

लाइन में खड़े रहते हैं और कहा जाता है कि मिट्टी का तेल नहीं है। मार्च-अप्रैल, का महोना है, मिट्टी का तेल जला कर लोग पढ़ते हैं। सारे हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रामीण इलाकों में मिट्टी के तेल की कमी के कारण छात्रों की पढ़ाई-लिखाई बन्द है। मिट्टी का तेल न मिलने के कारण गरीब लोगों के घरों में काम नहीं हो रहा है। यहां तक कि कुकिंग गैस जो कि शहरों में इस्तेमाल होती है, लखनऊ में कुकिंग गैस न मिलने के कारण लाहि-लाहि मचो हुई है। तो मैं सरकार का ध्यान कुकिंग गैस तथा मिट्टी के तेल की कमी के कारण गरीबों में जो लाहि-लाहि मचो हुई है उसको हल करने की ओर दिलाता हूं कि सरकार अविलम्ब कदम उठाये ताकि गरीबों को राहत मिल सके।

सभापति महोदय, देश की राजधानी दिल्ली के अन्दर नई कालोनीज सैट अप हुई है वहां लोग लाइनों में खड़े रहते हैं, शाम को दुकानदार कहता है कि मिट्टी का तेल नहीं है। मैंने पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी जी का ध्यान इधर खींचा था, वह हमारी पार्टी के नेता हैं कि आप मिट्टी के तेल के प्रश्न पर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करें। लेकिन अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने भी हमारी इस बात को स्वीकार नहीं किया जब कि चार दिन पहले मैंने आपका ध्यान इधर खींचा था लेकिन आज तक इस समस्या का निराकरण नहीं हुआ है और हमे लखनऊ, बलिया, गोरखपुर, बनारस, आजमगढ़ और उत्तर भारत के अनेक इलाकों से इस बात के तार, टेलीग्राम्स आये हैं कि मिट्टी के तेल का इतना बड़ा संकट पिछले 4-5 वर्षों में पहले कभी नहीं था। लेकिन मैं सरकार का ध्यान इधर खींचना चाहता हूं कि वह गरीब जनता को मिट्टी का तेल देने की अविलम्ब व्यवस्था करे ताकि लोगों में शान्ति हो, गरीब लोग राहत की सांस ले सकें।

धन्यवाद।

MOTION FOR ELECTION TO THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSES ON THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES ORDERS (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1978.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI DHANIK LAL MANDAL):
Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do appoint a Member of the Rajya Sabha to the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Bill, 1978, in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Shri Jagbir Singh, and resolves that Shri Bhairab Chandra Mahanti, Member, Rajya Sabha, be appointed to the said Joint Committee to fill the vacancy." *The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

**THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1979-80—
contd.**

(General Discussion)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Mr. Chairman, Sir, soon after the Finance Minister assumed charge of the Finance Ministry, he convened a meeting of the Consultative Committee.

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair].

In the meeting while welcoming him, I had stated that after a long time, we had a Finance Minister who had the requisite political weight and the political stature to take hard decisions even if such decisions were politically inexpedient and politically unwise and he would take those decisions ruthlessly, provided such decisions would monitor the fiscal and monetary policies for an accelerated economic growth of the country, coupled with considerations of social justice.

Sir, there were two parts of the statement. The first one was that he was capable of taking decisions which are politically unwise and inexpedient. So far as that part is concerned, it has come true, almost with a prophetic

[Shri N. K. Saive]

tic fervor, but there was the second part in which I had expressed the hopes, the expectations of the nation, when I stated that a person like him would be able to take measures, take pragmatic and bold steps that would intensify the struggle for the emancipation from the economic conditions of the under-privileged, the less privileged, the ill-fed, the less nourished and the 40 per cent populace which is miserably dragging its life at the poverty line. The hopes, the expectations and aspirations of these people have not only been trampled upon, but these budget proposals have blown the hopes to absolute smithereens. It is a very regrettable phenomenon. In one of the longest speeches ever delivered in the Lok Sabha connected with the Budget, containing 147 paras, the Finance Minister made out his own calculations. He reckoned the receipts in a figure of Rs. 16,551 crores and the expenditure of Rs. 18,526. Now at the current level of taxation the receipts are worked out at Rs. 16,551 crores, working out a deficit of Rs. 1975 crores. Then he proceeded to say that he cannot leave this deficit uncovered. There have to be certain taxation and the country must bear with him. But it is stated in his Budget Speech that the taxation proposals must serve and subserve three objectives and he enumerated the three objectives. First one is, eradication of disparities, the other is, augmenting the production and avoiding of waste and the third is eliminating unemployment and under-employment.

So far as these three objectives are concerned, purely as a matter of economic philosophy these objectives are absolutely and clearly outside the pale of any controversy, whatsoever. In fact, I beg to submit that as a proposition of Budget theology any developing country would adopt these objectives and whichever countries have sincerely sought to achieve these objectives have not merely achieved a miracle of economic growth but have been able to make the lives of

their people happy. But if one were to juxtapose these objectives in relation to the actual budget proposals and critically collate the two, one would find—with all respect to the Finance Minister, unfortunately he is not here, on a personal level I have a high regard for him because he is a man of some integrity—that this gentleman has been taken for a terrible ride by the bureaucrats. He has not been able to understand them. He is completely new to the task and he has been taken for a ride for the objectives, and the proposals do not make any sense whatsoever. In fact, the taxation proposals, without any doubt, are wholly counter-productive to these three objectives. Sir, eradication of disparities necessarily involves strenuous efforts of upliftment, economic upliftment, of those people who are at the lowest rung of the ladder, at the cost of those who are at the highest rung of the ladder. You cannot think of eradication or reduction of disparities by thinking of upliftment of some at the lowest rung at the cost of others who are at the same rung of the ladder. This is something which is not known in any scheme or concept of reduction or eradication of disparities.

Firstly, I dispute the contention that there is any effort at eradication or reduction of disparities, but certainly, there is one undisputable facet of this budget. The poor are being crushed and crushed ruthlessly and mercilessly. People who are at the lower middle class constitute the poor. The people in the small towns, in the rural areas belong to this class and constitute the poor.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): I have one request to make. I am not insisting on this because ultimately the Government is a government. When persons like Mr. Salve is speaking, at least courtesy demands that the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister should be present. I am seeing this for the last three days. When senior members of our Party are speaking

from the Opposition side, he is not present. So, Sir, I would only request you that his presence should be ensured because when a Member with his knowledge in taxation who is an expert, in speaking, there is nobody present. I do not dispute the seniority or the claim of my hon'ble colleague. I do not know his name, but he is a Minister of Finance. That much I know. I don't know that is why I am saying that I don't know his name

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): You should know the names of the Minister at least

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Not necessary. I never go to anybody's house. Why should I know who is who? But when a senior Member like Mr. Salve is speaking, at least somebody should be there.

श्रीमती सरोज खापडे (महाराष्ट्र) : श्रीमन्, मेरा यह कहना है कि गवर्नमेंट को एक गेट टुगेदर एरेन्ज करना चाहिए और उसमें मिनिस्ट्रों को मेम्बरों से इंट्रोड्यूस करने का प्रोग्राम रखना चाहिए ताकि सब लोगों को यह मालूम हो सके कि कौन मिनिस्टर क्या है

(Interruptions)

श्री एस० आर० कृष्ण (आंध्र प्रदेश) : क्या इस तरह से रोज ही मिनिस्ट्रों को इंट्रोड्यूस करते रहेंगे? ...

(Interruptions)

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Day before yesterday in the Lok Sabha also, Mr. Subramaniam, ex-Finance Minister spoke; Mr. Venkataraman spoke from their Party. The Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister was not present there. This is ridiculous.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): Don't bother about the other House.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Mr. Bhandari, this is a courtesy and convention.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: I accept that. But the Minister of State is here.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Parliament is not a factory having double shift here one manager is supervising both the shifts. This is not a factory; this is a Parliament of people's representatives who desire to project their views.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I am grateful for the kind words which my friend has spoken about me. But I am a humble servant of the House. Sir, there is a certain courtesy which the Minister shows to the House as such. We are going to raise certain questions of cardinal importance and if they think that this debate is a plenty of verbiage and non-sense and they can merrily take decisions which they think are proper according to their thinking, then it is a different story. But if they are going to attach some importance to the debate in this House, or the other House, courtesy demands that the person who is responsible for making these devastating proposals in the budget should be present. Sir, no budget has created such a furore and such an amount of controversy as this Budget has done. It has trampled upon the rights of the poor throughout the country. And imagine the way they are treating us, glibly talking with a self-slaughtering complacency about themselves.

THE MINISTER OF TOURISM AND CIVIL AVIATION (SHRI PURUSHOTTAM KAUSHIK): Sir, on behalf of the Government, I can assure the hon. Members that we do not take non-serious of any of the Members; more so the senior Members of this House. But it might be that the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister is busy in the other House.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Would you take a bow...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order please. Please don't raise such matters.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI ZULFIQUARULLAH): It is not my fault if people don't know me.

SHRI PURUSHOTTAM KAUSHIK: Whatever the hon. Members are saying, we are taking down the points and these would be duly replied to when the Deputy Prime Minister replies to the debate on the Budget.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, it is not a question of an individual being senior or junior. Please completely disabuse your mind of that. All I am submitting is that if the debate in the House is to be taken seriously, purely sending in reports and getting him to reply is not the best way, something better can be done. And if this is the best, I would have nothing to say in the matter. But, Sir, kindly don't add this time to the time given to me because I am already short of time.

Sir, I was on the question of upliftment and eradication of disparities. It is a very strange manner in which the Finance Minister is endeavouring to eradicate disparities by trying to keep the poor people under the illusion that he is eradicating disparities and under the absolute illusion that he is giving relief to some other poor. In fact, the reality is to the absolute contrary. Sir, there was a study conducted by certain government agencies on human nutrition. The facts which have been revealed in that study will shock the human conscience. A brilliant economist has analysed those facts from his point of view to determine what are the basic causes which have gone to such lamentable disconcerting conditions which prevail or which engulf those people who are living near the poverty line. This is what he has to say.

This is not a politician writing but an eminent economist. I quote, Sir.—

"Our per capita human consumption of cereals at about 400 gms. per day is not only low, but it is lower in relation even to some of our neighbouring countries (Pakistan 496, Burma 419, Egypt 565, Republic of Korea 572 etc.) Worse still far from increasing, it has declined from the level of 419 gms. in 1965. Again the C.S.O.'s quick estimates of national income for 1977-78, also recently released, show that in relation to 1970-71, the average per capita consumption expenditure in real terms has in most years, stagnated at lower levels.

Therefore, the inadequately appreciated truth about the massive buffer stocks of wheat and rice is three-fold. First, the stocks are mounting up but people remain ill-fed because they do not have the requisite purchasing power to buy the very basic commodities of consumption. Secondly, even after offering a high subsidy of 26.5 per cent on the bare economic cost (without any allowance for profit), people cannot afford to buy food. Finally the cereal consumption has actually gone down, for the masses below the poverty line, the decline in consumption, from the already low levels must have been even more sharp than the average. All of which goes to emphasise that we have not yet been able to make a dent in the root cause of our economic predicament viz., the increasing unemployment, and declining purchasing power, perpetuated by inadequate economic growth."

This, Sir, is the malaise which goes to the root of these disparities, the malaise of inadequate economic growth which is only 3.5 per cent.

Sir, as against 7 per cent odd last year, the economic growth is only 3.5 per cent this year odd. There is depletion in the real purchasing power of the Rupee. There is unemploy-

ment and under-employment. And what has been done to improve these conditions? What has been done to bring about accelerated growth of the economy so that larger purchasing power comes into the hands of those who cannot afford to themselves 400 grammes of cereal in a day? And these are not the only problems which the economy faces in the country.

There is great talk of satisfactory state of economy. The glib talk of satisfactory state of economy is not only a hogwash, it is self-slaughtering complacency. You have only to face the economic problems and realise and appreciate what they are for the people living at the poverty line. Then you will not be so complacent, so dangerously complacent about the satisfactory state of the economy. I seek a reply from the Finance Ministry. What about the lower rate of overall growth at only 3.5 per cent? Please do not give us a hogwash of reasons. What are we to do? There is no growth so far as agriculture is concerned. So far as industry is concerned it is much better. And, therefore, overall growth is 3.5 per cent. Our charge against you is this that India never had it so good as it had during 1977-78 and 1978-79. But it is a bunch of incompetent people managing the fiscal and monetary policies who have brought this havoc in the country irreparably damaging the economy of the country. I ask all of you: What is the reason for the decline of the gross domestic savings which have decline to 22.4 per cent as against 23.3 per cent of the gross domestic products. I am quoting these figures from the Economic Survey. What about the absence of growth in investments? Have you heard of a country achieving economic growth without there being growth in investment? Do you have the Jana Sangh *diya* or somet hing else to achieve a miracle that you will rub it and a gene will come and the country's economic growth will come about? Unless there is investment there is never going to be economic growth. There is the investment of 7.4 per

cent for augmenting the Plan. This 7.4 will be washed off, will be neutralised by the inflationary spiral which is on the anvil. There is far too much inflationary ammunition you have put in the Budget. When it explodes, the first people to be exploded will be from your own party.

Sir, what about industrial unrest and indiscipline? You are not able to cope with and tackle these matters. Would not industrial production have been much higher if it was not for indiscipline and labour unrest which you have not been able to tackle? What about non-revival of the sick units and the increasing sickness in industry? What about the pernicious and deleterious decline in the exports? What are you doing for it? Every time there is a problem, you fall back upon the foreign exchange which has come to you for no fault of yours, for no work of yours. Through invisible exports those monies have come and you try to fall back upon the same.

And what about the unsatisfactory power position? You have made some higher allocations. The figures are somewhere else—I do not want to get at them. "But the power position has been most satisfactory throughout the country." Now a person will have to be an idiot—either congenital or of his own choice—if he were to feel that everything is all right now in the power supply position. The power supply position is dangerously unsatisfactory and nothing is sought to be done.

Finally, what about the spurt in money supply? There is a 50 per cent growth in money supply and on top of this has come this Budget of yours which, I submit, is anti-growth, pro-kulak, pro-super rich and, that is why, this Budget is entirely anti-people.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: (Andhra Pradesh): Not pro-kulak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: I shall make my case. (Interruptions) I shall come to it and I shall explain how it is pro-kulak. Because, there is a

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

very powerful kulak lobby. I will not be cowed down by any lobby. I shall explain, I shall give you the figures, I shall show you how it is pro-kulak. *(Interruptions)* I would not like to be interrupted. It is going to unleash an inflationary spiral which you will not be able to control. Kulaks are those who are surplus farmers. I have figures to show that 70 per cent of the cultivators are having less than one hectare of land. To them, ten paise of relief per bag of area is going to give no relief whatsoever. There should have been differential pricing for those 70 per cent of people. Studies have been conducted by the Reserve Bank and they have shown that four per cent of the people who have above eight hectares of land have devoured for themselves 27.7 per cent of the credit facilities whereas people who have less than two hectares of land got only 14.5 per cent. I do not want to go into those figures and statistics but, for God's sake, bear with me. I shall satisfy you in the limited time I have at my disposal. But if anyone thinks that it is going to help the poor cultivator in the rural area, the unemployed in the rural area, the poor in the rural area, he is living in a fool's paradise. Absolutely there is going to be no relief to the poor. There is absolutely no silver lining for the poor. There is a silver lining, if at all, for the agriculturally surplus people.

I want to make one thing clear. I was on the question of inflationary spiral. But Shri Ranga is my revered leader and I want to make one thing clear to him. I am not against "Larger money being diverted for development of rural and agricultural areas." In fact, only Rs. 57 crores more have been given for the development of rural areas, which will again be neutralised. For agriculture and rural development, Rs. 1,811 crores have been earmarked as against Rs. 1,754 crores last year.

That means there is an increase of Rs. 57 crores only. I submit that this increase of Rs. 57 crores is niggardly. It is not going to help us at all. The increase should have been of Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 300 crores. Instead of giving these 349 crores of rupees to the surplus farmers, if the amount had been put in for agricultural development and rural development. I would have been the first man to take my hat off to the Finance Minister. That is my grievance when I say this. How can we be against the farmers? How can we be against the rural people? They constitute India. It is their growth, their prosperity which will be the prosperity of the country. But I put this question: Is there any justification for these 349 crores of rupees being given by way of these four concessions to the surplus farmers instead of being put in for a development programme for the rural agricultural sector? Would the latter not have been more sensible? Because imagine, without this growth, how would you bring in more purchasing power in the hands of the people who are on the lower rungs of the ladder? If you do not really bring more purchasing power in the hands of these people, the agricultural commodities will never be able to get the prices which you want them to get and which are reasonable. In fact, the lot of the agriculturists, if seen from a long-term point of view, will never be catered to, will never be served by relief for conspicuous consumption of surplus farmers. In fact, if you give this money to the surplus farmers it will go in for conspicuous consumption in the rural areas. That is not going to help the growth of the rural areas. That is my grievance. Divert Rs. 500 crores more, if you want to the rural areas, the agricultural areas. But you are not going to do that because it is not your class. You want to give it to a certain set of people. This is what you have done. And at whose cost? I shall be coming to that a little later. It is going to unleash an inflationary spiral which you will not be able to

control. You seem to be feeling with a dangerous complacency that with the highest ever buffer stock of food-grains and happy and comfortable position in foreign exchange you will be able to control the inflationary spiral.

Sir, there are three wise men who have said that the Budget is not inflationary. One of them is the Finance Secretary, Shri Ramachandran. The second is the Economic Affairs Secretary, Shri Manmohan Singh. And the third is Shri Raj Narain. Now, so far as Shri Raj Narain's economic predictions are concerned, they may not be right, but he is not unpredictable with his economic predictions which are well aligned to his political alignments for the time being. Therefore, we understand whatever he says about the inflationary spiral. But what about these two charlies, the two Secretaries? The two Secretaries have acted like the typical bureaucrats trained in the tradition of legendary British administration of the colonies, where intellectual natives in high Government posts were supposed to stand by the British Raj with every conceivable means of intellectual dishonesty masquerading it as superior knowledge and highest patriotism. These two Secretaries say that the price rise will not be beyond one per cent. I put this challenge to you. If it is proved wrong and the prices are up by over 5 per cent, will you tell them that they will be chucked out, kicked out of their jobs, if their wives have not already pulled them up for what they have done to the economy? If they are honest officers, their wives must have already threatened to turn them out of their houses. Mrs. Salve lost her temper on me when the Budget was announced. I said: What can I do? I am not in the Janata Party. If they are not already in this condition, are you willing to take up this challenge? Whom are you taking for a ride?

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : रैन बसेरे में गये सब ।

श्री एन० के० पी० साल्व : निवेदन यह है कि हमारी तरीके की बात से क्या वे समझते हैं कि वे सारे बेवकूफ हैं जो इस मुल्क में बसे हुए हैं । हमने कह दिया और ...

Sir, my submission is that this is very unfair. What the Secretaries say is that depending on the buffer stocks and the foreign exchange reserves, they are going to control inflation. But I ask you: What about the levies which are going to bring about a cost push?

Will it not lead to higher wages? And what about the spurt in money supply without there being growth in real terms which may not be able to absorb the spurt in money supply. There is a continuous spurt in money supply. As a result of it, will it not lead to, what has been picturesquely described by the economists, a wage-price spiral? It will lead to, what another eminent economist has stated in his inimitable style, an inflationary spiral which is a matter of arithmetic purely. This is what he says, Sir:

"The final increase in the prices of manufactured consumer goods would be nine per cent, in the cost of living of the working class four per cent and of the middle income group five per cent. This is simple arithmetic."

The Secretaries have their own weightage. They have their own method of computation of price index. And to be able to please the Finance Minister the two Secretaries are saying that the spiral is going to be less than 1 per cent. They have to go and buy things in the market today and realise that a person who is drawing Rs. 500 has to bear the price rise of over 22 per cent. They are cursing you right, left and centre. But I will submit, Sir, this is what is inevitable for all the consumers all over the country.

I shall come to the question of some of the taxes that have been levied. Sir there has been an increase in taxes on the transport industry. On mopeds, scooters, motor cycles, three wheelers, cars and commercial vehicles. Taxes on these have increased and it has been said that these are items of luxury use, that these are items which are used by the rich and the affluent and that, therefore, this increase is justified. Sir, may I submit with the utmost humility that the whole approach that these are luxury goods and are used only by the well-to-do persons for wasteful purposes is a hopelessly antiquated notion and the whole approach is ante-diluvian? Do they understand that for accelerated growth one of the prime and most important industry, one of the prime and important need, is the highly developed transport. Without developing transport it is not possible to expect accelerated growth of economy in the country. Taxation of transport industry is entirely anti-growth. It is absurd to say that this is used by those people who are rich and that it is wasteful. Gone are the days when one could buy petrol and could just go for an evening drive. Nobody goes for even drive these days.

Taxes have been increased on consumer items. They are petrol, kerosene, soap, detergents, biscuits and chocolates. Even baby foods in this Year of the Child, have not been spared by the Finance Minister. The babies have not been spared, the children have not been spared and the poor have not been spared. Therefore I call it anti-people.

So far as petrol is concerned, do they appreciate and understand that over 70 per cent is debit and credit exercise? Whatever you increase is ultimately borne by you to the extent of 70 per cent. It is the Government agencies, the public sector undertakings or several Government functionaries

who use petrol, and it is the Government who pays nearly 70 to 75 per cent of the cost, and the remaining is only 25 per cent. Kindly understand the discrimination. I want to bring to your notice a little more carefully. Those who run their cars on expenditure account in the companies or on professional account, they are let off very cheaply, because in any case 55 per cent or 60 per cent of the cost is borne by the exchequer on the expenditure account. You spend Rs. 10,000 on petrol. That does not matter. Fifty-five per cent of Rs. 5,500 or Rs. 6,000 is the relief you get in taxation. That is the relief you get by way of deduction from income for taxation. But a poor man, a man who wants to reach his children in these days of terrible position of law and order wherein you had the most gruesome of crimes of Sanjay and Geeta, wants to drop his children to school so that they may reach safely. These parents do not run their cars at the cost of the exchequer. It is these parents you have hit below the belt. It is these people, you call them rich. If they are honest employees, they can be anything but rich. Therefore, it is necessary that you should consider whether it is fair that you give all sorts of relief to only those who are rich, only those who are paying taxes in the high brackets; they are getting relief. To them it makes no difference, those who are running it or the expenditure account either for profession or for business or who are running it for the benefit of the Government. To you, Mr. Minister, it is going to make no difference. You can have any amount of petrol for your cars. To you or to Mr. Kaushik it is going to make no difference. But ask somebody who is sitting in the Official Gallery what it means to him if he thinks of taking his children to the school. And taking children to the school, I submit, is no wasteful expense. This is no luxury and if this is what you are going to axe, you are not being sensible at all. My submission is, for petrol at least, will you agree to do

one thing? Give every owner of a car who is not running it on expense account at least six or seven gallons by way of coupons or something on which he can buy cheap petrol. Why he should be made to bear so much burden, I am just unable to understand. And what about soap? Soap has also become a luxury item? I think this is denial of the basic dignity to human beings. It not only violates all the norms and canons of taxation, but it violates the very dignity which a human being is entitled to. Do you think the human beings are living like the flora and the fauna, like the vegetation and animals? Do you think because they do not use soap, human beings also must not use soap? After all for imparting dignity to human life, a few things are necessary. Even if a man living on the poverty-line uses soap, does it become a luxury article? I ask you, if you have conscience does it become a luxury item, even if it is used by a man living on the poverty-line just because the animals do not use it? This is most unconscionable. You have increased the levy on detergents, on baby food, on chocolates. And how much are you going to get out of it? What pittance are you going to get out of it? If nothing else, this unconscionable taxation must be completely scrapped.

Then I come to the taxation under the residuary heading, item 68. Here it is an increase from 5 per cent to 8 per cent, to yield Rs. 100 crores additionally, without any cascading effect. It is said that because the duty paid at one point in manufacture is allowed by way of set-off when used as an input in another manufacture of excisable goods, it does not have a cascading effect. Sir, the taxation under item 68 is the most unscrupulous taxation one can ever think of. Mr. C. Subramaniam introduced it stupidly to start with at 1 per cent when he was the Finance Minister of my party. I told him, "You are opening the flood-gate of a most pernicious and dangerous norm and method of taxation, and some day"—

I had warned him; I don't have a copy of that speech with me now—"if a weak Government comes into power and if it is managed by unprincipled and unscrupulous politicians it may raise tax under this item manifold". Sir, I never realised that what I said then would come true so soon. Abolish this taxation completely because it violates all the canons of taxation. This is a steam-roller taxation without any regard to the nature of the item taxed, the section of the society taxed, the social cost of such tax. There is no basis to evaluate its impact. This is absolutely counter-productive. Therefore, I submit, the taxation under item 68 is wholly irrational and unwarranted. The taxation under this item, I submit, is nothing but sheer tyranny. It must come to an end some time or the other.

Sir, this is a Budget in which the poor have been ignored. The middle class has been crushed because the middle class is an insignificant fraction of the electorate. This is hardly the treatment they deserved. The middle class showed the greatest anxiety for voting the Janata into power. The Finance Minister may be justified in penalising them but in the process, the very basis and foundation of economic growth must not be ruined and jeopardised. He must not destroy the middle class for even if it is a small fraction of the electorate, I submit, it constitutes the very machinery for the development and growth of any country. It is an invaluable asset to the society. In the end I would submit in all humility that your party is tremulent and dithering under the weight of internecine, factional, infighting and treacherous manoeuvres of power politics by unprincipled and unscrupulous politicians in your party who had pretended as the greatest paragons of virtue and Messiah of Parliamentary democracy in the '77 General Elections. If you are anxious to kick out such a party and Morarji's Government, you could not have improved on your Budget. Our concern is

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

only that in the process you are making those at the poverty line pay an unbearable cost and damaging the economy of the country.

Sir, I am grateful to you once again for this opportunity. Thank you.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Mr. Deputy Chairman, after an expert academician like my colleague, Mr. Salve, has spoken, an expert on taxation, for a common man like me who has got an agricultural base it is very difficult to project my views. However, I will take the opportunity and the courage to discuss the Budget and analyse it in my own way.

At the outset, Sir, I welcome the philosophy of agricultural development that the Budget has presented. Of course, many friends have said it is kulak-oriented; many such comments have been made. But I think the persons who are describing this Budget as kulak-oriented, have to re-think on what they are saying. It is not that I am admiring what the Finance Minister has stated in his Budget. But in the tax proposals he has made I do feel there is some philosophy.

I find that it is for the first time that such philosophy has been introduced into the Budget. How much of the benefit has gone to the kulak, what portion of it has gone to the kulak, what portion has gone to the non-kulak, these are all academic discussions? Those who talk of kulaks, they are themselves kulaks in an urban society which receive high remuneration in comparison. So they do not know or confused about what they are talking about. I say this year we have a Budget with a difference. But the difference is not as big as has been made out. Whether one agrees with its philosophy or not, the Budget this time has a philosophy. It is not the philosophy of inflation control nor that of redistribu-

tion of income and wealth; it is the philosophy of agricultural development and that is what I really welcome. One economist once remarked: Agricultural development in an underdeveloped country is generally slow because among other things the Ministers of Agriculture are seldom men of calibre and dynamism. I for one believe that agricultural development is generally slow because the Finance Ministers seldom have a theory regarding agricultural development. Most Finance Ministers are preoccupied with industrial advancement and they do not bother about giving a major push to agriculture. Though it is doubtful if industries can be sustained long enough without a constant push in the field of agriculture. Here in the case of the Janata Party it is not only this, but the infighting that is there, has also caused delay in giving a push to agriculture. Another economist said, an industrial economy is one with a highly developed agriculture. He could not be more right that it is a matter of some satisfaction that we now have a Finance Minister who has made it his business to make the Budget an instrument for agricultural growth. Sir, as far as the allocation for agriculture and allied activities is concerned, it looks as if it is in the hands of an enthusiast. But the same enthusiasm is not visible when it comes to the question of distribution of income and resources of the small farmers.

1.00 P.M.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: That is right.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Then, Sir, it has been said here that a very wide range of indirect taxation, which is quite often regressive in character and which falls on the less well-to-do segments of the population is there, which further underscores the lack of emphasis on equality. Sir, in this connection, I was really surprised to hear Mr. Salve. Mr. Salve is a urban

based person with roaring practice on his orientation naturally is urban and he won't dispute that. But, yesterday being a holiday, Sir, I was reading some articles by one or two economists and their analyses and I was reading what they have said about this Budget. Yesterday, I read two papers which came to me—one was "The Hindustan Times" and the other was "The Indian Express" or something like that. One article was "The Farmer and the Budget" by Shri T. N. Nainan. He has taken the line that this is a kulak-oriented Budget. Then, Sir, there is an observation by another economist, one Shri Shrikant Sambhrani who is in the Jawaharlal Nehru University. His article is: "Subsidy for Whom?". Ultimately, he has shown that the Budget is an agriculture-oriented Budget and that this should be encouraged. So, I am not surprised I conclude. Theoriticians and academicians are both confused.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Kulkarni, excuse me for my interruption. He has said that there is a city kulak or urban kulak. There are city kulaks and urban kulaks and don't forget that.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Whether it is the urban kulak or the city kulak, I am not concerned with that because I have got my own philosophy and with my philosophy I will see that the farmers, the rural population, get more resources in their hands and that they deserve to get benefits from the Government whereby the rural poverty in the country can be eradicated. There I stand to support the Budget to the extent possible. There is a mixed reaction, Sir, to this Budget and I can understand that. But it is not to the extent as stated by Mr. Salve. Perhaps, Sir, Mr. Salve might not be aware that as a Director in the Indian Farmers Fertilizers Co-operative, I had got a publication recently entitled "Fertilizer Situation in India".

If you go through this, you will find—and you will be surprised to know—how much the farmer, during the last five or six years, had to pay. I will only quote just two or three lines. Of course, it was during our Congress regime and I do not blame the Janata Government because the Janata came to power only very recently and they have been there only for two years now.

Sir, there is something called the economics of application of fertilizer in agriculture and there is the NPK application in agriculture. Now, we have to compare the fertilizer and foodgrains prices. You will be surprised to know that these prices have been continuously rising right from 1971 to 1978. In physical terms, to purchase one kilogram of paddy, you required Rs. 3.79 and now it is Rs. 5.96. In physical terms it comes to this and this is the position. Similarly, in the case of wheat, it has gone up from 2.64 to 3.86. Similar studies have been made in respect of certain other things also. But, Sir, there is a myth that the small farmers do not use fertilizers. It is totally wrong. Personally, Sir, I am a land-holder having 12 acres of land though under the ceiling laws of Maharashtra it is 16 acres which should be perennially irrigated. Sir, we have got a small well which cannot support perennial irrigation, which can only get us some crop for three or four months; to that extent only. Sir, in that context it is impossible to use fertilisers, because they were very costly. But now a subsidy has been given. Once these prices are reduced, the small farmer will use it.

I will give you an example. When cereals are grown the crop depending on rain, usually per acre you got 4 or 5 bags of cereals. But if one uses fertilisers, one can get ten bags. That means, to that extent his resources will be naturally more. But, for that purpose, Mr. Charan Singh, while moving his Budget and giving subsidy has forgotten to make the

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entire structural changes required in the equation between the rich and the poor in the rural areas also. Unless structural changes take place under the Land Ceilings Act and these are properly implemented, unless the philosophy and the activities of the Reserve Bank of India are brought, where the small farmer is the kingpin of agricultural development, this type of subsidy is not going to percolate to small farmers with that much I agree. But the philosophy is not there, to say that only the 'kulak' is going to be benefited is total distortion. It is erroneous, academician do not understand field problems.

There is another point in this. It is futile to attempt to divide the rich farmer and the small farmer. Sir, with 12 acres of land, my total income must not be more than Rs. 3000 or Rs. 4000 per year, whereas a 'chaprasi' or a fourth class peon in Bombay, in a factory, is getting Rs. 800 per month. His total income comes to Rs. 10,000 plus other benefits... (Interruptions) Sir, in Guest Keen Williams Ltd. they have recently signed an agreement that in addition to Rs. 300, if a man marries, honeymoon expenses would also be paid for them... (Interruptions) A small farmer has all along been dependent on the rain-go. Now, some such subsidies are given. To that extent I am one with Mr. Charan Singh in giving support to the Agriculture.

He has completely abolished the duty on tobacco growers. In northern India whether you grow tobacco or not, I do not know. I give you my own example. I never grew tobacco at all. But, fortunately, my son married a girl from Karnataka side where tobacco is grown. She persuaded her mother-in-law: "Let us grow tobacco", and...

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): That is the advantage of marrying in Karnataka... (Interruptions)

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I never grew tobacco at all. But for them, the first problem was to approach the Excise Inspector. The Excise Inspector was 20 miles away and he wanted them to send a car for him. Now, Mr. Sultan Singh is a progressive farmer and he might be a 'kulak' also... (Interruptions) Mr. Salve is a richer urban apart from being a very clever advocate. (Interruptions) I am a novice. My wife said that we can grow only 300 saplings. The Inspector of Excise said, "No, no, there is a duty; you pay for 500 trees as usually 500 is normal practice." We are growing only 300 trees in one acre. And you know, Sir, the official charge so—Rs. 25 per acre, Rs. 30 per acre. My wife told them that she is the wife of an M.P. उसने कहा, हमारे पास एम.पी.

बहुत आते हैं। सबको पैसा देना पड़ता

This is the position. Mr. Sultan Singh, am I right? So, Sir, they are the youngsters in Lok Sabha and are novice in agricultural field experience. Here, we are mature people. At least, in Rajya Sabha, let us not denounce and damage the cause of agriculture.

Sir, I give you only one instance because I have very limited time at my disposal. Again, I bring to the notice of Mr. Salve more instances, I think, he will understand it properly. And today the Communist Members are absent here except Mr. Mahapatra who would again pounce upon me. Sir, I have got a study made of the people who are called the organised labour—for whom these friends are fighting against pitiable condition of the farmers. Sir, Dr. V. M. Dandekar has written a very studied article—the class conflict in India—in the 'Mainstream'. Sir, there he says that as per the census of 1971, out of 547 million people, 180.4 million are classified as workers. Out of these 180 million, 47.5 million are agricultural labourers, 78.2 million are cultivators, 6.3 million are artisans. Then

there are people with small means of production. Tailors work out to 5.6 million, transport workers are nearly 2.1 million; persons in poultry/dairy are 1.9 million; shopkeepers are 4.9 million. Then, Sir, comes what you call the organised sector about for whom my friend, Mr. Kalyan Roy, breaks his heart. And he fights for these people and for raising the wages of the salaried class and the babus in Government offices. What is their contribution? Sir, Mr. Salve talked of 400 grams of cereals. Who eats it? It is being eaten by whom? Not even 200 grams are available to a small farmer or an artisan. Who is eating this. It is being eaten by the organised labour whose pay is more than Rs. 500 per month. Why did you not argue against that? Sir, their number is only 20 million, that is, 2 crores. Out of a total working labour of 13 crores, they constitute two crores. That means, barely 12 or 13 per cent of the population are getting lavish benefits in comparison to a producer of foodgrains who toils. The Reserve Bank employees, the bank employees want more and more.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: And L.I.C.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Yes, you have rightly reminded me of the LIC. Sir, I just quote one or two instances. Sir, a study has been made how they are treating the policyholders callously. Sir, at the end of 1957, there were 24,500 clerks and 1038 class I officers. Sir, you see how this empire is growing. Everyday, they shout in Bombay, 'LIC *murdabad*, LIC *murdabad*.' On 31st March, last year, the LIC had 44,716 clerks and 4,086 officers—who are also agitating for something—to handle nearly 204 lakh policies insured for Rs. 18,000 crores. Previously they were handling about 6,86 lakh policies insured for fourteen hundred seventy four crores rupees. This is the disparity in the LIC also.

Now, many have asked, what is the real gain of the farmer? Many may not be knowing. I know that farmers, particularly the tobacco growers, are going to be helped to a large extent by abolishing duty. This is the new policy, philosophy. But, Mr. Charan Singh is wrongly advised. He might be an agriculturist perhaps but of the old vintage class, as old ships are there. Mr. Charan Singh, Rangaji and myself are agriculturists of the old vintage class. Now, Sir, the entire pumping sets are there but there is no electricity. He has showed a great concern for that. We use vertical engines, high-speed engines. And that has been a new technological development but maximum output can be had when you use vertical engines. He has left out high speed diesel from taxation and taxation has been increased. It is totally unproductive, totally counter-productive and totally a foolish application of farmer's common sense. I say, Sir, you might be aware that it is 10 to 12 horse power engines that are using diesel oil. There might be some difficulty whether kerosene is mixed or not mixed. For that it is for the Government to find out ways how it can possibly be solved. This light diesel oil has been left out, which is called crude oil in farmers' vocabulary. Crude oil engines are not now used, or used to very small extent. They are all horizontal engines of vintage class. They have been destroyed. Now vertical engines are being used. For them the high speed diesel deserves his consideration.

Similarly, Sir, diesel engines of 5 to 10 horse power have been left out of excise duty. That is another benefit that he has given. For these diesel engines previously the ancillary parts were being supplied by the small foundrywallas and ancillary workshops. Mr. George Fernandes' DICs and all that comes later on. The ancillary parts, which did not attract

duty because they were the parts of diesel engine, are now attracting duty at 8 per cent. इसका दाम क्या

हो जायेगा ? It will rise by another Rs. 3,000. Does he mean that? Perhaps he is wrongly advised. Sir, may the Minister of State for Finance for heaven's sake please write down somewhere these points that high speed diesel engines...

SHRI ZULFIQUARULLAH: I am taking down the points that you are making.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Sir, there is a saying in Marathi which I cannot translate in English fully. It means something like this: To cultivate a barren land, nobody's permission is needed.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: मराठल सांगा, ती कोणती म्हण आहे ।

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: That will be unparliamentary. Mr. Salve knows it and I also know it. Patil's permission is not needed for tilling barren land. Otherwise we are wailing here, crying here and Mr. Charan Singh is sitting in his room there and you are in between us. You are a communication satellite, please note down the points.

SHRI ZULFIQUARULLAH: I have noted down your points.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: So, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please be brief.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Sir, I will take another 10 to 15 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time was only 15 minutes.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I have not yet covered even one-fourth of the points. (Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not my fault.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Then, Sir, I will have to accelerate my speed.

Sir, something has been said about restructuring of the RBI: Then the agro-service centres. There is no encouragement for them. If you really want to reach a poor farmer, agro-service centres have to be formed. The tractor uses high speed diesel oil. Where is the subsidy for tractor?

How can you use that? Mr. Salve or somebody else may say that the tractor is owned by a kulak. No, that is not the position. It is the agro-service centre which owns it; it is owned by the gram panchayat co-operative society. You need not refer to the case of Punjab; that is something different. People in the southern areas, in U.P. or Bihar do not own these tractors; these are owned by the village society or the agro-service centres as they call them, and they use high-speed diesel oil for it.

Then I come to restructuring of the RBI and the LDB. I would like to say something on the LDB but now you have told me to conclude and, therefore, I shall not be reading out from my papers. I can only say that the LDB rates have to be lowered. I have seen the speech of Mr. C. Subramaniam as it came yesterday. The Prime Minister had agreed when they took the oath that the rate of interest will be lowered for the agriculturists. But nothing tangible has come about.

Then I come to the industry. I have got only two or three points more to make. Sir, Mr. Subramaniam has rightly pointed out that just like our Congress Party, we have got a heritage and a culture, and this Government, as you know, is the conglomeration of 5 or 7 parties. In the industrial field, it is the Government's view that is given out by the various Ministers. Here they call it the DIC programme. I can say, with due respect to Mr. George Fernandes

who is my personal friend, that this DIC programme is not the one which is going to create employment. It is another waste of money because at least in Maharashtra, in every district we have got some apparatus like the DIC and it does not work because the decision-making power is with the Financing Institution and its Head Office and the Industry Minister goes on saying that decision-making power is with the General Manager of the DIC for the loan to be granted or a connection to be given or the land to be given, and the Collector or the Electricity Board or the RBI Governor would not be required.

Now I come to investment. Here you find such a massive deficit and a long gap between the revenue and the expenditure. And the price-rise will not be 1 per cent but it will be something like 10 per cent. Even in the capital investment, a 4 per cent price rise will show that the domestic investment and domestic savings are eroded because you have taxed the urban domestic people, the salaried persons. Mr. Ramkripal Sinha was complaining to me yesterday that he is carrying only Rs. 1600/- a month and I said that he is fortunate being a Member of Parliament and a Minister having free car and telephone. But the problem lies before the real salaried persons who work in the North Block or South Block or in the various Ministries. What is their fate? They have to be pitied. That is why I feel that the domestic savings are going to be affected.

Then, Sir, the Industry Ministry has given some slogan. I am sorry for it; and the Prime Minister says that these are the personal views of the Minister. I am only objecting to such type of functioning by the Government. The slogans given by the various Ministers outside Parliament and which are not the views of the Government, have demoralised the industrial climate in this country and I charge the Government for that. These slogans have not only demora-

lised the industrial climate but demoralised a man like Mr. Tata unfortunately. I mentioned it sometime back and again I am going to mention it now. Cognizance will be taken by the people at large. Whenever a slogan of nationalisation is raised, there is not a ripple in the sea of Birla empire because they have purchased every thing and they are not afraid of nationalisation or anything else. They know how to manage. The older Birla generation is fading out. The younger generation is coming up. They have their own empires. They manage the Ministers, they manage the Governments, they manage the political parties and so on. They do not bother. Tata seems to be a very honest and sincere man. I am proud of his achievements. But he submitted a memorandum to the Janata Party Committee. Tata must know that such Committees are always appointed to beg of the question. It is not that nationalisation of TISCO is coming tomorrow morning. The Prime Minister has already said that these are the personal views of Mr. George Fernandes. Mr. Fernandes has his personal views and some other Ministers have their personal views. But this sort of airing personal views in the public is to be curtailed by the Government. Otherwise, you are going to ruin this country.

Then, Sir, there is another point which I would like to mention. There is this loose talk about socialism. Tata will be well-advised to note this. He has got very good advisers. He does not need advice from Mr. Kulkarni. But please ask him to invest and to see that more production and more employment take place. He is a man who knows management. He has the necessary expertise and he has also got the credit which can create more money from the people. Do not dishearten him and I would request Mr. Zulfikarullah to advise Mr. Tata and tell him that he should not be afraid.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of public sector management. The

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public sector is incurring so much loss that there is no possibility of the public sector contributing to mobilisation of resources. There is so much of wasteful expenditure. Sir, there is a very important book brought out by Prof. C. N. Vakil which I have here. He has given some figures.

श्री उपसभापति : सारी बातें कहना जरूरी नहीं है। सारी नालेज कह देगे तो

(Interruptions)

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I do not quote him now. Prof. C. N. Vakil is quite right. There is now a committee which has been appointed. After the IncheP Commission, no Commission was appointed. The wasteful expenditure on the bureaucracy and other systems has to be gone into. I hope the Government will look into this.

The last point I would like to make is this Mr. Charan Singh has been carried away by a film shown by a colleague of mine on hand-processing, as it is called. Sir, perhaps, the Government is aware. I have been raising this subject for the last nine years. Now, this is the tenth year. We had some meetings. The Gujarat Government granted an application wherein the Government was barred from taxing the independent processors. This question was raised by me even in the Consultative Committee meeting. The Minister asked Mr. Agarwal, Mr. Agarwal explained—that this is in the minutes of the meeting—that there being a High Court decision, this problem will have to be shelved till the Supreme Court save another decision. What has happened? The duty on independent processors has been raised from 8 to 12 per cent. This was because my friend, a friend of mine, from the Lok Sabha showed them a film. Because Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Charan Singh were of the old class, they were very much carried away by the film. Films can be shown many times. If a processing unit makes a film, it must have

Rs. 4 to 5 lakhs to spend. We, in the cooperatives, in the independent processing units, cannot make such films because we come under the Government concurrent audit.

Sir, the Government has done total injustice. I have written two or three letters. I have written letters to Mr. Charan Singh. Through you, Mr. Minister, I would draw his attention to this. Mr. Shyam Lal Yadav, Mr. Amin and others—ultimately Mr. Piloo Mody also joined us—had several meetings. Studies were made. Excise officers were called. It was decided that this question should be discussed again and a rationale should be found out. At present, these hand-processing units are *benami* units financed by smugglers and blackmarketeers. You want to protect the handlooms. Actually, Sir, hand-processing units are taking advantage of the powerloom cloth produced because it does not attract duty. It is being sold so that, to that extent, handloom cloth does not find a market. It is a fact. Mr. Bhandari, you are waving your hand like this, but you are wrong.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI: This is a wrong statement.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: You are wrong, totally. I will convince you. At Jetpur in Gujarat there are table printers. They want bleached and mercerised *malmal* that can only be produced in powerloom sector through an independent machine process. I will take Mr. Bhandari to my place and show him. There were 51 units some five to ten years back. Now there are 951 units. This number has increased during the last four to five years because of this concession and Mr. Bhandari, I will give you an extract of the factory inspection wherein it is mentioned that the people employed in hand-processing units are none else but the bounded labour. They are employed by the contractors. There-

fore, you are encouraging a type of activity which is anti-social, which does not stand to any economic consideration.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDA.
RI: No, no.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: My last point is...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Is it really last?

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Yes, Sir. Dr. Panandhikar who is an economist, has said that out of Rs. 650 crores only the burden to the extent of Rs. 300 crores is on the urban middle class people while the remaining burden is on the rural class wherein come kulaks and small farmers. This is what Mr. Salve has also said. He is not here now.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: He is here.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Yes, he is here. So, we are also consumers. It is not that you are the only consumers. In the urban areas we are also the consumers. Therefore, we should decide and dedicate ourselves to a new policy whereby for the next five to ten years there should be no increase in the wages of the organised labour. You should adopt a certain rationale and philosophy of helping and encouraging the agricultural sector. Make this poor man resourceful. He is a market for himself for all these products. Only through this process the poverty and the disparity could be liquidated, and a frontal attack made on poverty.

Lastly, I can only say that this Charan Singh Budget is like a food which we take in a Chinese hotel, when we eat chicken it tastes sour as well as sweet; it is something like that.

श्री उरसभावति : सदन को कार्यवाही 2-15 तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirty-three minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at twenty minutes past two of the clock, The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni) in the Chair.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी : : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस बजट में वित्त मन्त्री जी ने वर के की छूट देकर एक नयी दिशा का संकेत दिया है । वह दिशा एक स्वागत योग्य दिशा है और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस दिशा की ओर दृढ़ता से बढ़ा जाय । लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहूंगा कि इस दिशा को स्वीकार करना काफी हिम्मत का काम होगा । अनेको शक्तियों है जो इस पथ से विचलित करने के लिये प्रयत्नशील हैं । इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पिछले अनेक वर्षों से ग्रामीण क्षेत्र उपेक्षित रहा है और इस कारण से विषमताओं को बढ़ने का मौका मिला और हमारी यह इच्छा स्वाभाविक हो सकती है कि इस विषमता की या इस उपेक्षा की, जो इतने वर्षों तक रही, उसकी हम जल्दी से जल्दी पूर्ति करें । लेकिन अर्थ क्षेत्र इतना विचित्र है कि इसमें अगर सन्तुलन बिगाड़ कर हमने कुछ काम करने का प्रयत्न किया तो हमारी मद्दइच्छाओं का जो फल हम चाहते हैं उसको प्राप्त करने में ठिनाइयां होंगी ।

हमें इस बात को स्मरण रखना होगा कि 1978-79 का वर्ष भी 1590 करोड़ के घाटे में समाप्त हुआ है । इस पृष्ठभूमि में नये कर का बोझ कितना सह्य हो सकता है इस परगम्भारता से विचार करना होगा । अर्थ, कुछ दिन पहले रेलवे बजट के द्वारा भी सामान्य व्यक्ति पर बोझ पड़ा है । डाक, तार, टेलिफोन दरें भी बढ़ा कर बोझ को बढ़ाया गया है । इन सब बातों को देखते हुए यदि हमारे विवास दर या योजना की गति इसके अनुकूल रहे तब तो चिन्ता करने का कोई कारण नहीं, लेकिन अगर इसमें जितनी हम प्रगति चाहते हैं उतनी प्रगति अगर हमें न मिलती हो तो हमें सोच समझ कर छलांग लगाने की आवश्यकता होगी, अन्यथा तमाम आर्थिक उगत में ऐसी अव्यवस्था का निर्माण हो जायगा, एक

[श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी]

फाइनेंशियल इन्डिस्प्लिन पैदा हो जायगी कि जिसको सुधारना, जिस को फिर से सही दिशा पर लाना किसी के लिये भी बहुत कठिन कार्य हो सकता है। केवल करेंट एक्सपेंडिचर के लिये घाटे के बजट को किसी के गले उतारना सम्भव नहीं हो सकेगा और इसी लिये आवश्यकता है कि हम इस बजट के सम्बन्ध में काफी गहराई से विचार करें और ऐसी सब बातें जिन में से पुनः स्फूर्ति बढ़ने की आशंका हो, कोमर्से बढ़ने की आशंका हो उन की तरफ हमें चिन्ता करनी होगी। आज भी मेरे पूर्व वक्ता सदस्यों ने इस बात की आशंका व्यक्त की थी कि इस बजट के कर प्रस्तावों के कारण जो कहा गया है सरकारी मूवों की तरफ से कि एक ही प्रतिशत बढ़ेगी, उन को आशंका है कि वे 9 प्रतिशत तक बढ़ सकती हैं। तो इस आशंका की ओर गहराई से, गम्भीरता से चिन्तन होना चाहिए क्योंकि अगर 9 प्रतिशत कोमर्से बढ़ती है तो यह मामूली बात नहीं होगी। हमारे सारे इरादे उस के कारण मटिया-मेट हो सकते हैं। इसके बारे में हमें निश्चित रूप से विचार करना चाहिए।

ग्राम वस्तुओं पर भी टैक्स इस बार लगा है और विशेष कर इस प्रकार के टैक्सों की, अपत्यक्ष कर की मात्रा बहुत अधिक है। अपत्यक्ष कर देश के किसी व्यक्ति को माफ नहीं करते। सब पर उनका असर होता है। गरीब से गरीब पर भी उसका परिणाम होता है। हम यह नहीं चाहेंगे कि जिस गरीब आदमी पर पहले से ही मुश्किलें बड़ी हुई हैं, जो पहले से ही गरीबी रेखा के नीचे हैं, हमारे किसी भी प्रयत्न से उसको और मुश्किलों का सामना करना पड़े या उसको अपने जीवन के लिए आवश्यक वस्तुओं पर उसकी क्षमता के बाहर जाकर अपनी न्यूनतम आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिए बाध्य होना पड़े। किरोमीन पर बढ़ा हुआ कर इसके लिए मुश्किल का कारण बनेगा। पैट्रोल का दर जो बढ़ा है उसके कारण यातायात महंगा होने की शक्यता है।

हमने अब कुछ उद्योगों पर कर लगाये हैं लेकिन वे कर केवल उद्योगों तक सीमित नहीं होते। उनके लिए जितने आवश्यक सामान की पूर्ति करनी होती है उस पर भी उसका परिणाम होगा और अगर इन सब कारणों से व्यक्ति के पास बचत कम हो जाएगी या उसकी त्रय शक्ति को बढ़ाने के लिए कुछ विशेष प्रयत्न नहीं होंगे तो फिर खपत कहां से होगी? जो कुछ भी उत्पादन हम करना चाहते हैं, और मार्केट उनको कैसे मिलेगा, इन सब बातों का एक मिला हुआ चित्र सामने रखे बगैर हम ऐड-हूंक बेमिस पर बजट के घाटे की पूर्ति करने के क्षेत्र में दौड़ नहीं लगा सकते। मेरा ऐसा निश्चित मत है कि इस बजट की रचना में एक दिशा स्वीकार करने के बाद भी उस दिशा की तरफ बढ़ने के लिए जो स्ट्रेटजी चाहिए, एक व्यूह-रचना चाहिए और अगर उसी व्यूह-रचना को नज़र-अन्दाज़ करके हम सब तरफ नहीं फैलायेंगे और सब की जेबों में हाथ डालने की कोशिश करेंगे तो जो उद्देश्य हमको चाहिए या जिनके हित में हम काम करना चाहते हैं, हम उसकी मदद नहीं कर सकेंगे।

मैं समझता हूँ कि ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाने का जो प्रावधान इस बजट में हुआ है, यह इसी प्रकार की एक अंधी दौड़ का उदाहरण कहा जा सकता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार विचार करे कि हर उद्योग आज किस स्थिति में है, पिछले एक वर्ष तक वह किन कठिनाइयों से गुजरा है और आज उसके ऊपर ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ा कर हम उसके मामले में कौनसी कठिनाई पैदा करेंगे। अगर इस बात को मद्देनज़र न रखें हमने सरकारी तौर पर ऐक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाने का फैसला किया तो कई उद्योगों की प्रगति और सरवाइवल के लिए भी वह बड़ा घातक सिद्ध हो सकता है। इसका विचार भी हमें करना पड़ेगा।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्र में हम मदद करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन जैसा अभी बताया गया यह मान कर

चलें कि ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में लाइट स्पीड डीजल आयल काम देता है, हाई-स्पीड डीजल आयल नहीं देता, मैं समझता हूं कि यह किताबी आकलन है, वास्तविकता का परिचय नहीं है। क्योंकि आज भी ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में जितने तेल की खपत है शायद उसमें से एक चौथाई ही लाइट स्पीड डीजल आयल है और जैसा कि आपने, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बताया था कि अब पेट्रोल बदल गया है, तो हाई स्पीड डीजल आयल का उपयोग ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में भी 75 प्रतिशत तक होता है। इस पर ड्यूटी बढ़ाने का मतलब यह है कि एक तरफ आप उसको मदद करना चाहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ उसी व्यक्ति पर बोझ बढ़ा कर जो कुछ हमने मदद का उसको आभास दिया है, उससे ज्यादा हम उसको दण्डित करना चाहते हैं। आपने उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय यह बहुत अच्छा कहा था कि इस हाई स्पीड डीजल के कर से पम्पिंग सेट पर प्रतिवर्ष लगभग 300 रुपये का खर्चा बढ़ जाएगा। ट्रैक्टर, डीजल इंजन आदि के जो पार्ट्स हैं उन पर जो ड्यूटी बढ़ी है इससे भी लगभग 600, 700 रुपये का खर्चा बढ़ जाएगा। अगर इन चीजों में से किसी एक चीज में राहत और दूसरी चीजों पर अंधा धुंध ड्यूटी बढ़ाने का फैसला करेंगे तो जिस ग्रामीण क्षेत्र के व्यक्ति की भी हम मदद करना चाहते हैं, (गरीब गांव में भी है और गरीब शहर में भी है) तो इसमें शहर और गांव की विभाजन रेखा खींच कर कोई भी अर्ध नीति का अनुसरण नहीं किया जा सकता, इस बात को हम को अपने ध्यान में रखना होगा।

मैंने जैसा कहा इस बजट में ग्रामीण क्षेत्र का विकास करते समय भी हमारे दिमाग में कई ऐसे फोर्सज काम करते हुए दिखाई देते हैं जिसे हमको दुविधा में डाल दिया है और इस दुविधा के कारण इससे हम क्या निकाल पायेंगे यह शंका बढ़ती जा रही है। इसलिये हमें फोर्थ राइट होकर इस क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ने की जरूरत है। मैंने जैसा कहा इस दिशा में यह स्वागत योग्य कदम है अगर दुविधा को

छोड़ कर हम इसमें आगे बढ़ें। स्पीड के बारे में हमें विचार करना चाहिये, कि किस स्पीड से हम इस दिशा में बढ़ सकते हैं। यहां हमारा शिफिलिस्टिक अप्रोच न रहा तो हम भटक जायेंगे और जिस तरफ हम बढ़ना चाहते हैं उस तरफ बढ़ नहीं सकेंगे। क्योंकि इस बजट में जो ग्रामीण विकास का क्षेत्र है या कृषि का क्षेत्र है उसमें केवल 3.3 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि है, सिंचाई के क्षेत्र में केवल 5.6 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई है, यह दुविधा का लक्षण है। इस रफ्तार से हम कौनसी साइड में अपनी मंजिल तक पहुंच सकेंगे इस बारे में शंका उत्पन्न होना स्वाभाविक है।

बेकारी की समस्या भी आज देश में है। यह बात जरूर है कि ग्रामीण उद्योगों के द्वारा, डिस्ट्रिक्ट इण्डस्ट्रीज सेन्टर्स के कार्यों को बढ़ा कर सेल्फ एम्प्लायमेंट की तरफ या स्माल स्केल एम्प्लायमेंट की तरफ हम द्रुतगति से बढ़ना चाहते हैं। लेकिन इसके लिये भी जितना आवश्यक प्रावधान होना चाहिये उतना दिखाई नहीं देता है निश्चित बात है कि जब तक तीन प्रतिशत प्रतिवर्ष बेरोजगारी को समाप्त करने का हमारा लक्ष्य पूरा नहीं होगा तब तक इस बेरोजगारी के प्रश्न को अपने निर्धारित लक्ष्य के अन्दर दूर करने में कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगे। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि यह एक ऐसा क्षेत्र है जिस पर अधिक चिन्ता की जानी चाहिये और उस 5 मार्ग में आने वाली बाधाओं को दूर करने में दृढ़ता का हमें प्रदर्शन करना चाहिये।

कर भार हमने लगाया है। इससे ऐसा लगता है कि जिन क्षेत्रों से हम वास्तव में घटे की पूर्ति के लिये कुछ कर सकते थे उस ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। आय कर पर सरवाज बढ़ाने के प्रश्न पर विचार करना चाहिये था। यह एक ऐसा क्षेत्र है जिस से हम अपने रिसोर्सज बढ़ा सकते हैं। धनाढ्य व्यक्ति चाहे वह शहर में हो या ग्रामीण क्षेत्र का हो चाहे भूदामी हो

[श्री तुन्दर सिंह भंडार]

अगर वह धनाइय की क्षेणी में आता है तो फिर उसके ऊपर भी कर का बझ डालने में संकोच करने से काम नहीं चलेगा और हम किसी मंजिल पर नहीं पहुंच सकेंगे। और गरीब आमियों के बीच से धन बटोर कर दो-दो पाई या चार-चार पाई इकट्ठा करके इस देश की आवश्यकता की पूर्ति नहीं हो सकती।

इस बजट में एक सुझाव दिया गया है कि श्रम प्रधान तकनीक का विचार करने के लिये एक कमेटी बनाई जायेगी। मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूं। यह कमेटी बने और कमेटी अपना काम जल्दी खत्म करे। क्योंकि श्रम प्रधान योजनाओं का विचार आज पहली बार शुरू नहीं हो रहा है। कौनसी श्रम प्रधान चीजें हैं, उनको आइडेंटिफाई किया गया है या नहीं, यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने नहीं है। हमारे सामने प्रश्न यह है कि हम उनका श्रम प्रधान योजनाओं की इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के लिए किस गति से आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं, इस पर हमारा ध्यान गया है या नहीं। मैं चाहूंगा कि इन बातों की तरफ हमारा ध्यान जाता चाहिए। लेकिन आपने इस सम्बन्ध में एक कमेटी बठाई है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस बात का प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिए कि इस कमेटी की रिपोर्ट एक निश्चित समय के अन्दर सरकार के पास आ जाये।

मैं सदन का ध्यान इस बात की तरफ भी दिलाना चाहूंगा कि प्रशासनिक खर्चों में कमी करने के बारे में एक कमेटी बनाने का जो सुझाव दिया गया है, यह एक अच्छा सुझाव है। इस प्रकार की जो कमेटी बनाई गई है उस पर भी बहुत समय से चर्चा चल रही है। इस सम्बन्ध में पहले भी कमेटियां बैठ चुकी हैं और उन कमेटियों ने भिन्न भिन्न प्रकार के सुझाव सरकार को दिये हैं। इस सदन में भी माननीय सदस्यों ने इस बारे में अनेक सुझाव दिये हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि उन सुझावों पर निश्चित रूप से विचार किया जाना चाहिए।

इस बजट में टेक्सों के कलेक्शन के बारे में कुछ बातें कही गई हैं। एक बात यह कही गई है कि टेक्सों के कलेक्शन में कमी हुई है। टेक्सों के कलेक्शन में कमी हो, यह निश्चित रूप से चिन्ता का विषय है। इसका मतलब यह है कि टेक्सों में चोरी हो रही है और इस चोरी पर सरकार काबू नहीं कर पा सकती है। टेक्सों की चोरी को कैसे रोका जा सकता है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव एक्स्पेंडीचर को कैसे कम किया जा सकता है, ये कुछ ऐसे मुद्दे हैं जिन पर हमें गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर हम इन विषयों पर विचार करें, तो निश्चित रूप से इससे हमें लाभ होगा।

मेरा यह निवेदन है कि सरकार ने उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं पर करों में जो वृद्धि की है उस पर भी सरकार को पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए। आप जानते हैं कि यह बाल-वर्ष है। इस बाल वर्ष में अगर हम विस्कुट और चाकलेट के प्रति सहानुभूति बरते तो यह बाल वर्ष के कांसोनेन्ट होगा। इन वस्तुओं पर टेक्सों की जो वृद्धि की गई है उसको वापस लिया जाना चाहिए। इस बाल वर्ष में हमारी सरकार बालकों के हित के लिए काम कर रही है। सरकार ने कुछ मेडिसन्स में भी छूट देने का विचार किया है। मैं यह सुझाव देना चाहूंगा कि ट्रिपल एन्टीजन, पोलियो वैक्सीन और एन्टी टिटनेस आदि कुछ इस प्रकार की दवाइयां हैं जो ज्यादातर बच्चों के उपयोग में आती हैं और इनसे संबंधित सीमारियां भी बच्चों को ही होती हैं। इसलिए इन दवाइयों को भी आप करों से मुक्त कर दें तो अच्छा रहेगा।

इन बातों के साथ-साथ मेरा यह भी कहना है कि यद्यपि हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा का कोष पर्याप्त है। परन्तु इसके उपयोग करने में कुछ असावधानियों के पिछले दिनों में संकेत मिले हैं। मैं इस बात को मानता हूं कि हमें उन वस्तुओं का आयात करना चाहिए जिन वस्तुओं का फिलहाल हमारे देश में उत्पादन

नहीं हो रहा है। परन्तु जो चीजें इस देश में कम लागत पर तैयार हो सकती हैं उनके आयात करने के संबंध में हमें दो बार विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अपने देश में अपनी टेक्नोलॉजी के आधार पर, निश्चित रूप से सस्ती टेक्नोलॉजी के आधार पर और घर की टेक्नोलॉजी के आधार पर उन वस्तुओं का हम अपने देश में उत्पादन करने का प्रयत्न करें। बजाय इसके कि हम यह सोचने लगे कि हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा का अच्छा भंडार है, इसलिए कुछ चीजों का आयात करने लगे, यह अच्छा नहीं होगा।

मैं इस बात का भी उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में आजकल फारन कोलेबोरेशन के बारे में बात करना एक फंशन-सा हो गया है। यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिस पर हमें बहुत बारीकी से विचार करने की जरूरत है। वस्तुतः उन क्षेत्रों में जहाँ पर हमें डोमेस्टिक नीड्स को पूरा करने की आवश्यकता है उसके लिए हम विदेशों से माल मंगाने की होड़ में पड़े। यह उचित नहीं होगा। हम अपनी टेक्नोलॉजी और अपने नौ हाऊ को एकदम से भूल कर इम्पोर्टेड टेक्नोलॉजी और नौ हाऊ के आधार पर वर्ड मार्केट में माल भेजने की होड़ में पड़े यह अच्छा नहीं होगा इस होड़ को रोका जाना चाहिए। इस बात पर काफी गंभीरता के साथ विचार किया जाय क्योंकि अगर हम कन्सेन्ट्रेशन आफ एकानामिक पावर नहीं चाहते हैं तो फिर फारेन कोलेबोरेशन के माध्यम से भी जो कन्सेन्ट्रेशन आफ एकानामिक पावर की सम्भावना है उसके बारे में हमें विचार करने की जरूरत होगी। मैं इन शब्दों के साथ इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ। मुझे विश्वास है कि जिन आशंकाओं को मैंने व्यक्त किया है या जिन बन्धनों की हम वास्तव में सेवा करने को उन्मुख हैं अपने बजट के द्वारा, उनकी तरफ ध्यान देने के लिये एक एकानामिक स्ट्रेटजी बनाकर इस बजट के अन्दर आवश्यक सुधार और करने में आवश्यक छूट देने के लिये

विन मंत्री महोदय निश्चित रूप से विचार करेंगे। धन्यवाद।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Dr. Muthu.

*DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU (Tamil Nadu): I welcome the Budget presented by the Hon'ble Finance Minister Shri Charan Singh and the objectives behind the Budget generally. The Budget aims in a small way to mobilise resources by reducing disparities in income between the affluent and weaker sections conserving resources for productive purposes and discouraging consumption injurious to people's health. It also aims at many efforts for eliminating unemployment and underemployment. By stimulating agricultural production, by encouraging labour intensive techniques of production and by improving the competitive capacity of small scale and cottage industries in relation to large scale industry.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय (उत्तरप्रदेश) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा यवस्था का मन है। बजट पर बहस हो रही है और यहाँ पर मंत्रिमंडल का एक भी कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री मौजूद नहीं है। यह पूरे सदन का अपमान है। इसलिये मैं उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि कम से कम एक कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री यहाँ पर मौजूद रहना चाहिए। यदि यहाँ पर कोई मंत्री मौजूद नहीं है तो जो बजट पर यह बहस हो रही है वह किस बात की बहस है, Why this discussion? जब कि यहाँ पर एक भी कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री नहीं है।

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): We want a Cabinet Minister.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि ..

*English translation of original speech in Tamil.

श्रम तथा संसदीय कार्य मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (डा० रामकृपाल सिंह) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय सदस्य ने जो प्रश्न उठाया है अभी अभी (Interruptions). मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी यहां पर श्री आडवाणी जी उपस्थित थे और अभी आयेंगे। स्टेट फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर यहां पर हैं और तीन, चार मिनिस्टर यहां पर बैठे हुए हैं जो ... (Interruptions)

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : जब यहां पर बजट पर बहस हो रही है कैबिनेट स्तर का एक भी मंत्री मौजूद नहीं है। (Interruptions). मैं इस बारे में आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ। I want a ruling from you.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Sir, we want a ruling from you.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Mr. Salve, a most senior Member, spoke on the Budget. No Cabinet Minister was present here. I want a ruling from you on this question. Let a Cabinet Minister be present here. Otherwise no discussion will be allowed here.

दुनिया भर के मंत्री सरकार में पड़े हैं, बिना काम के मंत्री पड़े हुए हैं लेकिन एक भी मंत्री यहां पर मौजूद नहीं है। इस बारे में मैं आपकी व्यवस्था चाहता हूँ कि क्यों नहीं यहां पर कोई भी कैबिनेट मिनिस्टर मौजूद है।

(Interruptions) We are four Ministers of State here to represent the Government. This is not the way.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि ... (Interruptions). जब तक कोई कैबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री यहां पर मौजूद नहीं रहेगा तब तक यहां पर कोई काम नहीं चलेगा। इस बारे में मैं आपकी तरफ से रुलिंग चाहता हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : कल्पनाथ राय जी, अब जरा सत्वे साहब को सुनें।

श्री एन० के० पी० सत्वे : मान्यवर, मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इसमें सदन की गरिमा का सवाल है, सदन की प्रतिष्ठा का सवाल है, इस मसले को पार्टी की दृष्टि से कृपया न देखें। आज आप वहां बैठे हैं मुमकिन है कि कल आप वहां न हों। मगर इस मदन की परम्परायें हैं और उन परम्पराओं को लेकर चलना अति आवश्यक है। आप इस बात को लेकर केवल यह न समझें कि यह महज चर्चा चल रही है, बात चल रही है जो होना है वह होता रहेगा। मेरा निवेदन श्रीमान्, आपसे यह है कि यह जो रवैया है, इस तरीके की अगर बात है तो इससे बड़ा अपमान सदन का हो नहीं सकता। आपने इस बारे में खुद अपने बिचार व्यक्त किये हैं मेरा ...

श्री भा० दे० खोबरागड़ (महाराष्ट्र) : आ गये।

रेल मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री शिव नारायण) : क्या आप किसी को भी बाथरूम में नहीं जाने देंगे जो (Interruptions)

We are four Ministers of State here to represent the Government. This is not the way.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : शिवनारायणजी, (Interruptions).

श्री कल्प नाथ राय जो ढंग होता है उससे बात करें।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री अरविन्द गणेश कुलकर्णी) : शिव नारायण जी आपकी जो आबज़ारेशन है वह बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं है। यह हाऊस की प्रेस्टिज के लिए है।

I was going to request Members to bear with me for five to ten minutes so that by that time the Leader of the House would have come back.

श्री एन० के० पी० सत्वे : आडवाणी जी सदन के नेता हैं और चूँकि वे आ गए हैं। पहला एतराज इस बात पर किया गया कि

यहां फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर नहीं आते। उस सदन में भी चर्चा चल रही है। अगर वे वहां रहे तो यहां नहीं आ सकते। हम इसमें एतराज नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि यह जो चर्चा है, यह महत्वपूर्ण चर्चा है, ग्रहम चर्चा है और हम जो बात कहते हैं वह महज मुनी-अममुनी न कर दी जाए। इसलिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि कम से कम यहां पर एक केबिनेट स्तर का मंत्री रहे ताकि हमें ऐसा लग कि इनमें सीरियम है और ऐसा मालूम हो कि जो बात हम कह रहे हैं वह मुनी जा रही है। ऐमा न हो

this is going on deaf ears.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I have already mentioned what the convention of the House has been, that a senior Cabinet Minister has to remain present. Advaniji was present. But he went out for five or ten minutes, and he has come back now. And it is not possible everytime that the senior Finance Minister has to be present. But I have said that a senior Cabinet Minister should be present during the discussion on Budget, because that is the convention of this House.

Madam, you continue your speech now.

DR. (SHRIMATI) SATHIAVANI MUTHU: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I hope you will give me some more time; my time has been taken away by my friends.

*No citizen of India can quarrel with these aims. The performance of the Indian Economy during the current year has been held to be satisfactory. Agricultural production has continued at a record level not only due to favourable season but also due to increased use of irrigation, fertilisers, improved seeds. Increased research and extension activity and extended price support and procurement opera-

tions Millions of farmers and agricultural labourers have also contributed to the general good by growing two ears of corn in place of one. I appreciate the need for raising productivity in agriculture further.

Industrial production has also looked up, the increase being 7 to 8 per cent. But excise duty to the tune of Rs. 105 crores was not collected in the last year.

In the year 1977-78, production too has decreased in some sections. We have no hope of any increase in production even next year in those sectors.

The Finance Minister had emphasised cutting down of wasteful expenditure whether in Government or in the private sector. Non-developmental expenditure of Government is rising fast and threatens to mop up all additional resources meant for productive development.

Another disturbing feature is the declining figure in total exports. The level of imports is rising but how much of the increase in imports is production oriented is a matter for searching examination.

Very disturbing indeed is also the slow utilisation of external aid. The concerned projects are said to be slow moving and consequently, gross aid receipts are expected to be Rs. 477 crores less than Budget estimates. This naturally causes concern as to the dilatoriness in using even available resources. It cannot be taken for granted that the available foreign aid was not properly used. This raises the question of the rationale of imposing further taxes on the community, when there is no organisational competence to make meaningful use of available resources.

The Budget has planned for total disbursements of Rs. 18,526 crores against anticipated receipts of Rs. 16,551 crores at existing rate of taxation and sought to cover the deficit of Rs. 1975 crores by raising net resour-

*English translation of original speech in Tamil.

[Dr. (Shrimati) Sathiavani Muthu] ces to centre amounting to Rs. 620 crores and leaving an amount of Rs. 1355 crores uncovered. This is to be viewed against the performance in 1978-79 when against Budgeted expenditure of Rs. 18,417 crores, Rs. 19,719 crores are expected to be spent and against Budgeted receipts of Rs. 17,346 crores, Rs. 17,574 crores are expected to be received by the end of March this year. This 1978-79 the overall deficit is expected to rise from the estimated Rs. 1071 crores to Rs. 2145 crores. The question arises whether our economy which had a deficit of Rs. 2145 crores last year will be able to withstand a deficit of Rs. 1975 crores without recourses to further taxation.

If the Finance Minister takes even now serious steps to find some other ways, I hope, there is no need for this taxation affecting the poor people to adjust the deficit of Rs. 1355 crores. While studying the revised estimates against the budget estimates for 1978-79, we cannot fail to be concerned at the many shortfalls in expenditure against the original estimates.

For example, I refer to the page No. 13, 'Budget At a Glance' for the year 1979-80, under Industry and Minerals the Revised estimates show a decline in the Revenue expenditure of Rs. 340 crores from Budget Estimates for 1978-79 (revised) shown Rs. 481 crores as internal resources out of Rs. 1738 crores. On the same basis, the Budget estimates are to be proposed for 1979-80. But the budget estimates for 1979-80 show Rs. 1719 crores with internal resources of Rs. 373 crores. How can we expect so much of internal resources?

The budgetary investment for Iron and Steel in 1979-80 is Rs. 366 crores with Rs. 235 crores as internal resources against revised estimates of Rs. 563 crores for 1978-79 with only Rs. 6 crores as internal resources. How does Government expect such a phenomenal increase in internal resources from Rs. 6 crores to Rs. 235 crores in a year? Is it a Magic! There are

some mistakes in the policy regarding Iron and Steel. I would like to know, Sir, what is the precise ground we have covered so far in trying to reach the targets envisaged in the Sixth Five Year Plan? The question can be put with equal aptness with regard to many other sectors of our plan like coal, cement etc. Where are we going and at what pace?

As against shortfalls in expenditure against estimates, we also see considerable increase in expenditure over estimates but mainly in the non plan side, for example the estimate of Rs. 279.73 crores for foreign trade and Export promotion shot up to Rs. 434.87 crores in Revised Estimates. I quote from the page No. 42 of 'Explanatory Memorandum' General Budget 1979-80. Similarly agriculture and allied services have shown rise in expenditure estimates for 1978-79 by Rs. 72 crores. I am of the opinion that the Budget was not prepared with accuracy, taking into account all the important features. I consider the budget as a magic-box, taking some figures here and there from some Departments.

While talking of increase in food estimates, I have to refer to the disparity in the matter of procurement prices for wheat and paddy. Government are not unaware of the strong feeling expressed by the paddy growing States at the Cinderella like treatment given to paddy growers. I do not grudge the procurement price given to wheat but what I am against is the invidious treatment given to paddy by fixing the price at a mere Rs. 85 a quintal against about Rs. 115 a quintal for wheat. The Cost of production should be the criterion and I am sure that a closer examination of the problem will uncover the imperativeness of the need for equivalent procurement price to paddy.

The increase in the annual plan outlay to Rs. 125 crores is only by 7.5 percent. This increase is at current prices. The real increase will be seen to be marginal only. It is a moot point whether the loss of momentum that the Sixth Plan suffered in the very first year of its implementation

will be made up. The Centre has increased its outlay to Rs. 6412 crores in 1979-80 marking a small increase over outlay in 1978-79. Will it make up, Sir, the shortfalls that have occurred during the current year in Key areas of the Plan? I have pointed out many short falls in expenditure in the current year. The Centre has taken credit for a large amount of surpluses from internal resources. Will they fructify? The only area in which annual plan envisages sharp increase in investment is creation of additional power generating capacity from Rs. 74 crores in 1978-79 to Rs. 202 crores in 1979-80. Apart from this, the prospects for any significant investment in the Public Sector in 1979-80 are not bright. It reduces to this that bulk of our efforts for raising additional resources goes mainly to sustaining non developmental expenditure. The Finance Minister stated that non-developmental expenditure would not be increased, but the estimates show that the non-development expenditure has been increased.

While examining the various items of expenditure, I find that the specific expenditure on welfare of women and children is not commensurate even in a small measure with the magnitude of the work. The Finance Minister stated that the individual savings should be encouraged to meet the deficit. The Finance Minister has stated by a ruthless curbing of luxury expenditure and adoption of a more austere life style in tune with our traditional values and the hard facts of our economic life. Does he mean that we should live in a bullock-cart age? Why should, then we build multi-storeyed buildings and travel in Jets and Super fast trains? Does he follow the theory of Co-existence among the rich and poor? Can the Government see that either rich or poor all should have equal status? But, I find that there are some disparities in the statement of the Finance Minister. I quote para 3 page 1 of his Budget Speech 'The performance of the Indian economy during the current year is a matter for great satisfaction'. But, he

has himself stated in para 10, page 3 in the same speech that "Private savings should be raised by a ruthless curbing of luxury expenditure and adoption of a more austere life style in tune with our traditional values and the hard fact of economic life."

He has stated in the beginning of his budget speech that the performance of the Indian economy is satisfactory in the current year, again he stated in the same speech that we should adopt an austere life because of the hard facts of our economic life." I wonder, how the Hon'ble Minister speaks thus in a contradictory and obvious way. I feel that the Minister has not prepared the Budget as was expected of him. I also find that out of the total expenditure of Rs. 18,526 crores proposed for 1979-80, an amount of Rs. 117 crores only has been allocated for welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes. I protest strongly on this. I regret to point out that there is no mention whatsoever in regard to the welfare of women and children, during this International year of Child Welfare, in his budget speeches. Women constitute over 51 per cent of the population in our country. Unless we make women and children happy, there would be no peaceful domestic life.

I pointed out that considering the magnitude of the problem of the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes, the allocation of an amount of Rs. 117 crores was insignificant; it is to be considerably enhanced. It seems that the Minister has no such sympathy towards Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Backward Classes, women and children. He wants to declare himself as the Kisan leader interested in the welfare of Kisans. I would enlighten on that point also; but so far

[Dr. (Shrimati) Sathiavani Muthu] as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned, I would like to know, Sir, what is the position now? No day passes either in this House or in the Lok Sabha without Calling Attention of the Government on the sufferings of Harijans, I would like to know, Sir, how much amount has been allocated for removal of untouchability. After Dr. Ambedkar, Mahatma Gandhi, our Great Leaders such as Periyar and Dr. Anna, no leader has taken any specific steps sincerely to remove untouchability. The special squads should be mobilised under the direct supervision and control of I.Gs. in each state for action in pursuance of the Civil Disabilities Act. Committees and Commissions perform only fact finding duties but have no power to implement measures for removing the disabilities of Harijans. Special legal aid should be given to the SC/ST if they are implicated in criminal cases.

I would like to inform this House, Sir, how the Finance Minister has de-

ceived even the Agriculturists in the name of welfare of Kisans. I, therefore, request you Sir, to permit me to continue my speech. His concession in the tax will make only some well-to-do farmers using modern methods in agriculture further rich.

I quote from the All India Report of Agricultural Census (1970-71). This is a Government of India Publication. It has been published in the year 1976. It enlightens on the number of farmers and the number of holdings. Let me quote from Para 1 therein:—

“There are 70.5 million operational holdings in Indian Agriculture operating over an aggregate area of 162 million ha. according to the 1970-71, Agricultural Census. The total Area of holdings under Agricultural operations constitutes 49.4 percent of the total geographical area of the country.”

It comes to 328 million hectares, out of this 168 million hectares only are cultivated. In page No. 26, the details are given, Mr. Chairman, you too had hinted on this in your speech.

Table 8.2

Size Distribution of Operational Holding 1970—71

Category of Holdings.	Size Group	No. (000's)	Percentage	Area (000's)	Percentage
1. Marginal	Less than 1 ha	35,682	50.6	14,545	9.0
2. Small	1.0—2.0 ha	13,432	19.0	19,282	11.9
3. Semi-Medium	2.0—4.0 ha	10,681	15.2	29,999	18.5
Sub Total [Small and Semi-medium] 1.0—4.00 ha		24,113	39.2	49,281	30.4
4. Medium	4.0—10.0 ha	7,932	11.3	48,234	29.7
5. Large	10.0 ha as above	2,736	3.9	50,064	30.9
All categories		70,463	100.0	1,62,124	100

Table 8.3

Size Distribution of Wholly operational Holdings 1970-71.

Size group	Number (000's)	Percentage	Area (000 ha)	Percentage
1. Less than 1.0 ha	8,770	70.5	3,052	25.1
2. 1.0-2.0 ha. -	1,919	15.5	2,453	20.2
3. 2.0-4.0 ha.	1,117	9.0	2,766	22.8
Total 1.0-4.0 ha	3,036	24.5	5,219	43.0
4. 4.0-10.0 ha.	538	4.3	2,733	22.5
5. 10.0—and above	91	0.7	1,141	9.4
All Groups	12,345	100.0	12,145	100.0

It may be seen from the tables that all land-holders do not have the facility of irrigation. Even where there is facility, the holdings are not so appreciable. I quote from para 38, page 9 of the Budget speech—"the focus will be on the improvement of economic condition of small and marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes." When their number is compared only with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, we find others are very few. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are generally Agricultural Labourers, not the land-holders. Government extends help to them only in Poultry and pig-gery. I feel, Sir, no significant help is extended in the budget to Harijans and Girijans. It is seen that only 11 lakhs are benefited by the subsidy on irrigation. Let me quote again from para 38, page 9 of the budget speech: "In order to increase the pace of development of minor irrigation, a scheme is being worked out for extending the subsidy on minor irrigation, given at present only to small and marginal farmers, to farmers whose land holding is between 2 and 4 hectares, but at a reduced rate. To this end a provi-

sion of Rs. 10 crores is being made." Only 11 Lakhs out of 7 crores are holding 2 to 4 hectares and our Minister has paid his attention only to them. As I pointed out earlier, only 17 lakhs are having the facility of irrigation. You too, Sir, have pointed out in your speech that all the farmers were not having the facility of irrigation. All farmers do not produce, by using the fertilizers. The well-to-do farmers are interested only in producing cash crops. The small farmers do not have all the facilities for production of food using the fertilizers. The well-to-do farmers are very few. They produce tobacco, sugar cane etc. and use all types of fertilizers since they have all the facilities. Only those holders having 4 to 10 hectares or above 10 hectares use the fertilizers and raise cash-crops. Their number is only six lakhs. The holders of 10 hectares and above do not produce the required food and use the holdings as pasture field just to escape from the Land Ceilings Act, or they keep it as waste land. I find, only 5 lakhs out of 7 crore are going to be benefited by the concessions in the taxes, the poor

[Dr. (Shrimati) Sathiavani Muthu] men are going to suffer on account of this concession. For the benefit of a small section of the society our Minister is going to tax the poor people. I wonder, how he declares himself as a Kisan leader, when he does not take into account the welfare of all Indians, or at least all the Agriculturists whose number is 7 crore. By the concessions shown to the rich farmers he is reducing the Revenue of Rs. 239 crore. At the same time, I am to point out, he is taxing the poor men or their articles of daily use, such as Bidi, Kerosene, soap, face-powder, postal cover and hair-oil etc. Even the ruling Janata Party member also pointed out this point. I feel, the biscuits, Chocolates etc. consumed by the children are not luxurious articles. I do not know, how the Minister is taking on these articles for Taxation without any mercy in the Inter-National Child Welfare Year. These articles are part and parcel of modern life. The Minister seems interested in the welfare of rich farmers only. It is based on his politics, he wants to bless his particular Society—consisting of only 5 lakhs—with the concessions. He reduces the taxes of rich farmers by Rs. 239 crores. When a poor farmer wants to wash his body with soap, he is there to tax him. When a child in the village wants to consume the biscuit, he is ready to levy the tax.

Let him levy the tax; but not on the poor community. Let him collect the tax from rich Society—of tax-evaders. May I point out that the corporate tax of Rs. 76 crores was not collected in the last year. Income-tax above Rs. 1,200 crores yet to be collected; Excise-duty of Rs. 105 crore is yet to be collected. Instead of collecting all these from the tax-evaders, this Janata Government is trying now to levy the tax on common people, how can, the Government declare that their administration is for the welfare of common people? And hence I feel that this budget is not meant for the welfare of Agriculturists, as declared by the Government. I feel that the Budget is dead against the welfare of

women, children and labourers. I feel that the budget has not been prepared with full attention to the interests of the Indian Society at large; the Finance Minister was either misled or misinformed about the correct position in our Indian economy.

Thank you.

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : आदरणीय उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, उपप्रधान मंत्री एवं वित्त मंत्री ने यह बजट हमारे सामने प्रस्तुत किया है मैं समझता हूँ कि जनता सरकार ने और जनता पार्टी ने ग्रामीण विकास और किसानों का विकास करने की जो बात कही थी उसको देखते हुए ऐसा लगता है कि यह बजट ग्राम विरोधी है, जनता विरोधी है और किसान विरोधी है। मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि यह जनता पार्टी की सरकार नीतियों और सिद्धान्तों का कब्रिस्तान बन गई है। यह जनता सरकार जितनी निकम्मी और रद्दी है उतनी ही रद्दी और निकम्मा बजट इस सरकार ने प्रस्तुत किया है। इस अवसर पर मुझे एक शेर याद आता है —

“बहुत शोर सुनते थे पहलू में दिल का,
जो चीरा तो एक कतराए खून न निकला।”

पहले बड़ा शोर सुनते थे कि लोग जनता का बजट प्रस्तुत करेंगे। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब जनता सरकार सत्ता में आई तो 1124 करोड़ रुपयों का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का बजट इन लोगों ने प्रस्तुत किया। जब इस सरकार ने दूसरा बजट प्रस्तुत किया तो इन्होंने अब 1975 करोड़ रुपयों का डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का बजट प्रस्तुत किया है। इस बजट को देख कर कोई भी व्यक्ति जो अर्थ-शास्त्र का थोड़ा भी ज्ञान रखता है, इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचेगा कि इससे हमारे देश में मुद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ेगी, चीजों के दाम बढ़ेंगे और कमर-तोड़ महंगाई बढ़ेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि करों में जो वृद्धि की गई है उनसे आम जनता की जिन्दगी बद से बदतर हो जाएगी। हमारे सामने प्रश्न यह है कि इस सरकार की दृष्टि क्या है? किसी भी बजट को देखने से पहले

उस सरकार की दृष्टि पर विचार करना होगा। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जो 50 प्रतिशत लोग पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहते हैं उनकी भलाई के लिए इसने क्या कदम उठाया है? मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तान के हरिजनों, आदिवासियों, बीकर सेक्शन और ग्रामीण विकास के लिए क्या कदम उठाया है? मैं यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने रिक्शा चालकों, मजदूरों, गांवों में काम करने वाले मजदूरों के लिए कौन से कदम उठाये हैं? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों में रहने वाले जो गरीब लोग हैं और जो शहरों में रहने वाले गरीब लोग हैं उनकी गरीबी को दूर करने के लिए इस सरकार ने क्या कदम उठाया है? मैं समझता हूँ कि गरीब आदमी चाहे गांवों में रहने वाले हों या शहरों में रहने वाले हों, उनमें कोई फर्क नहीं किया जा सकता है। इस सरकार ने उन लोगों की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए आज तक कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार का दृष्टिकोण क्या है? ग्रामीण इलाकों में जो लोग मिट्टी का तेल इस्तेमाल करते हैं उस पर टैक्स बढ़ाना इस सरकार का दृष्टिकोण है। जो हिन्दुस्तान का गरीब से गरीब आदमी बीड़ी पीता है उस पर टैक्स बढ़ाना यह सरकार का एक दृष्टिकोण है। जो चीजें उसके रोजमर्रा के इस्तेमाल की हैं जैसे कि साबुन, टूथपेस्ट वगैरह, जिनका इस्तेमाल हिन्दुस्तान का हर आदमी करना चाहता है या करता है, उन सब चीजों पर दाम बढ़ा दिये। यह है सरकार का दृष्टिकोण। इस सरकार के इस बजट से टाटा, बिड़ला की हैसियत बढ़ गई, मोनोपली हाउसेज की ताकत बढ़ गई। इस बजट के माध्यम से गरीब और गरीब होंगे और अमीर और अमीर होंगे। इस बजट के माध्यम से मूद्रा-स्फीति बढ़ेगी, आर्थिक संकट बढ़ेगा। इससे न बरोजगारी की समस्या हल होगी और न ही हिन्दुस्तान के ग्रामीण अंचल का कोई विकास होगा। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपके सामने

यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने वायदा किया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की बकारी की समस्या को, 10 करोड़ बेकारों को हम दस साल में रोजगार दे देंगे, बेकारी की समस्या को दस साल में हल कर लेंगे। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिये इस बजट कोन सी व्यवस्था की गई है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जनता की मीनिमम नीड को, जनता की जो बेसिक आवश्यकता है उसको पूरा करने के लिये इस बजट में क्या व्यवस्था की गयी है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कपड़ा, मकान, खाना, दवाई और शिक्षा ये पांच चीजें हैं जो कि हमारे देश के लोगों की मिनिमम नीड है। इन मीनिमम नीड्स को पूरा करने के लिये इस सरकार ने बजट में कौन सी व्यवस्था की है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, न तो इस बजट के माध्यम से बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने के लिये कोई वैज्ञानिक हल ढूंढा गया है और न ही इस बजट के माध्यम से पिछड़े इलाकों के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिये कोई व्यवस्था की गई है और न इसके माध्यम से गरीब और अमीर की खाई को पाटने के लिये कोई ठोस कार्यक्रम अपनाया गया है। जनता सरकार का जो यह बजट है वह जनता सरकार के मानसिक दिवालियेपन की उपज है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ग्रामीण विकास की बात की जाती है परन्तु खेती के विकास के लिये क्या किया गया है? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं किसान का लड़का हूँ। किसान खेती करता है, परन्तु आज हाल यह है कि उसको आजकल 8 गुना अधिक लगान देना पड़ता है। जो खेती किसान करता है उसकी मालगुजारी 4 गुना, 6 गुना, और 8 गुना बढ़ गई है। जो किसान ट्रैक्टर इस्तेमाल करता है उसका दाम जनता सरकार के आने के बाद 10 हजार रुपया प्रति ट्रैक्टर बढ़ गया। जो पानी का इस्तेमाल करता है खेतों में उसके दाम बढ़ गये, बिजली का जो इस्तेमाल करता है उसके दाम बढ़ गये,

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

पेस्टीसाइड और इनसेक्टीसाइड जिसका उपयोग किसान करता है उसके दाम बढ़ गये हैं और जो मजदूर खेतों में काम करते हैं उनकी मजदूरी बढ़ गई। तो, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, फिर उस खेती के विकास के लिये, खेत में काम करने वाले किसान के विकास के लिए कौन सा काम किया गया है? उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अप्रत्यक्ष कर जो इतने ज्यादा जनता के ऊपर बढ़ाये गये हैं उसका असर किसानों के ऊपर, ग्राम जनता के ऊपर पड़ा है जिसके परिणामस्वरूप देश के अन्दर कमर-तोड़ मंहगाई बढ़ गई और इससे देश की जनता की जिन्दगी और भी खराब हो गई है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी के सदस्य यहां हैं, कोई खड़ा होकर बोल दे कि देश के कृषि के विकास के लिये 30 वर्षों में कोई काम नहीं हुआ और जनता सरकार ने वे कदम उठाये हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में कृषि का विकास, औद्योगिक विकास, तकनीकी विकास और वैज्ञानिक विकास की बुनियाद किसने डाली है? जिस हिन्दुस्तान में केवल 55 मिलियन टन गल्ला पैदा होता था उस हिन्दुस्तान में आज 155 मिलियन टन गल्ला पैदा हो रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान को खाद्यान्न के मामले में आत्म निर्भर बनाने के लिये जो वैज्ञानिक नीति कांग्रेस सरकार ने अपनाई उसी का परिणाम है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में 145 मिलियन टन गल्ला उत्पन्न हो रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कांग्रेस की ही नीतियों का परिणाम है कि जिस हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर एक सुई भी नहीं बनती थी वह हिन्दुस्तान आज दुनिया का दसवां देश है कि एक इंडस्ट्रियल पावर के रूप में खड़ा हो गया है। जिस हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर एक छोटी सी मशीन भी नहीं बनती थी उस हिन्दुस्तान ने अणु का विस्फोट करके दुनिया के अनु-शक्ति वाले छठे राष्ट्र के रूप में अपने को शामिल कर लिया है। हिन्दुस्तान की प्रगति,

हिन्दुस्तान की कृषि का विकास, इसके लिए टेकनालाजी और साइंस का इस्तेमाल यह पिछली सरकार की देन रही है। यही कारण है कि हमारा देश खाद्यान्न के मामले में आज आत्म-निर्भर है। पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू और श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की कृषि नीति के परिणामस्वरूप पिछली सरकार ने 20 मिलियन टन का बफर स्टॉक इस जनता सरकार को दिया। जनता सरकार को हमने जो यह बफर स्टॉक दिया यह हमारी कृषि नीति का परिणाम है, हमारी वैज्ञानिक नीति का परिणाम है, हमारी औद्योगिक नीति का परिणाम है। कृषि के क्षेत्र में हमारा एक क्रान्तिकारी कदम रहा है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, केवल वही व्यक्ति जो कि मानसिक रूप से दिवालिया होगा वही पिछली सरकार की नीतियों की निन्दा कर सकता है। भाखड़ा नंगल से लेकर नागार्जुन सागर तक सारी हरियाली है। भाखड़ा नंगल डैम पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू की कल्पना की देन है जिसके कारण हरियाणा, पंजाब, काश्मीर और राजस्थान के रेगिस्तानी इलाके हरे-भरे हो गए और ग्रामों में चतुर्दिक विकास की बुनियाद भाखड़ा नंगल से पड़ी। नागार्जुन सागर जो हमारी कृषि नीति का ही परिणाम है, इसी के कारण दक्षिण भारत के इलाके हरे-भरे हो गए। हमारी नीतियों के कारण ही हिन्दुस्तान का विकास हुआ और हमारी कांग्रेसी सरकार की नीतियों के परिणाम-स्वरूप हम कृषि, विज्ञान और साइन्स के क्षेत्र में विकास कर सके हैं। प्रश्न यह है कि आज जो सरकार है इस सरकार की नीतियों से हमारे देश के अन्दर कोई विकास नहीं हो सकता। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि बेकारी की समस्या के बारे में प्रधानमंत्री जी ने वचन दिया कि 10 वर्ष में दूर कर देंगे। उन्होंने क्या किया... (Interruptions)

श्री पीलू मोदी (गुजरात) : 10 वर्ष बाद पूछना (Interruptions)

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : * मैं यह बता दूँ आपको । मैं आपको बिल्कुल ठीक कर दूँगा । *

श्री पीलू मोदी : वाह वाह अभी करो । क्या बात करते हो ?

श्री कल्प नाथ राय : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि इस वर्तमान सरकार ने जो बजट प्रस्तुत किया है इसके माध्यम से मुद्रास्फूर्ति बढ़ेगी । जैसे कि कहा गया कि यह कुलक का बजट है, मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ इससे किसानों को कौन-सी राहत मिली है ? अगर यूरिया में पांच रुपये प्रति बोरी छूट मिली है तो ट्रांसपोर्ट के ऊपर आपने टेक्स बढ़ा दिया है । अगर एक गांव में यूरिया को ले जाएंगे तो उसकी हुलाई में ही इतना खर्च बढ़ जाएगा ।

जहां तक फारेन एक्सचेंज का संबंध है, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसको प्रोडक्शन ओरिएंटेड कार्यों में इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिए । हमारे पास फारेन एक्सचेंज का जो इतना स्टॉक था उसका इस्तेमाल उत्पादन कार्यों में न लगा कर यह सरकार उपभोग में लगा रही है । किसी भी देश की तरक्की के लिए यह बुनियादी चीज है कि यहां की इनवेस्टमेंट कितना है । हमारे सुब्रह्मण्यम साहब जो वित्त मंत्री थे उन्होंने प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर 31 प्रतिशत रखा था और जनता सरकार ने प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर 7.4 प्रतिशत कर दिया है । जब इनवेस्टमेंट में खर्च में कमी कर देंगे तो विकास हम कैसे कर सकते हैं ।

इस बजट के अन्दर हाऊसिंग समस्या को हल करने के लिए कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है । आज दिल्ली, कलकत्ता, बम्बई में करोड़ों लोग हाऊसिंग की समस्या से पीड़ित हैं । आज शहर बढ़ रहे हैं । करोड़ों लोग रेलवे स्टेशन के प्लेट-फार्मों पर सोते हैं । आज स्लम्स डवलप हो रहे हैं । कलकत्ता, बम्बई,

मद्रास में हमारे बहुत से विशिष्ट पत्रकार, विशिष्ट नागरिक जिनको घरों की आवश्यकता है, उनको घर नहीं मिल पाते । दिल्ली राजधानी में उनको घर नहीं मिल पाते हैं : इस बजट के अन्दर देश की हाऊसिंग समस्या को हल करने के लिए कोई भी व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है । किसी भी देश के लिए, जनता के लिए जो मिनिमम नीड्स होती है, जैसे रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान, दवाई तथा शिक्षा, यह पांचों चीजें जरूरी होती हैं । मकानों की समस्या भी इन्हीं में से एक है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप बम्बई के रहने वाले हैं । आप जानते हैं बम्बई में हाऊसिंग की समस्या कितनी बड़ी है, दिल्ली में कितनी बड़ी है, मद्रास तथा कलकत्ता में आवास की समस्या कितनी बड़ी है उनको हल करने के लिए इस बजट के अन्दर कोई भी व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है । (Time bell rings) हमें एक निवेदन यह भी करना है कि इस सरकार ने अपने बजट के अन्दर यह किया है कि फारेन एक्सचेंज जिसका यूटीलाइजेशन प्रोडक्शन ओरिएंटेड होना चाहिए उसको कंजम्पशन में लगा कर अर्थ-व्यवस्था को नेगेटिव दिशा में ले जाने का प्रयास किया है । ग्रामीण इलाकों के अन्दर भी हाऊसिंग समस्या है । हिन्दुस्तान में 7 लाख गांव हैं और इन 7 लाख गांवों के अन्दर आवास की समस्या है । गांव में हरिजन, गिरिजन, आदिवासी, सुनार, लोहार और कुम्हार रहते हैं उनकी हाऊसिंग की समस्या है । गांव में हाऊसिंग की समस्या तथा पेयजल की समस्या को हल करने के लिए कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है । इसलिए ड्रिंकिंग वाटर या आवास समस्या को हल करने की दिशा में कोई कदम नहीं उठाया गया है । उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि इस सरकार ने ग्रामीण विकास और बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने का जो वचन अपने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में दिया था—किसी भी दल का घोषणा पत्र उस सरकार का वचन है जो फलीभूत हुआ करता है—परन्तु इस सरकार ने अपने वचन को भंग

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

किया है। इस सरकार ने डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग को प्रस्तुत करके मुल्क में मुद्रास्फीति को बढ़ाने का, अर्थसंकट को और तेज करने का प्रयास किया है। डिफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग का परिणाम यह होगा कि चाजों के दाम दूनी, तिगुनी रफतार से बढ़ेंगे, मुल्क में मुद्रास्फीति का प्रभाव बढ़ेगा। जब कांग्रेस को हिन्दुस्तान मिला था तब एक वह नंगा भूखा हिन्दुस्तान था लेकिन जब जनता सरकार को कांग्रेस के माध्यम से हिन्दुस्तान मिला तो वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से मजबूत हिन्दुस्तान था। 20 मिलियन टन बफर स्टॉक वाला हिन्दुस्तान था, स्थायी एकताबद्ध दुनिया में हिन्दुस्तान की इज्जत का हिन्दुस्तान था। परन्तु उस स्टेबुल इकनामी को प्राप्त करने के बाद भी यह सरकार अपनी नीति हीनता के कारण कोई भी कदम उठाने में असफल है। इसका कारण यह है कि जनता सरकार घटकवाद के चक्कर में फँसी हुई है। एक मन्त्री पब्लिक सेक्टर का समर्थक है तो दूसरा प्राइवेट सेक्टर का, अगर विदेश मन्त्री चीन से समझौता करने के समर्थक हैं तो दूसरे व्यक्ति उनके विरोधी हैं, एक अमरीका परस्त है तो दूसरा रूस परस्त, अगर एक मन्त्री मुल्क में ग्रामीण विकास को चाहता है तो दूसरा पूँजीवाद का समर्थक है, एक मन्त्री बिड़ला टाटा को उठाना चाहता है तो दूसरा गांवों को बढ़ाना चाहता है। यह इस तरह से दिशाहीन लोगों की सरकार है जो अपनी विदेश नीति या एग्रीकल्चर पालिसी अथवा साइन्टिफिक पालिसी का फ्रेम वर्क तैयार करने में असफल हुई है। जब तक जनता सरकार इस देश में कायम है, इस मुल्क में गरीबी, बेरोजगारी की समस्या बढ़ेगी अर्थसंकट बढ़ेगा। जब तक इस सरकार का अन्त नहीं होता है तब तक बेकारी, भुखमरी का हल नहीं होगा, इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI R. R. MORARKA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this time the Budget has invoked controversy and criticism more than the

usual budgets, the reasons being that this year additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 1,000 crores have been imposed on the people if you include railways, postal levies and compulsory deposits. Sir, it is the primary function, I admit, of the Finance Minister of a country to raise revenues for developmental purposes, but if after raising those revenues they are not properly utilised, and not economically spent, then the grievance of the people becomes more and the tax collection hurts the people more.

Sir, it is true that in this Budget the Finance Minister has proposed the appointment of a committee which will go into the question of Government expenditure. It is said generally here that Government expenditure, that is, non-Plan expenditure, should be economised. They call it non-developmental expenditure. But I would request the Finance Minister, that when he frames the terms of reference for this committee, the committee should be asked to go into both developmental and non-developmental expenditure because, in my view, scope for economy exist in both. From next year onwards we are going to spend between Rs. 15,000 and 18,000 crores per year under the Five-Year Plan. Wherever money is spent there is scope for economy—and there is the possibility of corruption, there is the possibility of wastage, leakage, fraud, etc. My point is that when you appoint this committee, you must entrust this committee with the task of suggesting economies not only in routine expenditure where the scope for economy is limited but you must also ask them to go into the question of economy in developmental expenditure.

Sir, this year's Budget has shown large deficit and, according to me, the main reason for this large deficit both on revenue and on capital account is that two new factors have operated. One is the extra transfer of funds to the States—almost Rs. 1483 crores. And the other is the transferring of Rs. 835 crores from Plan to non-Plan developmental expenditure; that has become the revenue

expenditure. Sir, it is true that the development expenditure of one Plan is transferred to the normal expenditure of the next Plan, but then the point is that both these factors have operated simultaneously, and that has put an additional burden on the resources and on the ability of the Finance Minister to balance his Budget.

Now I will come to the question of transfers of resources to the States. But, before that, I want to say that I have examined the figures for the last 20 years of deficit financing and I have divided this period of 20 years into two periods, one of 18 years and the other of 2 years. I regret to say that, while the average deficit in the first 18 years was of the order of Rs. 300 crores, the deficit financing in the last two years has gone to the extent of Rs. 1500 crores on an average. Now, Sir, we may not feel its effect today and the inflation may not affect us today, but the potentiality is very dangerous. One failure of the monsoon and some calamity somewhere, God forbid, and if we have also the inflation then we will not be able to control the situation. Till now, we were always having at least a surplus revenue account. The revenue accounts we always closed with surplus. For the last 18 years, we had an average of Rs. 200 crores surplus. But in the last two years we have been having also a revenue deficit. Sir, these are the two things which must attract the attention of the Minister and his able officers and they should see whether deficit financing of this magnitude can be sustained by our economy, not at present but for years to come.

Now, Sir, coming to this year also, if these two factors had not been operative, we could have had a large revenue surplus. Unfortunately, because of these two factors, we have had both revenue and capital deficit. Now, Sir, I want to give...

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE: Sir, the speaker is a distinguished economist, I want him to tell us what he thinks of this one per cent inflation. He has been very cautious in saying that it is

all very explosive. But is it going to be confined to one per cent?

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: I do not have that much time as Mr. Salve had. If I had, I would have convinced him whether I agree with it or not. There is some basis of calculating it at one per cent. I may not agree with it, but there is a basis and that basis is theoretical. In theory it may be right, but in practice it will not be right.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): Don't get provoked. He can do an operation with a scissor; you have to use gloves.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Anyway, there is a large scope for economy in the expenditure. With a slightly better management and a little more attention on the part of the guardians of the Treasury they could have saved themselves of the need and the obligation to impose such heavy taxes on the people. Sir, I will give you four or five instances which may be revealing to you. First of all, take the public sector. Investment is Rs. 12,800 crores; production is worth Rs. 17,000 crores. Sir, result is a net loss of Rs. 14.42 crores. The Government has got about Rs. 300 crores both by way of interest and dividends. On Rs. 12,800 crores, the total return to the Government, including interest, is Rs. 330 crores. If they pay a little more attention, I have no doubt that the management of the public sector could be improved, and they could easily get about four to five hundred crores of rupees more per year from that.

Then, Sir, I come to another item. The Government has taken upon itself the financing of sick units. The Government has taken over many sick units. They could hardly restore a single one to health. In the bargain, what has happened is this. I will give you two examples. The National Textile Corporation's accumulated loss—Mr. Fernandes, Minister of Industry has himself published a booklet in which he says this—till the end 1977-78 is Rs. 170 crores. The Government took over the IISCO, the

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Indian Iron and Steel Corporation. It has good demand and good production, and yet in one year, for the year ending on the 31st March, 1978, it made a loss of Rs. 31 crores.

In my opinion, the Government has to review its policy on sick units, because, according to the Reserve Bank, there are in the country more than 325 sick units which enjoy credit facilities of more than Rs. one crore. The total amount involved in these 325 and odd units is Rs. 956 crores as on the 30th June, 1978. Then, Sir, there are small units, thousands of them, in which public money involved is more than Rs. 2,00 crores. Now, Sir, how far is the Government going to take them over? The Government must, therefore, review its policy. Today the Government feels that the only cause of sickness is mismanagement and the only remedy is to take them over. Then, Sir, the Government has unlimited fund, it puts the sick units in hospitals and never bothers about these patients. I think, therefore, the time has come when the Government should review its policy. And just like the Bureau of Public Enterprises, it must immediately set up a Bureau of Sick Enterprises. At least that Bureau will be able to supervise and husband the working and functioning of these units. I have a very good reasons when I say this. The Government had started the Industrial Reconstruction Corporation. That Corporation, Sir, started giving help, assistance to the sick units. It gave assistance for some time. None of the sick units was restored to health. But in the result, the Corporation itself became sick, and it is now on its death bed. That is what has actually happened.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): The doctor is sick himself.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: It became sick itself.

Sir, I come to the third instance. It is the State Electricity Boards. The investment is Rs. 7,000 crores and the annual loss is more than Rs. 238 crores. Sir, the consumers do not

benefit. The State does not benefit. What is the reason of these losses? It is the poor maintenance, mismanagement, corruption, leakage and all that. Sir, is this problem so difficult that we cannot tackle it? This is living with us for years together. Cannot we put this on an even keel? Are we so inefficient? I submit, all these things should be looked into carefully and seriously.

Then, Sir, I come to the sector which is very favourite of you, namely, the co-operative sector. Sir, this is a very important sector in our economy. I feel, this is the most democratic method of management and democratising the economy. And it is very helpful in the rural areas, particularly to the kisans. It is the most democratic instrument. It covers a very wide field of activities. The total number of co-operatives is 3 lakhs, the membership is 7 crores and investment is Rs. 10,000 crores. And, Sir, last year alone, the rural co-operative dispersed a credit of Rs. 700 crores to small and medium farmers. Therefore, the importance of these societies cannot be under-estimated. Unfortunately, I see that this sector is a neglected sector. It is very necessary to attend to it. Because of inadequate supervision and control, at present it suffers from serious failures, corruption, defalcation, political interference and so on. Sir, I suggest, just as we have the Companies Act for the companies, for the co-operative societies also we must have a Central Act under which the co-operatives all over the country can be controlled and supervised, and for that purpose, whatever safeguards are necessary, they must be taken to put this sector on an even keel. Then, Sir, I will give you another field, and that is, irrigation. Our investment in irrigation today is Rs. 8,000 crores. But, Sir, none of the irrigation projects has yet become self-sufficient. Most of them do not earn even the interest and a few of them do not earn even their working expenses. There is a very interesting audit report which was placed

on the Table of the House last year. The Auditor-General had looked into Bhakra-Nangal of Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan, Chambal of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, Sarda Canal of U.P., Kosi of Bihar, Hirakud of Orissa, Mayurakshi of West Bengal, Tungbhabhadra of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, Nagarjunasagar of Andhra Pradesh, Parambikulam-Aliyar of Tamil Nadu, Kakrapara of Gujarat and another project of Maharashtra. Sir, their finding was that the betterment levy which they envisaged in the project reports has either not been levied or if it has been levied, it has not been collected. They have given the instance of Chambal. The levy envisaged was of the order of Rs. 700 lakhs, but the total amount collected so far is only Rs. 14 lakhs. Similarly they say that...

PROF. N. G. RANGA: Is it also merely business or is it welfare? Has it not got social objectives behind it? Is it merely a business concern?

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: I know, Mr. Ranga, you are so allergic to business. I am only pointing out what the audit report says. Further I am pointing out that this is an area where better management can give better results. (Interruptions). If you don't agree with my views, please keep quiet.

Now, Sir, there is a penalty for unauthorised irrigation. And there is a lot of unauthorised irrigation in the State from which Prof. Ranga comes. In Nagarjunasagar, they levied a penalty of Rs. 11 crores. And out of Rs. 11 crores, they have waived Rs. 10 crores, and the remaining Rs. 1 crore is under consideration for waiver.

PROF. N. G. RANGA: That also should be waived.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Now, I give the example of transport corporations I do not bother about the others, but I will take the Delhi State Transport Undertaking. It has been making losses, big losses, for the last three years. It has always been making losses but for the last three

years it has been making very big losses—Rs. 12 crores and odd in the first year, and Rs. 10.46 crores in the second year and for the last year Rs. 16.20 crores. That is, Rs. 4,50,000 per day is the loss made by the Delhi State Transport Undertaking. (Time-bell Rings) Oh, Sir, no! I have got a lot of things to cover.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You may have a lot of things ..

SHRI PILOO MODY: Sir, you have been given a good chit on co-operatives. Give him more time. There must be *quid pro quo* on these things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am sorry.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Sir, I will follow your example. Now, by import of steel a buffer-stock was created. Steel was imported only for a few people, and the Government is going to suffer a loss of Rs. 15 crores on that. Why? Why could they not be issued import licence to buy it from the most competitive market, to choose their import as they like? Then take the case of imported cotton. On imported cotton in one year alone we have made a loss of Rs. 57 crores. Sir, I pursued this question. First I was told that the information was not available, then the accounts were not complete. Still I persisted. Finally they said that already they have incurred a loss of Rs. 57 crores and further loss was expected as they did not dispose of the entire stock.

My friend Shri Bhandariji mentioned about the collection of tax. The hon. Finance Minister has assumed that the tax collection cannot be improved. Now, Sir, the point which I am going to mention has two aspects—one, that tax collection can be better and the second, about the sovereignty of this Parliament. Sir, I am referring particularly to the case of customs and excise. Between 1965-66 and 1978, the Public Accounts Com-

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mittee alone has submitted 10 reports on one particular issue. The issue is that Parliament levies the tax, and the officers administer and collect the tax. But in so administering and collecting the tax they interpret the law and they give exemptions and there by they forgo the revenue to such a colossal extent that in many cases the intentions of Parliament are negated. I do not have much time but I will read out to you only two or three cases. A revenue of Rs. 241.69 crores was foregone in 1972-73. In the same report it is mentioned that a revenue of Rs. 1015.49 crores was foregone on one item in the case of two persons. In 1971-72 again a revenue of Rs. 244.84 crores was foregone. In spite of repeated recommendations and reports the Government did not improve the position. The Committee, therefore, ultimately in desperation, said in their 13th report—of the Sixth Lok Sabha 1977-78—I particularly invite your attention because it concerns the sovereignty of Parliament, it concerns the ultimate authority of Parliament I quote from page 181 of the report. “The Committee have noted the continued reluctance on the part of the Finance Ministry to accept any of the suggestions made by the Committee earlier.” A little later the Committee further said, “The resistance shown by the Government to these proposals is beyond the comprehension of the Committee. The Committee would, therefore, wish to invite the attention of Parliament to this serious matter on which only Parliament as a whole can take a final decision.” This shows the desperation of the Committee. I ask: Who has sovereignty? Is it Parliament or Executive? The Public Accounts Committee, which is a Committee of the House, has submitted reports after reports—ten reports in thirteen years. And yet nothing is done; no. The attitude is, let Parliament do or say what they like and we will do what we like. I think this type of situation must stop. Then I

come to my next point.. (Time bell rings).

SHRI LAKSHMANA MAHAPATRO (Orissa): Sir, he is only following your motto. He will go on from one point to another. He told you at the beginning itself that he would follow you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): But I have to distribute the time and I have to regulate the proceedings. There are many other speakers who have to be accommodated.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: We only follow the example set by big people, and since you are our ideal, we will follow your example.

Now, Sir, so far as transfer of funds to States is concerned under the Seventh Finance Commission it is said that they transferred Rs. 1483 crores more in the Budget year. But actually if you reckon all the + and — including the Rs. 555 crores which they gave to the States for paying up their overdrafts, the transfer in the next year would be less by Rs. 149 crores. It increased from 1957 to Rs. 3440 crores, that is Rs. 1483 crores. The grants figure has gone down from Rs. 747 crores to Rs. 329 crores, that is, a reduction of Rs. 418 crores. Similarly in loans the figures has gone down from Rs. 755 crores to Rs. 302 crores, that is, a reduction of Rs. 452 crores. For developmental activities outside the Plan the figure has gone down from Rs. 805 crores to Rs. 666 crores, that is, a reduction of Rs. 139 crores. Similarly, Sir, Plan expenditure has come down from Rs. 2,881 crores to Rs. 2,300 crores. Now, it comes to, if you deduct the amount of Rs. 555 crores also, a reduction by Rs. 149 crores. That is all right. But one point the Government has to take care of.

4 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): I am going to call the next speaker now.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: Let me complete, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): You have got only a minute or two minutes more.

SHRI R. R. MORARKA: The thing is that so far as the devolution of resources for the non-Plan expenditure is concerned, it has increased and for the Plan expenditure, it has decreased. If the Government can take to ensure that this extra-devolution which they have allowed to the States is also utilised for Plan purposes, then the chances of inflation would decrease. But if you allow the States to have a free hand, then this difficulty would arise and we may have more problems relating to inflation. Now, about the question of financial discipline, I wonder what has been done so far.

(Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair).

I say this, because, I do not think that there is any mechanism whatsoever by which the Government can enforce financial discipline. Last time, Sir, they gave Rs. 555 crores to pay off their overdrafts and allowed them to write on a clean slate. But, unfortunately, the slate does not remain clean for a long time. Immediately, they spend more and again they start drawing upon the Reserve Bank of India and then the overdraft occurs. I do not know what mechanism you will impose discipline on them to see that these overdrafts are avoided.

Now I come to my last point and that is about the three objectives which the Finance Minister has enunciated in his Budget. The first is to minimise the disparities, the second is to increase production and avoid waste and the third is to eliminate unemployment and under employment. Sir, so far as the first is concerned, that is, minimising the disparities is concerned, i.e. disparities in income and wealth, in his Budget, he has levied 5 per cent surcharge on Income tax, has levied 2.5 per cent surcharge on the corporation-tax to be

paid by the corporate sector and has increased the wealth tax rates on the higher slabs from 2.5 per cent to 3 per cent and by 1.5 per cent on wealth above 15 lacs. The total revenue from these three levies, if everything goes well according to the calculations of the Finance Minister, would be about a hundred crores only. From these Taxes which you have already have you got about Rs. 2,700 crores. With Rs. 2,750 crores if you are not able to reduce the disparities, then, is this amount of a hundred crores going to do that? No. It is not going to do that. Those things are not going to happen. If you are really serious about reducing the disparities, then, you must adopt the principle of not worth. You must limit the net worth of each person and within that net worth, each individual or each person must be allowed to hold property in any form, productive or unproductive, and you can limit his wealth as well as his income. With that net worth principle, you do whatever you like. But, without that, there will be loopholes in whatever provisions you make.

Then, Sir, I come to the second thing, that is, increasing the production and avoiding waste: Sir, I must confess frankly that I could not find any provision in this Budget which would increase production. So far as the industries are concerned, he has withdrawn the concession given to them, that is, for the industries mentioned in Schedule I. This concession was given for the last 30 years, in fact, 32 years, and he has suddenly withdrawn. Then, what more has he done? He has withdrawn the excise concession on larger production which existed till now. Are these measures meant for increasing production or are they going to operate in another direction? Anyway Sir, I leave it to him. Then, Sir, the third point is there which is more interesting. It is about removing unemployment and underemployment and with regard to these he has made some very exaggerated statements. In para 40 of his Budget speech, Sir, he says that

[Shri R. R. Morarka]

the National Dairy Development Corporation programme has been approved and an outlay of Rs. 32 crores has been provided for and that it is expected that this would provide employment to ten million farm families. Rs. 32 crores and employment for ten million farm families? That is the rate of Rs. 32/- per family? If employment could be provided at this rate, at the rate of Rs. 32/- per family, what more do we want? There, Sir, I think this is a very exaggerated figure and we must come to realities and, if you come to realities, you would find that except for a small thing here and there for the cottage industry or for agriculture, he has not done anything which would give more employment. Then, he mentions about labour-intensive production. What has he done about the labour intensive production? With great respect, I would say that he has made no proposal. The only promise he has made in that he would appoint a committee. That is his contribution. And he says that he would await the report of the committee.

There is Item 68. Now, under Item 68 excise duty is levied on whatever items remaining free from excise under any other item. Till today, before this Budget was presented, the small-scale industries which produced up to Rs. 30 lakhs per annum were free from excise duty. Now he has reduced this figure from Rs. 30 lakhs to Rs. 15 lakhs. Up to Rs. 15, lakhs it will be free from excise duty. Between Rs. 15 lakhs and Rs. 30 lakhs, he has levied a duty of 4 per cent. Is it an impetus? Is it a way of giving impetus to small-scale industry? It is claimed that this Budget is pro-small scale industry. Is it so, Sir?... (Time bell rings).

Then, take High Speed Diesel Oil and Low Speed Diesel Oil. The exemption on LSD and increase on HSD and Kerosene lacks both logic and rationale because Kerosene is used more by poor people. Even for

agriculturists the Low Speed Diesel has only 9 lakh pumps in the whole country, whereas for High Speed Diesel there are more than 25 lakhs. Now, Sir, so far as Low Speed Diesel is concerned, the concession would go mostly to Gujarat, because 64 per cent of Low Speed Diesel pumps are in Gujarat, next in U.P., and third comes Andhra Pradesh. Rajasthan has only six thousand. Such States as that of my friend Raja Maksoodpur of Bihar—have no Low Speed Diesel pumps at all. Therefore, I submit that this levy is also unrealistic.

Our Plan has envisaged that subsidies would be abolished. Instead of abolishing subsidies, we are increasing them. We have increased subsidy on food to Rs. 560 crores, on fertilisers from Rs. 319 to Rs. 448 crores, on cash assistance to exports, Rs. 400 crores. Now we have added one more item, namely, textiles—Rs. 52 crores. Sir, I think we are going in the opposite direction. The cash assistance to exporters we are giving on certain selected items. This means really selective devaluation of our foreign exchange. If our idea is to give premium for earning foreign exchange, then, Sir, my point is that when we are getting Rs. 2000 crores from the labourers, who have migrated from here and are working in Gulf countries and who are sending foreign exchange, why not give some premium to them also?

Sir, I had a few more points. But since I have no time, I conclude here. I thank you Sir.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it seems that while presenting this Budget this year, the Janata Party has forgotten what it wrote in the manifesto two years back. That is why a lot of criticism is being made not only by the Opposition but also by the Janata Party members. Different names are being given to this Budget. Somebody is calling it a 'kulak' Budget, somebody says that it is against the urban population, some say that it gives a new orientation to the rural sector...

AN HON. MEMBER: Some say it is 'anti-RSS'.... (Interruptions)

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: But, in reality, this Budget is presented in the same framework in which the earlier Budgets, whether in the Congress regime or in the Janata regime, have been presented. In reality, it is the same framework of developing capitalism in our country without harming the landlords and the monopoly interests, whether Indian or foreign. I do not want to go into all the detailed figures. A lot of figures have been quoted from the Budget. But certain things make it very clear that even certain promises or declarations made in the speech of the Finance Minister are contradicted in the Budget proposals. Sir, I would like to point out that in the background of Rs. 2200 crores of additional money supply and keeping Rs. 1300 crores as deficit and with about Rs. 1000 crores of new taxes, it is claimed that there would not be any inflationary trend in the country so far as prices are concerned and that only in the wholesale price, it is going to increase by one per cent and in the retail price, it is estimated to increase by 4.6 per cent. Sir, who is going to believe them? With so much of deficit financing, with so much taxation falling on the poor man and with the money supply rising at a speed of 12 per cent a year, who can believe that the price level will be kept as is being claimed? That is why even from the Planning Commission some experts have said that it is not going to be less than 9 per cent. In addition to that, Sir, there is going to be a lot of deficit in the State Budgets also which ultimately will have to be met by Centre because the resources for the States are exhausted very much and they are demanding more finances. From the Seventh Finance Commission more allocations are there. But they are not satisfied with it. Even after all this, they claim that all is well, our economy is going on all right, we are having more

production, the rate of growth is very high and all that. But, they claim this on the basis of what? One is that sufficient foreign exchange reserves are there, and the second is that food production has gone up to 125 million tonnes. These are the two things on the basis of which they are claiming that the economy and the rate of growth and everything is all right and that they are marching forward for a better life. But, Sir, what is the actual position? I do not want to go into this that the *per capita* consumption today is less than what it was five years back. Even in relation to foodgrains production, this year it is less than what was envisaged in the last Plan. In relation to other crops also, the picture is the same. It is not equal to what was envisaged in the Plan itself. So on the basis of this, to claim that there is going to be better future for the Indian economy will not be correct because, Sir, if you go into the public debt, you will see by now how much it has gone up. The interest charges alone—which is next to the Defence budget—come to more than Rs. 2100 crores. When you come to the resources, they are no trying to find the resources. From where the resources can be made available? They are banking upon the common man which is very clear from the new tax levies that have been imposed not only on the luxury items but also on others. If they are imposed on luxury items, that is all right and everybody will welcome it. But can anybody say or has anybody said that they have been imposed on luxury items? These levies have been criticised by the Janata Members themselves; levies on kerosene, matches, tooth brushes, tooth pastes, soaps washing soap. All these items including the bidis are thought to be luxury item by the Finance Minister and perhaps the Janata Government. Why? Bidis are used by the common man. Mr. Piloo Mody does not use bidis. Members of Parliament do not use bidis. It is the common poor worker who is using bidis. They have not tried to get the

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resources from where they could be easily available. Even tax arrears have not been tapped. There are Rs. 1000 crores of tax arrears and there is nothing in the Budget to say that they are going to collect that money and that they are going to have a machinery which will collect that money. Not only that, Sir. There is an estimate which is on record. Everybody keeps two books of account and entries are made separately and loopholes are plugged. If these things were collected, there would not have been this much of deficit which they have placed before Parliament in their Budget. But nothing is being done in relation to these things.

Then, Sir, have they tried to find out the resources, where they are available? Our friends in the opposition do criticise the Budget saying that the burden has fallen on the common man and it is stated that so far as their Budgets were concerned, they were meant for the common man and they benefited a lot. But, I would like to ask the Finance Minister that during the period of the *Garibi Hatao* when 81 monopoly houses, from 1972 to 1976, increased their assets by Rs. 3392 crores, did they try to make any effort to take a part of those assets? At whose cost were those assets increased? Did they make any effort to collect a part of it? No effort was at all made....

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: The banks were nationalised. The 20-point programme for the poor was launched.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: ... to tax those who had amassed this wealth?

So far as the 20-point programme is concerned, it is now very clear from the survey reports which go to prove that it is in that period that the Indian monopoly houses have amassed huge wealth. The Department of Company Affairs has brought out a report which goes to show that Rs. 3390 crores worth of assets were in-

creased during that time. (*Interruptions*). Sir, I was not touching the 20-point programme but my friend has forced me to do so. It was during the period of the 20-point programme that so much was tom-tommed throughout the country that land would be made available to the landless. What is the total result of it? Today the draft Sixth Plan document admits that all that has been a failure. And, after so many years, we find that only 16 lakh acres of land in the whole country has been distributed and total surplus comes to one per cent of the total land under cultivation in the country.

Since you have dragged me into this 20-point programme, I want to say that in relation to bonded labour the State Governments reported that they numbered one lakh throughout the whole country. Now, the National Institute of Labour has conducted a survey along with the Gandhi Peace Foundation and they have found out that in the nine States which they covered under their survey their number was more than 20 million.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: More than 27 million bonded labourers. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: They are also bonded labourers.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: All their reports showed that they have rehabilitated all the bonded labourers. But now we find that the number is very high which the Congress Government tried to cover at that time which has been brought out by the report.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: What has your Government done in Bengal?

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: I am speaking on the Budget; that is why I said this. And so far as that part is concerned, Sir, they cannot claim to have given a better performance. On that basis, Chaudhari Sahib rightly claims that there is lot of production and the irrigation facilities are going to be increas-

ed and power generation is going to be increased. But what happens to the poor people, to those who live below the poverty line when there is going to be increased in prices? That is what I want to know. Only that way we can judge our production and national income and see whether it goes into the pocket of the poor man or it goes into the pocket of the upper sections. That is why I am saying that in spite of these slogans.... (Interruptions).

श्री प्रकाश महोत्रा (उत्तर प्रदेश): हम ने कहा चौधरो साहब (Interruptions)

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: I am sorry I cannot use this language. (Interruptions)

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Don't talk nonsense, Mr. Piloo Mody.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Bonded labour cannot talk to me like that.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: You are the CIA agent; you are also bonded labour of the Birlas and the Tatas.

SHRI PILOO BODY: But not the bonded labour like you.... (Interruptions).

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: I was saying that they have not made any effort to find out the resources, resources from the monopoly houses, from their profits, from the multinationals who were allowed to exploit the cheap labour in our country and take away profits to their own countries, and resources even from the upper sections, the richer sections, the landlords in the rural areas. Of course, some concessions are given. They are concessions, no doubt, and there is nobody who would say that one is going to benefit out of the concessions on fertilizers and light diesel oil. But the biggest concession is to the tobacco growers where earlier not only there was so much excise and so much levy but the inspectorate and the administration people were cheating the peasant-

try very much. Now they are relieved. It is a very welcome thing and everybody would welcome it. When we go into the totality of these concessions, we find, Sir, that 15 per cent of the landholders are holding 60 per cent of the land in our country and they are producing 80 per cent of the surplus and it is that class which is going to benefit more. So far as the common man is concerned, he has been taxed for all the commodities like the kerosene, the matchbox, the washing soap and other things. Naturally, these people are going to curse and are not going to praise because of some concessions given to the peasantry.

So far as other allocations are concerned, what we find is that for agriculture and rural development, the total allocation has been raised by Rs. 57 crores. But at the same time, perhaps, it is visualised that now no drought is going to come in our country. For the drought-prone areas programmes the allocation last year was of the order of Rs. 76 crores; now it has been brought down to Rs. 59 crores. Sir, recently, I have been to Rajasthan and I saw there that not only the drinking water is not available for miles and miles, even for the goats, nothing is available on the trees. But in the Budget we find that the allocation has been reduced. Of course there are areas where irrigation facilities and other things are available but for the areas like Rajasthan, earlier allocation should not have been reduced.

Similarly, we take the food-for-work programme. A lot of talk is there for the unemployment and the food-for-work programme but the allocation has been reduced from Rs. 100 crores to Rs 50 crores. Similarly, it has been said here as to how much allocation has been made for improving the condition of the Harijans and other weaker sections. Of course, more allocations have been made in respect of irrigation, power and so on. Earlier also, allocations were made. This has been going on. It is good.

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This should be there. But we should not try to base our judgement on that. Unless this money, unless this investment percolates, to the rural sections of the population, to the peasantry in the rural areas, nobody can change the situation. The green revolution has not brought any change for them. It has brought change for the country because the agricultural production has gone up. But so far as the common man is concerned, so far as the rural poor is concerned, disparities have increased and they have not benefited out of this. Nor are they going to benefit out of this now. When there is deficit, they say they would like to mop up the resources and so on. But from where?

Now, there is a fad. They say they are going to introduce prohibition. So far as I am concerned, I never drink. Now, in this connection, there have been earlier reports. Two thousand crores of revenue is involved in this. Not only revenue. But the report is there about Bombay prohibition. It has been stated that this has resulted in more crimes. It will not stop crimes. Nobody can stop it. They have not stopped it in Bombay. In many other States where this has been enforced, they have not been able to stop it. The Central Government promises that they will give 50 per cent of the revenue. This means, one thousand crores of more notes they will have to print in the Nasik factory to give effect to this fad of prohibition. Therefore, Sir, this argument does not hold. When the State Governments are hesitant about it, they show the Directive Principles. But 'the right to work' is not remembered which also has not been included in the Directive Principles. But in regard to prohibition, they show the Directive Principles. Then Chief Ministers are called. They are asked to enforce this. They go to the Panchayats. They say 'Yes'. Prohibition is there for two days. People purchase their bottles and keep them in their houses. For two days prohi-

biton is there. They do it like this. I do not want to take the time of the House on this.

Then, Sir, they claim that they will do another thing. This is about unemployment. They say they are going to eradicate unemployment in ten years and in the budget speech also, this has been claimed by the Finance Minister that this is being done. But there is nothing in the Budget proposals which indicates that more employment will be generated. What is the estimation? Now, what is the number of those who have registered their names in the employment exchanges? This is on the increase. In the rural areas, there is lot of unemployment and underemployment. The situation is so bad that one cannot imagine it. How can it be solved? This will not be eradicated unless the Government resorts to land reforms. The Planning Commission in its draft report has said that this has been a failure. But this Government also is not prepared to do anything. In fact, some of the State Governments are advocating the reversay of the earlier legislation. Then, they are claiming that they are including all these legislations in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. They say that all these legislations will be included in the Ninth Schedule. They say that an amending Bill is being introduced. Sir, I do not know what the Ninth Schedule will do. What purpose it will serve if there is nothing in the Act itself. Ninth Schedule will also help only if there is something in the legislation itself. So, in this respect the Government is silent and there is nothing in the Budget. The unemployment problem cannot be solved in our country and the internal market cannot be expanded unless land reforms are resorted to. In 1969, It was estimated by the Mahalanobis Committee that after the imposition of ceiling, namely, 20 acres, 63 million acres of land would be available for distribution. Later on, two years afterwards, another estimate was given to Parliament that 40 million acres of land would be available. After all the

legislations came before us, it was estimated that 68 lakh acres would be surplus, but this also has not come. The total declared surplus now comes to 46 lakh acres. Out of this, 23 lakh acres of land have been taken possession of and only 16 lakh acres of land have been distributed so far.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: That too on paper.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: This has been done on paper by the Congress Government and this Government also says that they will complete this process. I do not know what they mean when they say that they will complete this process. Apart from these Acts, how much is there in benami transactions? Recently, some surveys have been made. Let there be a Committee of the Parliament. If the Janata Party is genuine and serious of what they talk about land reforms, let us unite and appoint a Committee. On paper, on the revenue record a landlord may be having a farm below 18 acres, but actually he will be holding a farm of 1000 or 2000 acres. In whose name is it held? There have been some recent surveys in this regard. It is in the name of dogs, in the name of dead people, non-existent, and yet it is there. (Interruptions) Yes, it is in the name of bonded labour also. It is a fact, you have rightly reminded me about that. So, if a survey is conducted, if an on-the-spot enquiry is conducted, one can find out such lands which are held under benami names, and those lands could be available for distribution to agricultural labour. In this way we could think of tackling unemployment to some extent, but on this question nothing is said in the Budget.

Similarly, about bonded labour, nothing is said here. Revealing reports have come about bonded labour. Everybody has been cheated. Unless there is availability of credit for them, unless there are employment avenues for them, there is no question of thinking that you have done away with the

bounded labour problem, that you have freed all bounded labourer. Recently, from Madhya Pradesh some contractors have brought the bounded labourers into Karnal District. Their number is more than 2000 and how much are they paid? They are paid Rs. 1-1½ to Rs. 2 and they are not allowed to go anywhere.

Their children are not allowed to go out if they go to the market. That type of thing is happening and nobody is bothered about it. There is no talk in the Budget of bonded labour, whose number is about 2.7 millions in the country.

Similarly, there is no talk here about eradication of indebtedness. Yes, you talk of more allocations, co-operative loans, this loan and that loan but where is the loan going, who is actually utilising it? Even it is on paper that 35 per cent of the loan from the co-operative banks is used by small marginal farmers, but who is actually the beneficiary? If a survey is conducted, it will be found that very little goes to them. Even if it goes to them, that money is taken away by the richer sections there and again given to them at a high rate of interest. This is how they are being cheated and squeezed. Nothing is being done in this direction. Now let us see how big the problem of indebtedness is going to be. According to the Reserve Bank survey, in 1951-52 it was Rs. 750 crores. In the next survey, in 1961-62 it was Rs. 2,400 crores and now the estimation is that it is not less than Rs. 6000 crores. With this indebtedness can you think that you can free bonded labour, you can free the peasantry of that thing? Nothing is said about this indebtedness in this Budget.

Lastly, there is a big talk that it is the peasants' Budget, peasant is going to benefit from this. Now let us see what is the fate of the peasant even in relation to the little thing which is given to him in relation to fertilizer. The Government is not do-

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ing anything to arrest the fall in prices of agricultural commodities. What is the position today? Is there any proposal in the Budget that they are going to spare more money and the Government is going to take up all the stocks and fix the prices? No, there is no such proposal. Now look at the rate of potatoes. They are being sold at Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 per quintal, but nobody is there to purchase them. And the Government is not making any effort in this direction. Similar is the position of sugarcane. I went to U.P. recently and found that sugarcane was being sold to the khandsari factories, small factories, at the rate of Rs. 3 per quintal whereas firewood was being sold at Rs. 20 a quintal. That is the position and see how the peasantry is getting ruined. What benefit this Rs. 5 on one bag of fertilizer will give him if he is being squeezed like this? Similarly, the cotton prices have fallen very much. Well, my friend here will say that the cotton industry, the textile industry is a sick industry. I cannot understand that because the price of cotton has fallen by 40 per cent as compared to last year and in the production of cloth 45 to 50 per cent is the raw material component. Why has the price of cloth not fallen at the rate of this price? Why are they not making any effort about it? The peasantry is getting ruined so far as the price is concerned. You would answer that the Cotton Corporation of India is there to enter the market. They have set up the Agricultural Prices Commission. There has been a lot of debate on it; I do not want to say anything. They are meant to see the market trends and availability. They do not go into the cost of production and see that the peasant must be protected. And then even if the price is decided there is no body to enter into the market. The Cotton Corporation expresses its helplessness because they have no money to purchase. Now Maharashtra has set up its own Cotton Corporation. It is what Cotton Corporation of India

paying Rs. 20 a quintal more than pays. Similar is the case of Jute Corporation of India. The same is the position in the case of all other crops. So this question has to be tackled. If the Janata Party thinks that it will be able to win over and consolidate among the peasantry, it is wrong because now the pinch is being felt of the crash in prices. For that some efforts are required which will not be to their liking. If the industrialists say, "No, we do not purchase at this rate" and the rate is not remunerative, then naturally you will have to 'Nationalise the textile industry'; you will have to say: "Nationalise the sugar industry". Then you will find what happens and how it becomes productive and all that. But that they won't do. And if this is not done, then I think there will be no result and they will not be able to save the peasantry. It is in ferment on this question now. On this all are united.

Then I want to mention a few words about our Missions in the foreign countries. A lot of money is being spent on them. But the way they are treating Indians is something which the Government should go into. There is a lot of Indian population abroad—not in hundreds and thousands but in lakhs—in the United Kingdom, the Gulf countries and in Canada. In the United Kingdom and Canada, the racial discrimination which they have to face is of the worst type; and it is becoming more and more. But when our Indian community approach our High Commissions or their offices there, they do not attend to them; they do not bother about their difficulties. They enjoy their life and nothing is done there. That is why recently certain facts were brought in this House. And those facts we came to know from the papers and not from our offices there. These tests were going on and even now they are not stopped. It is said that the British Home Ministry has sent a secret circular, on the basis of which a lot of

things are still being done there. This is said by whom? By someone who was the Minister there. He has exposed that. Why has our High Commission not reported this to us? So this must be attended to.

Lastly, I would say that on one point all of us seem to be united. The new tax levies which fall on the common man and which are not on luxury items—like tooth brushes, tooth pastes, kerosene and on soaps and washing soaps must be withdrawn. Levies have been imposed not only on the soaps which you use, but also on the soaps which a common man uses.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Whether you wash or do not wash.

SHRI HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET: The Leader of the House is here. He must convey our feeling that on this the whole House is united that these levies must be withdrawn. At least, this will create some confidence that the Government has given some consideration to the voices raised by the people about this Budget outside.

With these words, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak.

श्री इयामलाल यादव : माननीय उप-सभापति महोदय, इस बजट के सिलसिले में अभी कुछ बातें कही गई हैं उन को दोहराना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन एक बात जो माननीय वित्त मन्त्री ने और सत्तारूढ़ दल के लोगों ने बार बार कही है कि इस बजट से जो योजनाएं बन रही हैं उनको चालू करने में एक नई दिशा दी जाएगी, और अधिक धन व्यय किया जा रहा है और उस धनका सदुपयोग किया जा रहा है, यह ठीक नहीं। अगर पिछले साल के बजट को देखा जाए तो स्वयं वित्त मन्त्री ने अपने भाषण में यह स्वीकार किया है कि इस बजट में 1978-79 में जो 4520 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान दिया गया था, उसमें से 201 करोड़ रुपये का व्यय नहीं किया गया और विशेष कर कृषि योजनाओं में 25 करोड़ रुपया कम खर्च

किया गया। यही नहीं, मान्यवर, अगर राज्य सरकारों के बजटों को देखा जाय तो 31 मार्च, 1979 तक अनेक राज्यों में जो वन योजनाओं के लिए रखा गया था उसमें सब व्यय नहीं हुआ। उदाहरण-स्वरूप पंजाब में 18 करोड़ रुपया, असम में 90 करोड़ रुपया, बिहार में 33 करोड़ रुपया, केरल में 22 करोड़, गुजरात में 60 करोड़, हरियाणा में 16 करोड़ हिमाचल प्रदेश में 12 करोड़ रुपया मेघालय, त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर में 5-5 करोड़ रुपया व्यय नहीं किया गया। इसका यह अर्थ निकलता है कि जितनी लम्बा-चोड़ी योजनाएँ बजट में रखी जाती हैं, उनको पूरा करने के लिए सरकार की तैयारी नहीं है और इस प्रकार अपने लक्ष्य की पूर्ति में सरकार असफल रही है। इसलिए इस योजना में जो कुछ लम्बा-चोड़ी बातें कहा गई है, मुझे पूरी आशंका है कि यह सरकार उनको भी पूरा करने में असमर्थ रहेगी।

मान्यवर, दूसरी बात इस बजट में जिस घाटे की तरफ अधिकांश सदस्यों ने सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है लगभग 1400 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा है जिसकी व्यवस्था नहीं की गई और अभी लगभग आधा दर्जन राज्य सरकारों के बजट पेश हुए हैं। उनको देखने में लगता है कि उनमें भी तीन अरब रुपये का घाटा आंका गया है। इस तरह की घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था यह सरकार चलाती रहेगी तो हमें पूरी आशंका है कि देश में एक भयंकर मुद्रा-स्फीति उत्पन्न होगी। पिछली सरकार ने अपने प्रयासों से संसार की घड़ियों में जबकि बंगलादेश से लाखों विस्थापित आये, भयंकर बाढ़ें आयीं, सूखा आया, उन तमाम संकटों के बावजूद मुद्रा-स्फीति पर सरकार ने नियन्त्रण किया जो विश्व में एक चमत्कार था। लेकिन इतना अनाज का भंडार होने के बाद, फारन रिजर्व होने के बाद जब यह सरकार सत्ता में आई, उस प्रकार से जो बजट पेश किया गया है उसके आंकड़ों का विश्लेषण करने के पश्चात् एक नहीं देश के अनेक अर्थ-शास्त्री

[श्री श्यामलाल यादव]

इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे हैं कि इस बजट से भयंकर मुद्रा-स्फीति होगी। मैं इस सिलसिले में दो अर्थ-शास्त्रियों का उल्लेख करना चाहूंगा। एक हैं श्री पी० ब्रह्मानन्द, जो जाने माने आर्थिक विशेषज्ञ हैं, उन्होंने कहा है—

Right now we are sitting on an inflationary volcano: when it erupts, the nation will find itself unprepared.

दूसरी तरफ़ प्रो० रूसी तारापुरवाला ने भी इन्हीं बातों को कहा है कि—मैं उनको भी कोट करना चाहूंगा, ये भी जाने माने विशेषज्ञ हैं—जिस तरह का टैक्स लगाया जा रहा है और जिस तरह के संसाधनों को बरबाद किया जा रहा है, जिससे उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा, कोई रोज़गार नहीं बढ़ेगा, उसको देखते हुए यह स्पष्ट है कि—

It will lead to galloping inflation.

जिससे आगे चल कर औद्योगिक अशांति भी बढ़ेगी। इसलिए मैं मान्यवर उन आंकड़ों में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन इतना ही निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट से जो मुद्रा स्फीति उत्पन्न होगी, उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए सरकार को कोई कल्पना नहीं है, सरकार ने कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की है और इससे इस देश में एक भयंकर स्थिति उत्पन्न होगी जो इस देश की गरीब जनता को तबाह कर देगी।

तीसरी बात, मान्यवर, जो बजट में व्यवस्था की गई है और जनता पार्टी के मैनिफेस्टो में जिस बात की चर्चा थी कि 10 वर्ष के अन्दर बेरोज़गारी दूर करेंगे, हम जानना चाहेंगे कि उस दृष्टि में सरकार ने जो व्यवस्था इस बजट में की है उसको देखने से केवल एक चार सामने आई कि काम के बदले अनाज की बात बोल रहे हैं और 30 करोड़ को बढ़ा कर सौ करोड़ रुपये कर दिये। डेरी विकास के लिये 11 करोड़ के बजाय 19 करोड़ कर दिया तो इससे क्या बेकारी दूर हो जाएगी। गांव में मिट्टी की सड़क बनाने का काम देने वाले

से या दूसरे छोटे-छोटे काम करने से गरीबी दूर नहीं होने वाली है। इस तरह से छोटे-छोटे काम पिछली सरकार ने बहुत किये हैं। यह ठीक है सड़कें बनाने से बहुत से लोगों को काम मिलता था लेकिन वह भी साल में कुछ दिनों के लिये पर यह कार्य बहुत सफल नहीं हुआ। इस बेरोज़गारी के आधार पर मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ और सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि काम के बदले अनाज की योजना की जांच के लिये इस सदन के सदस्यों की एक कमेटी बनाई जाए और यह देखा जाए कि यह सारा का सारा रुपया बरबाद तो नहीं हो रहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरीके से सत्तारूढ़ दल के लोग पैसे का दुरुपयोग कर रहे हैं और यह सिर्फ़ कागजी कार्रवाई है। वास्तव में कोई स्थायी निर्माण नहीं हो रहा है और स्थायी तरीके से किसी को काम भी नहीं मिल रहा है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि इसी तरह का प्रयास, मिलता-जुलता प्रयास, रोजगार देने के लिये कर्नाटक प्रदेश सरकार ने शुरू किया है। उससे काफी लोगों को काम मिला है। उन्होंने एम्प्लायमेंट एफरेशन स्कीम चलाई है। 22 करोड़ रुपया 45 तालुका में खर्च करने का उन्होंने विचार रखा है। यह कहा है कि जो गांव में रहने वाले मजदूर हैं जिनके पास जायदाद नहीं है और इसके लिये नाम दर्ज कराते हैं तो उनकी साल में 100 दिन तक जो काम मिलेगा उस पर सरकार काम देगी और उससे ये विश्वास किया जाता है कि जो 160 तालुका है वहां पर अगले दो-तीन सालों में यह योजना कार्यान्वित हो जाएगी। यह जो एम्प्लायमेंट एफरेशन स्कीम है अगर इस तरह की कोई स्कीम इनकी है तब तो ठीक है, नहीं तो न काम मिलेगा और न अनाज ही मिल सकेगा।

एक और विशेष बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ जिसकी ओर बहुत से सदस्यों ने ध्यान दिलाया है और समाचार पत्रों में भी काफी टीका-टिप्पणी हो रही है। इस बजट में सरकार ने किसानों को कुछ राहत दी है। इस सिलसिले में मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो विकास अभी तक संभव हो सका है वह पिछली योजनाओं के फलस्वरूप हो सका है। जो तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ थीं उनमें कुल 15 हजार करोड़ रुपये की व्यवस्था थी, प्रावधान था व्यय करने का। एक बटा तीन से अधिक व्यय होती, सिंचाई और पावर पर किया गया जिसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि तीसरी योजना के बाद से कृषि के क्षेत्र में पर्याप्त विकास हुआ और उसी का ही यह परिणाम है कि देश में इतना उत्पादन हो रहा है और इसी का ही परिणाम है जो कुछ आज हम देश में आर्थिक ढाँचा देख रहे हैं। उसी का यह सरकार लाभ उठा रही है। उसी व्यवस्था को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये, उसको दृढ़ करने के लिये मेरी समझ में यह सरकार कोई काम नहीं कर रही है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बयान में, जिसे जब उन्होंने इस्तीफा दिया था उसके बाद दिया था, उनको मैं स्मरण करना चाहता हूँ, वैसे तो वह अब वित्त मंत्री हैं बहुत सी बातें कह सकते हैं पर मैं उनको याद दिला दूँ कि उन्होंने अपने बयान में साफ तौर से यह बात कही थी कि जनता सरकार का विचार, विशेषकर प्रधान मंत्री का दृष्टिकोण किसानों की उपेक्षा की तरफ है। वह किसानों की भलाई के लिये कोई काम नहीं करना चाहते। मैं इसमें नहीं जाना चाहता केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि वित्त मंत्री अपने उस भाषण को देखें और देख कर बतलायें कि क्या उनके बजट में कोई एक भी ऐसा

कार्यक्रम है, कोई ऐसा कार्यक्रम सुझाया गया है देश के सामने जिससे किसानों की हालत में सुधार हो सके, जिससे किसान, जो बड़े-बड़े उद्योगपति हैं उनके मुकाबले अधिक सुविधा पा सके? क्या जिन बातों की तरफ किसानों की भलाई के लिये ध्यान दिलाना चाहते थे उनकी तरफ आपने दिलाया? क्या सरकार ने उनके बारे में सोचा?

उन्होंने अपने बयान में पृष्ठ 15 पर कहा है :

"The Prime Minister would not allow more than 5,000 tonnes of Gur to be exported which suggestion was made in order to boost its price that had gone down very low. Inasmuch as the production of Gur in the country was estimated at 86 lakh tonnes, export of such a small amount could not make any dent on the producers' price. As for the cost of interest of the consumer, inasmuch as consumption of Gur constituted only 0.7 per cent of his total consumption, export even of one-third of the total production would not irk him."

मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वित्त मंत्री ने अपने बजट प्रस्तावों पर इसकी कोई व्यवस्था की है कि जो काश्तकार गन्ने के हैं उनका जीवनयापन सुखी हो सके और उनकी उपज का लाभ उन्हें मिल सके या सिर्फ प्रधान मंत्री पर आरोप लगाने के लिये ये बातें कहीं गई है। उन्होंने अपने उक्त भाषण में कहा था :-

"In August last, with a view to host a meeting of the UNCTAD in January or February, 1980, the Government decided to spend an amount of Rs. 15.66 crores on the construction of one hotel and one hostel as also on expansion and renovation of the Vigyan Bhawan. This expenditure could very well be avoided, and this huge sum

[श्री इयामलाल यादव]

spent upon sinking of tube-wells, construction or expansion of a fertilizer factory and providing clean water to thousands of villages which are going without it."

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वित्त मंत्री ने अपने इस वायदे को पूरा किया है या उन्होंने ये बातें केवल प्रधान मंत्री पर आरोप लगाने के लिए कही थीं ? उन्होंने अपने भाषण में इस बात की भी चर्चा की थी कि गांवों में रहने वाले लोगों को दूसरी श्रेणी का नागरिक माना जाता है और उनके विकास के लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठाये जाते हैं। लेकिन आज मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट में गांव वालों के विकास के लिए उन्होंने कौन से कदम उठाये हैं जिस पर वे गर्व कर सकें ? जनता पार्टी की तरफ से बार-बार इस बात को दोहराया जाता है कि उनके शासन-काल में किसानों का हित हुआ है, लेकिन मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उनका यह बजट किसान परक है ? हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस बजट में किसानों के लिए कोई विशेष व्यवस्था नहीं की है। केवलमात्र लोगों को भुलावे में डालने की कोशिश की है। इनका कहना है कि हमने खाद पर टैक्स कम कर दिया है। लेकिन मैं यह साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह टैक्स दूसरे तरीके से बढ़ा दिया गया है। जैसा कि कई माननीय सदस्यों ने जिक्र किया है कि डीजल, केरोसीन आइल, दियासलाई, कपड़े और कई अन्य दूसरी चीजों पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया गया है। इन चीजों का उपयोग हमारे देश के किसान भी करते हैं। ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है कि हमारे देश के किसान इन चीजों का इस्तेमाल न करते हों। ऐसी स्थिति में अगर इन्होंने खाद पर थोड़ी सहूलियत दी है तो दूसरी चीजों पर टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है। इन टैक्सों

से हमारे देश के किसानों को कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। आज हमारे देश में स्थिति यह हो गई है कि किसानों की बात कही जाती है तो उसका उपयोग कुलक के लिए कर दिया जाता है। आप जानते हैं कि पिछली सरकार ने हमारे देश में भूमि की सीमाबंदी लागू कर दी थी। यह ठीक है कि सारे देश में जो सरप्लस भूमि प्राप्त हुई थी उसका पूरी तरह से बंटवारा नहीं हो सका, लेकिन यह बात सही है कि हमारे देश में अधिकांश छोटे छोटे किसान हैं। वे अपनी उपज बढ़ाने के लिए हाई ब्रीड सीड इस्तेमाल करते हैं और सिचाई का भी उपयोग करना चाहते हैं। इन चीजों के बिना देश में अनाज का अधिक उत्पादन नहीं हो सकता है। चाहे छोटे किसानों का सवाल हो या बड़े किसानों का सवाल हो, सभी फर्टिलाइजर्स का उपयोग करते हैं। इन चीजों के बिना उनका उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ सकता है। लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने इस बजट के द्वारा किसानों की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। इस सरकार ने इस बजट के माध्यम से शहरी आबादी को जितनी सुविधाएं दी हैं, चाहे वे शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में हों, स्वास्थ्य के क्षेत्र में हों, सड़कों के क्षेत्र में हों या किसी अन्य दूसरे क्षेत्र में हों, उनके मुकाबले गांव वालों को सुविधाएं नहीं दी गई हैं। चाहे शिक्षा का क्षेत्र हो, स्वास्थ्य का क्षेत्र हो या कोई अन्य क्षेत्र हो, उनमें जो सुविधाएं शहर वालों को दी गई हैं उनसे गांव वालों को कोई लाभ मिलने वाला नहीं है। हमारे वित्त मंत्री दिन-रात किसानों की चर्चा करते हैं और इस बात को भी कहते रहते हैं कि लोगों को खेती से हटा कर दूसरे धंधों में जाना चाहिए। उनका कहना है कि जब तक देश में इस प्रकार की स्थिति उत्पन्न नहीं होती है तब तक

गांव वालों की आमदनी नहीं बढ़ सकती है। इस प्रकार की बातें कहते हुए भी हमारे वित्त मंत्री ने इस बजट में किसानों की आमदनी बढ़ाने के लिए कोई कदम नहीं उठाया है। आज हमारे देश में स्थिति यह है कि किसानों को अपनी उपज का उचित मूल्य नहीं मिल रहा है। जो कुछ किसान पैदा करते हैं उसका उन्हें उचित मूल्य नहीं मिलता है। इस सदन में अनेक बार इस प्रश्न पर चर्चा हो चुकी है। चाहे गेहूँ की कीमत हो, धान की कीमत हो, कपास की कीमत हो या जुट हो कोई भी विशेष कदम सरकार उन चीजों को खरीदने के लिए नहीं उठाती है और परिणाम यह होता है कि दिन-प्रतिदिन इन चीजों की कीमत गिरती जाती है। अभी हमारे देश में कुछ भी किसान अपने खेत में पैदा करता है वह सब अपने परिश्रम से पैदा करता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब से जनता पार्टी की सरकार सत्ता में आई है, किसानों की हालत खराब होती गई है। पिछले दो वर्षों में हमारे देश में किसानों की जितनी बरबादी हुई है उतनी पहले कभी नहीं हुई थी।

मान्यवर, आज जनता पार्टी इस बजट के माध्यम से जो स्थिति देश में पैदा कर रही है और जिस तरह का वातावरण पैदा कर रहा है, मैं उसकी तरफ सदन का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। दो बातों की तरफ मैं विशेष रूप से ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वित्त मंत्री ने कहा है कि हम इस देश में क्लोन और एफिएन्ट एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन चलाना चाहते हैं। मैं वित्त मंत्री जा से जाना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में जिस प्रकार से भ्रष्टाचार बढ़ रहा है, खासतौर पर उच्च स्तर पर विशेषकर प्रधान मंत्री के पुत्र के संबंध में जो बातें कही गई हैं उस संबंध में वे क्या व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं? क्या वे इसकी

जांच के लिए कोई कमीशन बैठाएंगे? वित्त मंत्री ने लोक सभा में अपने भाषण में स्वयं कहा है, पेज 31 पर है मान्यवर कि :

"In his abounding affection for his son, Shri Desai does not realise that he has done great harm to the Janata Party, the public life of the country and to democracy. He is so much obsessed with personal reasons as to endanger the public weal. I have already referred to the matters of the Biflas'....." and all this.

वहाँ पर उन्होंने मांग की थी कि प्रधान मंत्री के पुत्र के भ्रष्टाचार की जांच होनी चाहिए। मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे प्रधान मंत्री के पुत्र कांति देसाई के खिलाफ भ्रष्टाचार के जो आरोप हैं क्या वे उनकी जांच कराने के लिये तैयार हैं? अथवा क्या उनका वह भाषण जनता को धोखा देना था और आज वह उस बात को भूल गये क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री ने उन्हें उप-प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री का पद दे दिया।

दूसरी बात मान्यवर, इस सरकार के जमाने में जहाँ हरिजनो पर अत्याचार हो रहे हैं, अल्प-संख्यक बरबाद हो रहे हैं, उनकी सम्पत्ति को नष्ट किया जा रहा है और साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कराये जा रहे हैं, इन बातों को छोड़कर मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में राजनैतिक हत्याओं का वातावरण बनाया जा रहा है। आज देश के अनेक प्रदेशों उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और बंगाल आदि में विशेषकर हमारी कांग्रेस के लोगों की हत्याओं की गई कार्यकर्त्ताओं का मार गया। जब उन लोगों की तरफ रिपोर्ट से रिपोर्ट होती तो कोई जांच नहीं होती। इस सम्बन्ध में मान्यवर

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश के गाजियाबाद जिले में श्री प्यारे लाल शर्मा जो कि एक प्रतिष्ठित राजनैतिक कार्यकर्ता थे, जो विधायक भी रह चुके थे, उत्तर प्रदेश असेम्बली के सदस्य थे उनके ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ। 27 नवम्बर 1978 की रात्रि को 10.30 बजे उनके निवास स्थान पर राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोण से उन पर आक्रमण किया गया और उनकी हत्या कर दी गई और आज तक कोई जांच नहीं हुई, किसी भी आदमी को गिरफ्तार नहीं किया गया। उन्होंने प्रधान मन्त्री और दूसरे लोगों को प्रतिवेदन भी दिया परन्तु कोई बात नहीं हुई। इसी तरह से बंगाल और बिहार में अनेक हत्याएँ रोज-ब-रोज हो रही हैं, उनको रोका नहीं जा रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी हिंसा और विद्रोह की भावना से काम करना छोड़ दे तभी इस बजट में जो अनेकों कामों के लिये लाखों लाख रुपये का प्रावधान किया गया है और जो व्यय किया जायेगा उसका लाभ मिल सकता है। जनता पार्टी की सरकार इस देश के विकास के लिये, उसकी सद्दि के लिये कार्य करे लेकिन यह बात हमारा सृष्ट में नहीं आती कि राजनीति से प्रेरित होकर विरोधी नेताओं को इस तरह से तंग करना, परेशान करना, इस तरह से उनको इंडित करना और उनकी पार्टी के हत्या करना यह कहां तक उचित है? इस तरह की परम्परा अगर जनता पार्टी कायम करती है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह देश की राजनीति के लिये, उस भविष्य के लिये और जनतंत्र के लिये बहुत बड़ी गलत बात होगी और इसका दूरगामी प्रभाव होगा। आज भारत में ही नहीं, इसके आस पास के अनेक देशों में एक ऐसी परम्परा चल रही है मान्यवर कि जहां पर एक राजनैतिक दल जो सत्ताछूड़ है वह अपने विरोधियों को तबाह करने पर तुला हुआ है और उनकी हत्या रोज की जाती है। मैं यह

जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार भारत में भी इसी तरह की तानाशाही चलाना चाहती है? दूसरी तरफ मान्यवर, जनता पार्टी वा एक घटक जो जनसंघ है, उसका एक विंग है आर० एस० एस०। ये आर० एस० एस० के लोग स्वच्छंद रूप से राजनीति में दखल दे रहे हैं और तानाशाही प्रवृत्तियों को बढ़ावा दे रहे हैं इस संगठन की निंदा हमारी पार्टी की नेता श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी शुरू से करती रही है पर अब जनता जनता पार्टी के ही नेता श्री राजनारायण भी इसका विरोध कर रहे हैं और यह बता साफ हो गई है कि आर० एस० एस० एक राजनैतिक संस्था है, अगर पूरे तौर से नहीं भी है तो भी वे लोग खुद मानने लगे हैं कि—

"It must be held that R.S.S. activity is akin to a work for a political purpose."

"It is working for advancing an opinion or political philosophy not for any charitable purpose or religious purpose."

यह उनका बयान है। इसलिये मान्यवर, ऐसी संस्था जो कि एक फासिस्ट संस्था है उसको देश में बढ़ावा मिलेगा तो लाजिमी उसका परिणाम होगा। देश में जिस प्रकार से राजनैतिक हत्याओं का वातावरण बढ़ रहा है, जिस प्रकार से विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को बराबर किया जा रहा है और नष्ट किया जा रहा है और जिस प्रकार से आज की न्याय व्यवस्था को भ्रष्ट बनाया जा रहा है उसका इस समय से बढ़कर और कोई उदाहरण नहीं हो सकता। मान्यवर, इस बजट के मिलमिले में मैं जनता पार्टी से साफ तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वे इस तरह की बातों को नहीं रोकते और विरोधी पार्टी जो कि चुनाव में हार गई है तो उसके लिये हमारे देश में जो यह परम्परा कायम कर रहे हैं कि उस पार्टी के नेताओं को इस तरह से अपमानित किया जाये, लांछित किया जाये, उन पर आक्रमण किया जाये, यह ठीक नहीं है। लेकिन जनता पार्टी

इस प्रकार के कार्यक्रम पर उतर पड़ी है, यही देश का महान् दुर्भाग्य है। मैं समझता हूँ कि 5 P.M.

इस देश की जनता ऐसे चरित्र के लोगों को स्मरण रखेगी कि किस प्रकार से देश के जनतंत्र पर यह हमला बोल रहे हैं। मान्यवर, मैं और ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ केवल दो बातों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वित्त मन्त्री ने यह बराबर कहा, अपने भाषण में बहुत जोर दिया कि छोटे उद्योग-धंधों को हम प्रोत्साहन देना चाहते हैं जिस तरफ कुलकर्णी जो ने भी सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया कि किस प्रकार से कुछ इंडीपेंडेंट प्रोसेसर्स हैं और दूसरे प्रोसेसर्स हैं उनके बीच प्रतिस्पर्धा के कारण काटेज इण्डस्ट्रीज़ को बरबाद करने की कोशिश की गई। इस बजट में 8 प्रतिशत एड-वेलोरम एक्साइज ड्यूटी को बढ़ा कर 12 प्रतिशत कर दिया गया। जो पावर-लूम से कपड़ा बनता है और जो हैंडलूम से बनता है उसके मुकाबले में अधिक उपयोगी होगा। जो लोग इंडीपेंडेंट प्रोसेसर्स हैं उनको अधिक फायदा मिलेगा। वे दिनों-दिन धनी होते चले जा रहे हैं। दूसरी तरफ जो हैंडलूम वाले हैं वे बहुत नुकसान उठाते हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में वित्त राज्य मन्त्री श्री सतीश अग्रवाल ने कई बार आश्वासन दिया और विचार-विमर्श भी किया। मेरा अनुरोध है कि जो पहले व्यवस्था थी वह रखी जाए लेकिन इन्होंने तो 8% से 12% एक्साइज ड्यूटी को कर दिया है। इस पर पुनर्विचार करना चाहिए। एक अंतिम बात मैं और कहना चाहता हूँ। जो हमारे देश में मल्टी नेशनल हैं उनको बढ़ावा नहीं देना चाहिए, यह बात जनता पार्टी के मंत्री बार बार कहते हैं। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि बैटरी के क्षेत्र में जो अपनी राष्ट्रीय कम्पनियां हैं जिनमें सेंट-परसेंट भारतीय पूंजी लगी हुई है उनको मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियों के मुकाबले में बहुत अधिक कठिनाई अनुभव हो रही है। हमने और कई माननीय सदस्यों ने इस सदन में माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकृष्ट किया लेकिन उन्होंने इस पर गौर

नहीं किया। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि बैटरियों का निर्माण हमारे देश में हो रहा है और पहर प्रकार की बैटरियां हमारे की कम्पनियां बनाने में लगी हुई हैं उनमें एक फेक्टरी तो हमारे विद्युत राज्य मंत्री जो यहां पर मौजूद हैं उनके शहर में ही 'जीप' और 'एस्ट्रेला' फेक्टरीज़ हैं जो कि एक उत्तम बैटरी हैं। लेकिन आज एक्साइज विडम्बना बना रखी है कि जो मल्टी नेशनल हैं उनको अधिक से अधिक फायदा हो रहा है और वे फेक्टरियां जिसमें ज्यादा मजदूर लगते हैं क्योंकि नयी फेक्टरियों में नयी मशीनों के कारण कम मजदूर लगते हैं इसलिए कास्ट आफ प्रोडक्शन अधिक पड़ता है और एक्साइज ड्यूटी में भी सफर करना पड़ता है इसलिए हमारे देश में बैटरियों के क्षेत्र में बैटरियों के क्षेत्र में मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियां जितनी हैं वे बराबर बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं और उनकी केपेसिटी बढ़ाने की सरकार अनुमति दे रही है। इसलिए हम चाहते हैं कि जो एक्साइज में रिलीफ मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियों को दिया जा रहा है, यह जो जेपनीज़ दर्रा है कि एक दो यूनिट्स है इनको नहीं देना चाहिए उनसे ज्यादा मजदूर जिन फेक्टरियों में लगे हुए हैं उनको बहुत नुबसान होता है खास तौर से 'एस्ट्रेला' और 'जीप' के बारे में मैं बह रहा हूँ। दूसरी तरफ जो रा मेटिरियल यूनियन कारबाइड बनाता है उसके अन्दर एक्साइज ड्यूटी को बढ़ाना चाहिए क्योंकि इस कम्पनी की इसमें मोनोपली है। ड्राई बैटरी इंडस्ट्रीज़ के लिये एक वेज-बोर्ड बनाना चाहिए। बहुत पहले इंजिनियर वेज बोर्ड बना था उसमें बैटरी इंडस्ट्री को भी प्रर व किया गया था लेकिन मैं यह चाहता हूँ इसके लिए अलग से बनना चाहिए। जिन फेक्टरियों में ज्यादा मिलना चाहिए वहां पर बेतनमान भी निर्धारित नहीं होते। मजदूरों का मालिक जब चाहे निकाल देते हैं। इसलिए इसी सिसिले में जो मल्टी नेशनल कम्पनियां हैं उनको किसी भी तरह से अधिक केपेसिटी में चलाने की इजाजत नहीं देनी चाहिए क्योंकि

[श्री श्यामलाल यादव]

हमारे यहाँ पर भारतीय कम्पनियाँ हैं। जब तक वे कम्पनियाँ 100% काम न कर लें, उसकी केसेसिटी को प्रोत्साहन न मिले तब तक मल्टीनेशनल कम्पनियों को बढ़ावा नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए। मान्यवर, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे समय दिया। आप बहुत 2 धन्यवाद।

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, first I have to congratulate the Finance Minister for his grateful exit from the Cabinet and also for his graceful re-entry into the Cabinet. The Finance Minister perhaps is justified because generally the Finance Ministry is headed by somebody who is considered to be an expert in the finances. It is a highly technical department. Therefore, the present Finance Minister did not probably base all his proposals on any sound basis. He only wanted to tackle the problem of a small section; thereby he disturbed the whole apperect. Any Finance Minister would like first to think of increase of production, growth in the national income and various other things. But this Finance Minister was probably having this feeling that industries are upsetting the growth of agriculture. Therefore, he thought it proper that he should curb the industries while giving assistance to agriculture. Every Finance Minister, every Government, whether it is the Central Government or the State Government, would first like to create wealth in some form or other. Fortunately in our country we have got both public sector industries and private sector industries. Public sector industries have been conceived in order to see that they become examples for private industrialists. While starting public sector industries the Government was not unaware of the difficulties that the public sector industries were supposed to face. First of all there was no managerial skill to manage these public sector industries. Therefore, the public sec-

tor industries suffered heavily. Later on the public sector industries started functioning under bureaucrats who are neither good administrators to maintain law and order nor are they experts in managing industries. Therefore, the public sector industries started suffering. The Finance Minister would have done well if he had suggested some means to streamline the public sector industries which are manned by people who are not experienced enough to handle them; he would have really made these public sector industries function efficiently so that national wealth could have been improved and that would have given a handle to the Government to take over industries which are under private sector and which are not properly managed, so that the people and Parliament could also feel that the Government was right in taking over those private sector industries. Every private sector industry does not bring in the required money to start its industry. Nearly 80 to 90 per cent of the money required for any industry, large industries particularly, even small-scale industries, comes from the Industrial Finance Corporation and other finance corporations which are under the Government. Therefore, no private sector industry can claim today that they own the industry except the fact that they own the technical skill, they know the know-how, they know how to manage the industry. Beyond this, their contribution towards the finances is almost nil. So what is the position today? Because the public sector industries are not properly managed, when you try to take over an industry from private hands, an industry which is sick, which is not able to meet the demands of its labour, which is not able to keep up the production schedule, which is not able to increase the wealth of the country, the people will not allow the Government to take over that private industry—because the management of the public sector industries, industries which are purely under the Government, is not done properly. Sir, if the Finance

Minister wants to give certain concessions to a very small percentage of the agriculturists, nobody would feel jealous of them and everybody would like those concessions to be given to the agricultural sector. But the Finance Minister has totally forgotten that 85 per cent of the small farmers are not the people who have adopted the developed or improved patterns of cropping. They are not the people who have adopted the high-yielding varieties and they cannot afford to buy the seeds which are very costly, they cannot afford to buy the fertilizers and pesticides which have to go with the use of high-yielding seeds and with the modern or developed methods of cultivation. Therefore, when the Finance Minister says that he has given concessions to the agriculturists, he has only given concessions to a very small percentage of farmers whose problems he is conversant with and, therefore, Sir, the Finance Minister has not been able to gain any sympathy or favour from the agriculturists who own less than two acres of land and who are really in need of assistance. Sir, today, there are small farmers who form only 19 per cent of those who have adopted the improved methods of cultivation or who use high-yielding varieties and for them, the cost of fertilizers is only 4.6 per cent of the total cost of cultivation. It is only 4.6 per cent and it does not constitute a big amount. Even the assistance or the loan which they get is only 13 per cent from the co-operatives and even there, Sir, only if the co-operator is really effective and only if he has got any influence, he is able to get the assistance or loan from the co-operative institutions. All along, Sir, it has been only a small percentage of farmers who have been getting the assistance from the State Governments and also from the Central Government. Now, take the case of the taccavi loans. It is only the big farmers who have enjoyed this to the maximum. In my own State of Andhra Pradesh, nearly a crore of rupees was written off which was given as taccavi loan

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to the agriculturists and there also there are instances, which have been brought to the notice of the State Legislature and also Parliament, in which some of these big farmers have taken the taccavi loan at a very low interest and the same money is being given to the small farmers at an abnormally high rate of interest. But these are the things which are already in existence and, therefore, the Finance Ministers has not done anything good by giving certain concessions to the small number of such farmers who come from his clan and he has only incurred the displeasure, the displeasure of the small farmers whose number is far greater and also the industries without which agriculture cannot be improved.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav) in the Chair]

Sir, I for one stand for the development of agriculture. But, at the same time, I would like to say that when I see the progress of land reforms, I find it to be very slow and I feel very such unhappy over the distribution of land to the poor people. My friend has already given the figures in this connection. What was the land that was said to be available and which could be taken over and distributed to the people? It was nearly eight million acres at one time and this figure has completely sunk today to a low level and there is hardly any appreciable number of people who have been benefited by these land reform measures. Therefore, these land reforms are no more an attraction to the weaker sections of the people in the villages nor is anyone enamoured of these land reforms and the efforts at distribution of land to the tiller. Sir, what is going to happen in the villages now? One thing is definite: Today, Sir, in the village community, the feudal landlords have become very powerful. What has been done in all these thirty years? Even though much was not done, on account of what was done, there was this feeling of fear in the minds of every landed aristocrat in the village that he could not become that tyrant

as he was once and that there could not be any person who could force the members of the weaker sections to work in his field. He cannot any more be his lord. That type of feeling existed. That feeling has not vanished. Every person in the village feels that he is most powerful and he can suppress anybody. Therefore, there is bound to be a lot of riots, a lot of fight, a lot of ill-feeling, in the villages. This is definitely not one thing which has happened from the recent times. Therefore, I would like to place more importance on the industries, specially small industries and cottage industries. Mr. George Fernandes said that he has started district industrial centres. There were many schemes which had been brought out by the previous Government also. What was lacking is the implementation. Now, the implementation is defective, because the structure is not there. Therefore, unless the Janata Government thinks of structural changes, all these promises to the small man, the poor man, about the district industrial centres, etc. is not going to give him any benefit. First of all, even though they may think of having small industries in the villages, unless the people are trained, they will not be able to take up industries. Training is most essential. It is not merely the training. There should even be earmarking of the amount because in spite of what has been spent in the cottage and village industries schemes all along, the benefits derived by the poor classes are very negligible. Even there, it is the richer class, the influential people, who benefited out of these schemes. The poor man did not materially benefit and his condition has not changed. Even though, while evolving these plans, it is said that these are going to benefit the poor class, they definitely did not do so. Therefore, I would like this Government to bear in mind that while starting these industries, they should be able to train people in various areas. It is no good—I am totally opposed to it—if they think of a hereditary profession, if you call the

cottage and village industry as shoe-making. Can't you think of any other better avocation for a weaker section person? This attitude will have to be changed... (Interruptions) There are so many industries. There are so many things for which a person could be trained and assisted to start his own industry. Unless this is done, you would only be creating a feeling amongst the weaker sections that you are trying to continue the hereditary type of profession and you have no mind to help these weaker sections. Therefore, Sir, the land reforms I have all interest and hope in it, because today with the Government there is absolutely nothing—neither any scheme nor anything—to force them to give their lands. All the records have been corrected properly and there is nothing left with the landowners to be taken over by the Government. Therefore, this will be a futile exercise for the Government if they go in for land reforms. Therefore, I am only stressing the need for starting industries where these people would be properly employed.

Another thing, Sir. Even though the Finance Minister has said that allocation for housing, etc. for the weaker sections has been increased to Rs. 125 crores, he has not given the break-up of these figures. This might include the backward classes also. In any case, the mere allocation of money without proper schemes is not going to help. This kind of thing was going on for the last thirty years and it does not help anyone. Therefore, even in the plan there should be a separate plan which should be prepared for the weaker sections. Unless that is done, it is not going to help anybody. Sir, now I would like to say something about the Defence preparedness. Now the Chinese attack on Vietnam has opened our eyes. We were not ignorant about it nor were we not knowledgeable about it. The greatest man, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, tried to win

the friendship of the Chinese and he was also betrayed by the Chinese. When our friend, Mr. Vajpayee, was going to China, everybody was accusing why Mr. Vajpayee was going there, and also for getting insulted by the Chinese. Sir, when the Chinese could betray the greatest man of this country, Vajpayeeji is no match for them. But what I would like to say about his visit is, how is it that our Intelligence here both of the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry failed to inform the Foreign Minister what the situation is in China. Is our Intelligence that poor? And if that Intelligence is so poor and so niggardly, how can anybody rely upon the word of the Defence Minister when he says that nothing is being done on the Bhutan side or that no troop movement is there from the Chinese side? How can anybody trust this kind of a thing because, Sir, when the Foreign Minister visited China, the Chinese did not even have the courtesy to allow him to come back to India and then attack Vietnam. They only wanted to mock at India. They wanted to insult India. The person may be a very small man or he may be immature but he represents the country. Government of India's Foreign Minister goes there, and when is still there, Chinese attack on Vietnam takes place. Sir, I have to blame only our Intelligence. From this I feel that our Intelligence is very poor and to me it appears that they let us down.

Therefore, Sir, Defence preparedness is very vital to this country. In this Budget, it is said that the Defence Budget has increased only by about Rs. 200 crores. But that is not going to help the Defence preparations in a big way. Sir, today, whatever the purchases are in Defence and whatever the Defence industries are, they are kept a closed thing from us even though the Defence secrets are no more secret in the whole world. What is Russia doing, the Americans know; what the Americans are doing, the Russians know. And what equipment we have got and at what price we

are going to sell them after five or six years, are all reported in the American press. Therefore, Sir, there is nothing secret. But everything is considered to be secret as far as this House is concerned. And the House does not have any proper way of assessing the Defence preparedness. Sir, there are industries under the Defence Ministry. In other countries, even if a sophisticated item is prepared for the Defence, they know the price because the evaluation, etc., is done by the private parties. But here we do not want that everything should be exposed. But what I feel is that we should be in a position to know the cost of the things that are produced in the Defence factories. (Time bell rings) That is a must. Therefore, Sir, I would like the Defence Ministry to come before the House and tell us. There are some sophisticated industries about which the House need not know. But there are various purchases and various productions in the Defence factories which can be made known to this House. (Time bell rings)

Sir, in this connection, I would like to say one more thing. The Defence Ministry should keep its personnel very happy. The Defence Ministry cannot function itself in an isolated manner. The Defence Ministry has got various cantonments in the country. The cantonments like the one in Delhi are under the control of the Government of India. The cantonment areas are directly under the Government of India through the Defence Ministry. But the situation in the cantonments is very pathetic. They are being treated as if they do not belong to this country. Even in the matter of house sites in the cantonments, the Defence Ministry is asking the State Governments to pay them the market rate and purchase the house sites which are meant for the weaker sections. Even though the Defence Minister happens to be a Member from this community, still he has not been able to understand the problems faced by the civilian

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

population in cantonment areas. (Time bell rings). Sir, I had to make this point clear because recently when the Defence Minister went there, even the members of the Cantonment Board had to resort to fasting and there was procession after procession. Therefore, Sir, the things in the Cantonment areas are not at all good. They do not even get water to drink. We are talking about the drinking water supply throughout the country. But the people in those areas, which are directly under the Government of India, do not get the water to drink and they do not have a place to live in. Their houses or huts are demolished every day. This has become almost a daily occurrence in Cantonment areas.

Therefore, Sir, through you, I would like the Defence Minister to take up this matter and in case he wants to send a committee to find out this thing he should send a Committee of Members of Parliament to Cantonment areas to see how the civilian population in these cantonment areas lives. Thank you.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka): Sir, I would welcome the Budget proposals in so far as they have, for the first time, in the history of the Indian Parliament, drawn wide attention of the urban intelligentsia, the industrial sector and the Indian political leadership to the rural realities. Mr. Charan Singh, as he is known, as the champion of the oppressed, disorganised rural India, has succeeded in pinpointing to the Indian leadership and to the thinking people that the greatly weakened rural economy is the root cause of the Indian economic ills and that India's proverbial poverty cannot be eradicated if the antiquated thinking regarding the economic policies to be pursued are not completely changed. The Indian political leadership and the Members of Parliament must realise that the concessions that the Finance Minister has given to help

the rural economy are only a drop in the ocean.

Sir, I was in this House when six years back the price of fertilisers was raised by 100 per cent at one stroke and the prices of some types of fertilisers rose from about Rs. 1000 a tonne to Rs. 2000 a tonne. Good many stockists of fertilisers became lakhiers at that time overnight. When farmers were struck such a heavy blow with scant respect for their voice or for the rural economy, we heard not this much of criticism in the country.

Now the petty reduction of duty by Rs. 100 a tonne and the reduction of duty on light diesel oil and other small reliefs given to farmers should not evoke any criticism at all by the right thinking people of this nation of five and a half lakh pathetic villages. It must be noted that the prices of fertilisers and pesticides have gone up three times and the excise duty on fertilisers alone comes to Rs. 150 crores. Index for agricultural output has shot up from Rs. 100 in 1967 to Rs. 213 in 1978.

I must say, and the modern society has to agree with me, that the attitude of political leadership in India towards the rural sector, and its unrealistic agricultural policies has to change if India is to be built as a modern State and poverty is to be eradicated.

One must feel unhappy that Mr. Charan Singh's Budget is termed a 'Kulak Budget' using the Russian word, kulak, when too meagre a relief is given by him to farmers while daylight robbery of farmers' income is committed by the consumers by way of low prices paid for the farm produce; i.e., by Government not ensuring the farmer parity price for his produce.

Non-farming people of India must realise that with the low ceiling on land-holdings of 10 to 18 acres for a family of five people, the maximum net income a rural family can get is

about Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 thousand only. In the modern world, in the year 1979, of the 20th century, a whole rural family of at least three working people can at best get a maximum net income of what a class III employee in a bank or LIC or any other public sector undertaking gets. What some people pointedly call a big farmer, a kulak or a rich farmer and his family together get no better income than the salary and allowances of a Member of Parliament. It is high time that all of us Indians realise fully that after the imposition of a low ceiling on land holding, the so-called rich farmers or so viciously labelled kulak's family can at best be classified with the urban middle class family.

Sir, the Indian economists, the industrial sectors lay stress on 'savings generation' for new investment and employment-generation in the industrial economy. Why do they not stress the same thing regarding the rural economy?

Our shortage in rural housing including the bulk of substandard houses to be rebuilt or substantially improved is to the order of about 7 crore houses. Is it possible to modernise our villages even in the next hundred years when the Government incapacitate the rural families from effecting sufficient savings for investment in better agriculture, better housing and better living?

The political Leadership in India has blindly adopted double standards in respect of the all-important economic policies, one savings generating and growth-oriented economic policy for the urban sector and, the other, no-savings economic policy in respect of the disorganised and voiceless rural sector. If this is not the whole truth, how would the Planning Commission, the Government and the Indian political leadership account for the politically explosive fact that the socio-economic gap between the urban and rural societies is inexorably widening year after

year? To those who would misleading talk about the gap between the rural poor and the so-called rural rich I would tell "Please know thyself the very much wider gap between the urban poor and the urban rich."

Sir, I travelled in the U.S.A. and Japan recently. In the U.S.A., milk, food, honey, cars and consumer goods do not just flow but they are in floods. The U.S.A. has been supplying food-grains to Russia for the last few years and has contracted to supply to China also this year. The proudest and the biggest communist countries are importing food from the U.S.A. In the U.S.A., food is not only a plenty but is 50 per cent cheaper than in the western countries and 300 per cent to 500 per cent cheaper than in Japan.

Sir, I met Mr. Bob Bergland, Secretary of Agriculture, Government of U.S.A. in Washington and presented a copy of my book 'For Power or For People'. When he asked me about the progress in agricultural front in our country, I told him that during the last 20 years, through community development schemes, a large number of farmers have been enabled to adopt modern technology in farming and produce more per acre than before and that we have attained self-sufficiency in food production. I also told him that there are 5½ lakh villages in India which could be easily identified as such by their backwardness and poverty-stricken condition whereas in the U.S.A. I could not identify any village as such and that I could notice no urban rural socio-economic gap, not to speak of the widening gap as in our country.

I also visited Japan, another great democracy, to learn about the present agricultural conditions in relation to their low land-ceiling policy as I had written one chapter in my book entitled 'Realities of Agriculture in Japan'. I was given to understand

[Shri K. S. Malle Gowda]

by the Economic Advisor in the Indian Embassy there that ceiling on land for personal cultivation has been relaxed.

I want to bring home to my countrymen that though the Japanese farmer is the most efficient farmer and produces the maximum from his land, the cost of rice which is grown in more than half the area of cultivated land there, is nearly three times that of India. The producer's price of rice was raised from year to year under the Government's policy of assuring the farmer an income comparable to that of the urban industrial worker. And the price at which Government buys up rice from its farmers is more than twice the price of imported rice.

If in India our Government pays just Rs 20/- more per quintal for the principal foodgrains, such as rice, wheat and ragi as support price, it would amount to more than a thousand crores annually. Therefore, as responsible Members of Parliament, we have to welcome the paltry concessions given to the Indian farmers by Mr. Charan Singh and this change in the Government's attitude to rural sector is a welcome sign for the people of India and to the Janata party.

Therefore, Sir, I urge upon the Janata Government to re-orient fully their economic policies including the vital agricultural policies based on realism, pragmatism and modernism.

It is vital for a free democracy like India in the new age of awakening, to equalise the economic opportunities, i.e. the income opportunities among both the rural and the urban people not only to ensure social justice to all the citizens but also to ensure that the rural people are not treated as second-class citizens and placed at a great disadvantage. Even China, a great Communist country is giving up its ideological policies in favour of modern tech-

nology which produces food and consumer goods in abundance and efficiently at lower prices for its people. Americans are building a chain of hotels at a cost of Rs. 500 crores this year to boost tourist economy in China.

Sir, I would make a fervent appeal to the Finance Minister to feel the pulse of the nation and go with the people. I would appeal to him to cut the additional levy on petrol to 20 paise per litre. In the U.S.A. petrol costs about Rs. 5.50 per gallon while in our country it costs now nearly Rs. 21 per gallon. I would appeal to him to withdraw the levies on kerosene oil and bidis which are used by the poor masses. I appeal to him to withdraw the levies on edible oil, matches, cooking gas and baby foods and earn the gratitude of the housewives.

Sir, I would make an appeal, a special appeal, to the Finance Minister to withdraw the additional Wealth-tax proposed. I would appeal to him to limit the maximum wealth-tax rate to 2 per cent.

I think the Finance Minister believes that the best Government is the least governing and least harassing Government. It is vital for a democracy that it builds up a broad-based middle-class in the country and that larger and larger number of people are able to have 'savings' so that they help themselves without looking to Government help. It is found that the valuation of property for levying Wealth-tax is made irrationally in a most oppressive and harassing way. Especially the agricultural properties are being valued in a most harassing way. I appeal to the Finance Minister to constitute a National Citizens' Committee to suggest norms to make valuation of properties for the purpose of levying Wealth-tax.

Sir, in the U.S.A., rapid development of the economy was made pos-

sible by construction of a vast network of roads, bridges which made travelling and transport of goods most convenient and best in the world. The toll collected will pay to meet the cost of large costly bridges and tunnels within five years. It is not to India's credit that there is not one National Highway in our country which has even two marked lanes each way.

I make an appeal to the Janata Government to allot Rs. 800 crores each year during the next ten years for construction of a big network of bridges and asphalted roads in the country. This would boost the economy and also reduce unemployment in the country considerably.

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is not a Budget but a disastrous misadventure, a cavalier exercise, fraught with the danger of 11 per cent built-in rate of inflation in the economy. You will notice, Sir, that the uncovered budgetary deficit of Rs. 1355 crores is a deficit calculated at the stage of the Budget proposals. When the revised estimates come, this deficit is bound to increase, as we have noticed in the years 1977-78 and 1978-79. This may still go up to Rs. 1500 crores. You will notice, Sir, that the Central Government expects to borrow from the market, largely from the banks, Rs. 1850 crores. Even if only three-fourths of this amount was borrowed from the banks, the addition to the overall liabilities will be of the order of Rs. 3,000 crores, of which, 50 per cent will be the money component. Thus, the money supply expansion will be anywhere between Rs. 1400 and Rs. 1500 crores. Bank loans to the commercial sector will result in an equal expansion of money supply. Therefore, Sir, the total increase might be, as I have already said, about Rs. 3000 crores or a 15 per cent rise over that of the last year. Now what is the expected increase in

the output? The hon. Finance Minister himself has admitted that the expected increase in the output is about 3.5 per cent. Sir, in that case, the reasonable conclusion is that the inflation potential of this Budget could be easily about 11 per cent.

Sir, the foreign exchange reserves are growing very slowly. We notice that the exports are sagging and the import bill is rising. Therefore, one can reasonably infer that not much support could come from the reserves in holding the price line although the hon. Finance Minister expects that the foreign exchange reserves may come to his rescue in fighting the inflationary spiral.

Now, Sir, our food stock is 20 million tonnes. That is another source on which the hon. Finance Minister depends for checking the inflationary spiral, but may I submit, Sir, that the food stock that we have now of 20 million tonnes, is primarily as a result of good monsoon which we had last year and this year? What is the guarantee that we will have a good monsoon next year also? After all, when we mostly depend on the rain god, on the weather god for good crops, to depend on this stock of foodgrains of 20 million tonnes to combat this inherent inflationary spiral would be absolutely wrong. Sir, it is not realized by the Finance Minister that during recent years monetary liquidity has expanded by approximately 60 per cent since the end of March 1976. The people who had got additional sources had not, so far, created pressure on the commodity market. There is possibility of a large speculation in the commodity market this year as a result of these Budget proposals. Sir, may I submit that right now we are sitting on an inflationary volcano? When it erupts, the nation will find itself completely unprepared. You will kindly notice that this disturbing feature is acknowledged at page 43, paragraph 6.23 of the Economic Survey. After discussing

[Shri Narasingha Prasad Nanda]

the monetary policy and the credit policy it is stated therein, I quote:

"From the foregoing account of the monetary and credit developments in the economy during the current year, it is reasonable to conclude that the situation that is emerging contains certain risks for sustaining growth with price stability."

Sir, the Finance Minister intends to punish the urban poor, the lower middle class and the middle class because of their critical attitude towards his ideological predilections. Otherwise one fails to understand the rationale behind this heavy dose of taxation on every conceivable item of domestic consumption—coal, gas, kerosene, match-box, soap, tooth paste, tooth brush and what not—in addition to petrol and diesel, thus increasing even the cost of transportation and seriously affecting mobility and travel of the people. Has he realised that as a result of these Budget proposals, the domestic or the household expenditure in every family is bound to increase by a minimum of 10 to 13 per cent, causing financial hardship to every section of the people—whether urban or rural? Some people have projected this Budget as a confrontation between the urban middle class and the rural rich. I do not take it as that. This Budget tries to punish both the urban poor and the rural poor. Since these points have been discussed in detail by some of my predecessors, I am not trying to establish my point with reference to statistics or facts. But the fact remains that the way these tax proposals have been brought and the way these will affect the domestic expenditure, I would submit, are bound to break the bones of every family, whether urban or rural. The Finance Minister has taken an incalculable risk by resorting to deficit financing. I am not personally

opposed to deficit financing. I am aware that in a developing country or an under-developed country, deficit financing may be necessary for growth and development of the economy. But as I shall presently show, here resorting to deficit financing is practically affecting our entire economy and our whole economy is likely to crash. His predecessor, Mr. H. M. Patel, also did the same thing against the declared policy of the Janata Party. You will notice that from a three-figure budgetary deficit of Rs. 134 crores in 1976-77, this deficit has risen to a four-figure deficit of Rs. 1134 crores in 1977-78 and to Rs. 1348 crores in 1978-79 and now is rising to Rs. 1355 crores at this stage of presenting the Budget proposals. We do not know to what amount it will reach by the time the Revised Estimates are placed before Parliament. I would very respectfully submit, Sir, that it is not a sound policy of financial management. I will briefly give some of the reasons for this. This comfortable food stock of 20 million tonnes primarily as a result of two consecutive good monsoons is not a stabilising factor for such a course. Secondly, we are fast eating into the comfortable foreign exchange reserve, its growth rate slowing down. Thirdly, it is not realised at what cost the short-sighted short-term demand and supply policy is being pursued without any regard or consideration of its long-term implications for domestic production. Fourthly, it is not realised how the significant increase in liquidity of the system might cause a collapse of the economy because of the inherent threat of an explosive nature involved in it.

Sir, the faulty price policy is illustrated by the consumer price index rising by 4.4 per cent whereas the prices of primary articles have considerably gone down.

Sir, the Finance Minister should have made an earnest attempt to close the gap between the Janata Party's profession and performance on the question of employment. What do we notice? We notice as a fact that from 9.3 millions at the end of 1975 in the live registers of employment the figure has risen to 12.33 millions at the end of October, 1978, a 14.1 per cent. increase, not to speak of the millions unemployed in the rural India.

Sir, decline in export performance which is almost negative, decline in capital formation, decline in coal mining and steel production, decline in production of transport equipment, sugar mill machinery, sewing machines and wagon building should have caused concern and the Finance Minister ought to have done something to restore vigour and health to these sectors of economy including the huge number of sick mills.

Sir, I will conclude my observation on this Budget with only one more remark. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah became the leader of the Muslim community without ever reading a page from the holy koran and Mr. Charan Singh is now a kisan leader without ever having cultivated an inch of land. And through this Budget he is trying to take political postures by showing some concessions to 17 per cent. of the agriculturists at the rate of 10 per cent per kilo of fertilisers and wants to parade himself as one of the great kisan leaders. It is unfortunate that agriculturists are moved by this small concession and are seeing a great philosophy into the present Budget proposals brought forth by him. As I said, this deficit financing and the inherent built-in 11 per cent. inflationary spiral contained in the Budget proposals and the heavy burden cast on the middle class and the lower middle class is likely to bring a collapse not only of our economy but also of this Government. I think the Finance Min-

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ister should take a warning from all these economic trends

SHRI L. R. NAIK: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to make certain observations on the General Budget introduced by the Deputy Prime Minister of India and Finance Minister. I have heard with rapt attention many of the speakers in this august House and what seems to me is, except perhaps Mr. Nanda, they have lost sight of the ambition of the Finance Minister, Chaudhari Charan Singh. In order to appreciate this premise of mine, I would like to remind this House about the days of the kisan rally.

It is known to the world that there was a big tussle between the Prime Minister of India and the then Home Minister of India, Chaudhari Charan Singh, and what happened as a result of that tussle was that Chaudhari Charan Singh had resigned as Home Minister. But subsequently he tried his best to come back again to the office which he had lost. Unfortunately or fortunately for him, though he could not get the Home Ministry, he has been able to secure the Finance Ministry and he knows on what strength and whose support he could manage a come-back to the Cabinet. Everybody knows that for this purpose he had recently held a big Kisan rally under his hegemony. Several thousands, perhaps lakhs, of people from all over India came and attended that rally. I had also occasion to attend the rally and I know some of my friends from Karnataka—though their number is not much they were not less than 50 to 60—who also attended the rally. I know personally some of those 50—60 kisans who came and their background. I am sure the other kisans who attended it would also have the same types of background—those who came from other parts of the country. I know that these 50—60 kisans were all well-to-do people; they were all rich people; they were all people who had in their hands all the benefits that have been given as a result of whatever

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measures that have been undertaken since our Independence Day. They have exploited the poorer sections of the villages. Today they hold very important positions. It is they who are the village panchayat presidents, who are the village panchayat members, who are directors of co-operative societies, who are directors of spinning mills, who are directors of co-operative banks and industrial banks. All such people had attended that rally and it is for this reason, Sir, that I would like to say that the rally was not a rally of kisans as we understand its meaning in the ordinary parlance but it was a rally of the well-to-do people, the rural rich who attended that rally, and it is on the strength of that that the Finance Minister has claimed the hegemony of all kisans in the country. That is the trick he has played and, perhaps, to a large extent he has been successful. Therefore, he is very much obliged to such a category of people from the rural areas.

Now, Sir, if we examine a 6 pm model village of, say, one hundred families, what do we find there? Not more than five or six families control the whole village economy and the rest are either belonging to the backward classes or the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, or are small holders or the marginal holders or the landless labourers and people like that. Amongst them also, we find the bonded labourers. This is the structure of our villages. If we examine the whole structure of this Budget, what has been aimed at by Chaudhary Charan Singh is to re-pay the debt he owes to those kisans who are the so-called rural rich, on whose strength he has managed to come to the office he holds. If we examine the whole thing, it is very clear. The Budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister goes on from page to page. Perhaps, this is one of the longest speech ever made in the Parliament of our country. He begins his speech by telling us what the objectives are

on which he has based the whole structure of the Budget proposals he has introduced. He has said that the first objective is to remove disparities in incomes. Very good. Nobody can find fault with that. We want these disparities to be removed. Now, coming to the village level, what do we find? As I told you, in 100 families in a village, there are five or six families who keep tractors and have so many other types of facilities, who use organic manure and things like that. It is these people who own the plantations and all other kinds of commercial crops. Now, as against these five or six families, the rest are in doldrums. There is so much disparity in the incomes of these rich families and the rest. The Finance Minister himself has stated very recently, while addressing the Industries Board meeting, that the whole riches of this country are controlled by 10 per cent people who belong to the upper crust of society.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Kindly be brief.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: All right, I will try to be brief.

Now, Sir, the second objective which he has stated is that he wants to increase production and consequently remove poverty. The third objective he has stated is the removal of unemployment and under employment. Nobody can find fault with these things. The question is, the taste of the pudding lies in its eating. Have the Budget provisions been made conducive to bring about such a situation in the country. I would like to ask the Finance Minister to give me a straight answer to this question of mine. I am sure it is not possible for him to give it.

Take, for instance, the rural economy today. Many of my friends have spoken about the land reforms laws. Recently, the Planning Commission appointed the Raj Krishna Committee to go into this matter of land reforms and find out to what extent it has been possible to distribute lands

evenly so that disparities in incomes could be reduced considerably. Now what has Shri Raj Krishna said? He has made certain good observations. The first one is that there is almost a failure of the land reforms laws in the country, and he has also suggested a remedy. The remedy is that henceforward whatever laws are enacted regarding the land reforms, they should all be placed in the Ninth Schedule to the Constitution so that they could be kept beyond the purview of the civil courts. Now, Sir, everybody knows that there are as many as 77 such enactments which have been placed in the Ninth Schedule. My own State of Karnataka has placed their land reforms laws in the Ninth Schedule. But what is happening there, I know personally because I had an occasion to serve as a member of the land tribunal at the taluka level and I know how the implementation goes on. We have seen, under the dynamic leadership of our Chief Minister, no doubt, every effort has been made and every encouragement has been given to the tribunals to see that all surplus land is declared. And it has been distributed. Out of the surplus land, 50 per cent must go to the Scheduled Castes and the remaining 50 per cent must go to the landless labourers irrespective of caste or creed. But what happened? The Raj Krishna Committee itself says that there are as many as 27,000 writ petitions pending in all the High Courts of this country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Finish please.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I must do some justice. Otherwise, what is happening in my case? Always I am taken as the last man.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): You are not the last man. The debate will continue the next day also.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I must give vent to my views. I represent the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled

Tribes people and the down-trodden people of this country, and I must say something about this *kulak's* Budget. He should not go scot-free. That is what I am urging. I must be allowed to say something about these things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Yes, Yes.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I was speaking about land reforms. What is happening? Even in Karnataka where we have an enlightened Government to implement land reform laws, there are 11,000 writ petitions pending in the High Court. Why are they not being disposed of. I have asked several questions to Shanti Bhushanji about it. I asked him what measures he would take. He has not suggested any concrete measures. But I have asked another question to him. I have asked him: How many High Court Judges are there in this country? He replied that they were about 500. I asked: Out of the 500 High Court Judges, how many of them belong to the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes? Do you know the answer, Sir? He said that only four Scheduled Caste Judges were to be found. And how many from the Scheduled Tribes? None. Sir, everybody knows that the implementation of the land reform laws depends upon the personal philosophy and attitude of a Judge. And if the Judge comes from a higher caste of the society, he will have absolutely no idea about what is happening to the millions of the people in the country. And that is why it has not been possible to dispose of all these cases. This is happening in other cases also and other State also.

Sir, the land has been declared surplus. First it was said that the land declared as surplus was 20 million acres. And now subsequently, the Budget speech says that it is 46 lakh acres. What is this? Whose figure have we to take as correct? The Minister of Agriculture says that there is about 20 lakh acres of surplus land. If this 20 lakh acres of surplus land

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were to be declared and distributed among the landless and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, I am sure, it would have gone a long way in removing the disparities in the income of the rural rich and that of the rural poor. But that has not been done. I have got my figures. I do not think, you will allow me to read these figures. I have got the State-wise figures, and you will find that this problem has received a miserable approach. This is happening especially since the introduction of the Janata Party Government in the country. The Janata philosophy will never suit to take drastic steps to bring about equality of wealth though our Constitution speaks so much about it. And what is the reason for this? The reason is very obvious. The Janata Party Government lacks political will to bring about radical changes in the structure of the rural economy. That is my charge against him and against the Government. They will never do it because they are not so made to do it. So this is the problem of the tenant class. And what is the problem of the landless agricultural labourers? They are most disorganised today. There is no organisation. There is organised labour in our factories and they have been able to deal with the "haves" squarely; I know it. But is that the condition with our agricultural labour? They are most disorganised. This Budget should have made some provision to see that some organisation among these agricultural labourers would also take place.

Now, Sir, coming to bonded labour, my friend very well explained about this problem. It is on record, and the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the National Labour Institute have gone into this problem and they have made an assessment, that today only in nine States the bonded labour is to the tune of 2.7 million. And they have further said that out of this number, one-third have crept in very recently, that is, about a year back, after the Janata Party came to power. And

this year nearly 50 per cent have crept in. So this is what is happening; their number is increasing. The number of the landless people is increasing by leaps and bounds. I have got full statistics. I don't think you will allow me to read them. But what I want to say is that it is not possible for this Government to do all those things. Now, there are ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): Please conclude now.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I will conclude; I will not take much time. But I have to say one thing about our steel policy. Now the Budget speaks of spending some money on certain integrated steel plants. Well they require development; there is no doubt about it. But my point is: Have we assessed correctly the steel requirement of this country? And having assessed it, have we endeavoured to create a capacity? And having endeavoured to create a capacity, are we in a position to establish it? This is my point. In this connection, I had a long dialogue with our Steel Minister. And I want to refer only to one instance where the Government of India is still bungling too much, and that is, about our Vijayanagar steel plant in Karnataka. Now, Sir, the Vijayanagar steel plant, as you all know, is situated in an area where very rich iron ore is to be found. It is an admitted fact. There is the report of the Dastur Committee and there is also the report of MECON, which is a subsidiary of the SAIL; it has given a considered report on this point. They have said that if there is to be any viable steel unit, it should be at Hospet or Vijayanagar. But all these technical opinions, the opinions of economists and the opinions of geologists have been thrown overboard. Our Chief Minister has been writing to the Steel Minister since a very long time, and every time under one pretext or another, it is being postponed. Sir, this steel plant was sanctioned and the foundation-stone of the plant was laid by Shrimati Indira Gandhi in 1971.

And when the Prime Minister laid the foundation-stone, what inhibition should there be to take up the work in right earnest?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): That will do.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: One way or another it is being postponed, and I have reason to believe that this Janata Government bears a grudge against my Government in Karnataka which is really a people's government. It is the government of the people, by the people and for the people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): That will do.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: If they fail, they must face the consequences. However, I want to take this opportunity of urging on them that they must consider this question in right earnest, from the national point of view. I am not speaking from the point of view of Karnataka alone. I am speaking from the point of view of the nation as a whole. The steel plant at Vijayanagar is a very viable one, very economical one. Therefore, Mr. Steel Minister, please don't say there is no coal there, there is no coking coal there, and all that. Mr. Steel Minister, steel is not made of coal alone. It requires iron ore, it requires water, it requires several other things, so much of infrastructure. All those things are available there. I am not grudging if other States get anything. Every year now they have started importing 1 million tonnes of steel. At whose expense? Why spend so

much money and suffer when we have all the raw material needed within the country? Sir, I wanted to speak a lot about other things...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): You leave those things to other speakers. Now please conclude.

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I wanted to speak about taxation, direct taxes, indirect taxes, how all of them have been managed, for what purpose, and so on. For whom and for what have they been managed? Only to help the rural rich and the urban rich.

With these few words, Sir, I thank you for this opportunity.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I want to know till what time we are going to sit, because I was given to understand that we are going to sit till 7 O'clock, when we asked for our chance to speak...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): I may inform hon. Members that I was told the Janata Party is holding its meeting and so it is not possible to continue the discussion now. The discussion will continue on Monday; it is not finished yet. So you will have your chance to speak on Monday.

अब सदन की कार्रवाई कल 11 वजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है।

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past six of the clock, till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 16th March, 1979.