rotting on the road-sides.

Our mineral belt still remains untapped. Our lime resources could be used to put up small mini cement factories which would contribute to the development of the State. Tourism, as I have already said, would go a long way in giving us what we need. The Centre should invest some funds to build up this industry by providing adequate accommodation. Now, I would request the honourable Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation to give us funds to put up aerodromes so that the incoming tourist or the international tourist is not put to any inconvenience and is able to save his time by taking a plane in Delhi and landing in Himachal Pradesh. Then, Sir, we can take upon ourself the responsibility of helping the international tourist by putting up small tourist complexes all over the State along the highways or in places which would attract tourists. Even though it is not the State subject—putting up an airstrip—I would like the Central Government to give us the necessary help, necessary aid and necessary knowhow and I think that with the improved technology these days, we have planes which do not require long runways, but which can take off on a very small strip of a runway and, as such, I would request the Central Government to look into it and give us the necessary fund required for this, for the airstrip, for which we have been fighting for the last so many years.

I would plead that more concessions to entrepreneurs to start industries in Himachal Pradesh be given. Industrialisation can take place in the backward States, I think, if the backward States receive attention from the Centre, and it would go a long way in reducing its burden. I say this because I believe in the proverb that whenever a person

comes to you for food, you do not give him the fish, but you teach him how to catch fish, because that would really help him. Similarly, this would relieve the burden on the Centre. Forest the single largest non-tax revenue amounting to twelve crores. In the larger interests of the nation and to rectify the ecological imbalance, a complete moratorium on forest felling is necessary and it would be possible to impose this moratorium if the Centre assures us of twelve crores of rupees per annum. As assured by our honourable Chief Minister, we can initiate the process right now and impose the moratorium in four years and the Centre should assure us of this before we start the process. I would also plead with the Centre that it should give more aid for metalling the existing roads and for linking them up with more villages. More and more villages should be connected by roads. As the expenditure on building these roads is much more here, I would say twice as much, than in the plains, the Centre should give more aid to connect these people who actually are cut off from the rest of the world and who live in the valleys and who still do not know what independence is, who do not realise that there is a better world outside beyond their mountain ranges. So, in view of this and also keeping the security of the country in view. I would like to keep these people with us by reaching out to them and give them all the amenities that they need. (*Time Bell rings*). Just two minutes more, Sir. I am the last one and so, I thought I would get a little more time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): No; you are not the last speaker. One more Member is there.

SHRIMATI USHA MALHOTRA: Just a little more time, Sir.

Well, Sir, we have a lot of potential by way of hydel power and I would say that if we are able to put up micro-hydel projects all over the State, we would be able to cater to

[Shrimati Usha Malhotra]

the needs of industry, the needs of the State and also improve the lot of the people. And if the Centre comes to our rescue, it would be welcome because these projects would go a long way to give us all we want by way of industry, by way of tourism, by way of improving the lot of the people.

In the end, I would like to draw the attention of this august House and the hon. Minister that advance plan assistance has been demanded by our State Government for drought relief measures in Himachal Pradesh, according to the Memorandum submitted to the Central Study Team which toured Himachal Pradesh from 27.5.80 to 30.5.80.

The drought spell started in the summer of 1979. The 'kharif' crop has failed loss running in Rs. 50 crores. The damage was estimated to be of the order of Rs. 50 crores. I am cutting it short, Sir. 'Rabi' crops have also failed. I just cannot put before you what the lot of the people is at the moment in Himachal Pradesh. For the first time, water resources in the State have dried up and fodder scarcity has been experienced. We have demanded an advance plan assistance to the tune of Rs. 18.79 crores from the Government of India as per the statement enclosed with the Memorandum submitted to the Central Study Team.

The natural calamity of drought, according to the Government of India's assistance pattern, falls under Plan scheme. According to that pattern the States are given 5 per cent of their annual plan outlay as Advance Plan Assistance, to be adjusted in next five years. The assistance is given for acceleration of the execution of existing plan scheme. The Food for Work Programme is the corner-stone of the whole edifice of drought relief. Last year we were given 22,000 tonnes of foodgrains under the special food for work programme and 7000 tonnes under the normal food for work programme.

This was found to be insufficient, with the result that the backlog of wages in kind, accumulated towards the end of financial year and we were short of 3351 tonnes of foodgrains, of the value of Rs. 46.80 lakhs. In the memorandum given to the Central Study Team requesting for Central Plan Assistance of Rs. 18.79 crores, we have claimed this balance as well . . . (Time bell rings). I am about to finish, Sir.

Under the Agriculture Programme, a new feature is contingency crop planning for which a sum of Rs. 2 lakhs has been asked for. We have also included subsidy for introgenous fertilizers, because the same is not permissible at present, and we have demanded Rs. 60 lakh for this purpose. I need not go into the details. We have come to the conclusion that a lot of aid from the Centre is required at the moment. This may be reviewed once again in the Budget and provision may be made.

Last but not the least, I would say that the Central Government employees who are actually posted in Himachal Pradesh face a lot of difficulty because it is a very difficult area and they are not used to the climatic conditions there. They have for the last so many years been demanding more of house rent allowance and more of C.C.A. If the Government of India goes into the details of these demands, an amount of not more than Rs. 6 or 7 lakhs is involved. I would plead with the hon. Minister kindly to look into the matter which has been hanging fire for the last so many years. To get better service we have to look to their needs, we have to look to their difficulty and we have to meet their legitimate demands. One thing more, Sir. In the end I would like to express my feelings for my friends sitting across the floor. (Time bell rings) I appeal to them that instead of being 'Vipakshi Sadasya', they should be 'Sahyogi Sadasya' because we have a lot to do. We have a common programme of serving the nation. We must put our

heads together and work towards a better tomorrow. Actually, constructive criticism is welcome. There is no doubt about it. (*Time bell rings*) At the same time, I would like that we should put our heads together and cooperate in order to make this budget a success.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, if today's sitting is to end by 6 o'clock, I would not be able to finish my speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): If you cannot finish today, you can carry on tomorrow. You can start now.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE: Sir, when the Finance Minister of a country has to rely on prayer or on weather, that country is in for a calamity practically and that is what Mr. Venkataraman has done in respect of the declared unbridged gap of Rs. 1470 crores. He says that he hopes that good monsoon would not leave any inflationary impact on this unbridged gap without any concrete assurances as to in which other ways it would offset the inflationary effect. As a matter of fact, the Finance Minister has acted like a magician, a poor magician at that who has been caught at the sleight of hands. The Finance Minister wanted to give the idea in Part (b) of his budget speech that it was all roses. He gave a rosy picture in the first 55 minutes of his speech. He

took nearly half an hour for a total exemption of 42 crores of rupees out of which only 15 crores of rupees related to things of final consumption. The others were exemptions towards inputs. Within two or three minutes, he mooted the proposals which would raise the excise duty by 282 crores of rupees. Another 217 crores of rupees would be realised from tax on interest. It has been described by many as a sort of indirect tax, although it is categorised as a direct tax and its effect will be on various articles produced by industries which would accrue this interest. More than 450 crores of rupees of additional taxes were imposed. But again this is not the full picture as everybody knows. It is a deceptive budget which was not expected of a serious economist like Mr. Venkataraman. A diversionary strategy was quite clear. The increase in the prices of diesel, petroleum goods and petrol were announced a day or two before this session began. There has been a comment that this increase has nothing to do with the Budget. On the other hand...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. R. MORARKA): It is now 6 o'clock. Prof. Bhattacharjee, you may continue your speech tomorrow. The House now stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 2nd July, 1980.