

REFERENCE TO THE ALLEGED
SMUGGLING AND OTHER ACTI-
VITIES ON THE INDO-NEPAL
BORDER

श्री शम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, मैं आपका अत्यन्त आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे उत्तर प्रदेश और नेपाल की सीमा पर घटी शर्मनाक और पड़पंजरपूर्ण घटनाओं की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान आकृष्ट करने की आज्ञा दी है। यह बात विदित है कि नेपाल से बहुत कुछ नाजायज माल तस्करी का सामान बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार में आता है। नवम्बर, 1978 में प्रान्तीय युवक किमान संगठन के अध्यक्ष श्री नरेंद्रेश्वर शुक्ला ने सूचना दी थी कि बस्ती के एक विधायक ने चार तस्करी को पकड़ा और उन्हें परमा स्टेशन के स्टेशन मास्टर के कमरे में बन्द कर दिया। बाद में उन्हें मय सामान के बूना कर छोड़ दिया गया। एक तस्करी की लाश गाँववा नाले में पाई गई। स्टेशन मास्टर की डायरी में इस घटना का जिक्र है। इसके फलस्वरूप श्री नरेंद्रेश्वर शुक्ला को जाल में मार देने की धमकी दी गई। उन्होंने पुलिस में रिपोर्ट भी दर्ज कराई। इसी बीच 21 फरवरी, 1979 को तस्करी के लिए मशहूर बस्ती जिला बस्ती में एक सफेद रंग की कार में नेपाल के कुछ नगर कस्बे से खरीदा तस्करी का सामान लाया जा रहा था। इसमें एक डाक्टर, एक आडिट पार्टी और दो नर्स थीं। इस गाड़ी का किमान संगठन के कार्यकर्ताओं ने घेराव किया। लेकिन पुलिस की मदद से उन्हें बचाया गया। तलाशी नहीं ली गई। इस गाड़ी का नं० यू० पी० के० 1857 था। इस मामले की रिपोर्ट 22 फरवरी को हुई। श्री नरेंद्रेश्वर शुक्ला ने डबलवा थानाध्यक्ष को रिपोर्ट दिया। 5 मार्च, 1979 को श्री शुक्ला बस्ती के एस० पी० से मिले। 8 मार्च को शुक्ला पर बस्ती पुलिस चौकी इन्चार्ज और दो सिपाहियों ने घातक हमला किया जिससे वे गम्भीर रूप से घायल हुए। इस तस्करी में उत्तर प्रदेश के तत्कालीन एक उप

मंत्री भी शरीक थे। साप्ताहिक करन्ट में यह प्रकाशित हुआ है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के एक उप-मंत्री अपनी महिला मित्र के साथ जब सरकारी गाड़ी में तस्करी का माल ला रहे थे तो स्थानीय जनता ने उसका विरोध किया परन्तु पुलिस की सहायता से वह उप मंत्री बच निकले। मान्यवर, इस तस्करी में स्वास्थ्य विभाग के अधिकारी बस्ती की नर्सों का दुरुपयोग करते हैं। 21 फरवरी, 1979 की घटना में जो नर्स थी उन्होंने इस तस्करी का पर्दाफाश किया जिस कारण 25 फरवरी, 1979 की रात्रि में 10 बजे बस्ती के नर्सिंग छात्रावास में कुछ असामाजिक तत्व हथियारों से लैस होकर घुस गये। चौकीदार को बाहर बांध दिया। वे लगभग डेढ़ घंटे तक नर्सों के होस्टल में थे। उन्होंने वहाँ एक कमरे में उपस्थित 5 नर्सों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया। उनकी बेइज्जती की और बलात्कार किया। इस संबंध में 2 मार्च, 1979 को नर्सों संघ बस्ती को बैक श्री अश्विका प्रसाद को अध्यक्षता में हुई जिसमें 40 व्यक्ति उपस्थित थे। उस बैक में उन लोगों ने उन 5 नर्सों से प्रश्नोत्तर रूप में बयान लिया। उस बयान को मैं मदद के सामने पढ़ देना चाहता हूँ। इससे साफ जाहिर है कि वहाँ पर किस प्रकार से बलात्कार हुआ। उसमें प्रश्न संख्या 20 इस प्रकार है—यह बयान प्रश्नोत्तर के रूप में है। उन लोगों से पूछा गया कि क्या तुम लोगों के साथ बलात्कार की घटना हुई थी? उत्तर—हम लोगों के साथ जो घटना बलात्कार या बेइज्जती की हुई थी, उसको हम लोगों ने मौखिक रूप से बताया था। यह बात जांच के मतमिले में पूछी गई थी। इस जांच में 40 व्यक्ति थे और ये सभी वहाँ पर उपस्थित थे। मैं यह भी निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर 40 नर्स हैं जिनमें 25 होस्टल में रहती हैं। उनमें 12 केरल की नर्स हैं। इसलिए यह प्रश्न एक अखिल भारतीय महत्व का प्रश्न बन गया है। केरल के समाचार-पत्रों के सम्पादकता भी वहाँ गये हैं। यह बड़े ही शर्म की बात है और इससे

[श्री श्याम लाल यादव]

सारे देश को कलंक लगता है कि इस प्रकार से यह बदमाश नर्सों के कमरे में गये और उनकी इस प्रकार की बेइज्जती की। मान्यवर, गुण्डों के साथ पुलिस की सांठ-गांठ है और नर्सों ने उस बयान में कहा है कि दुर्व्यवहार और बेइज्जती की घटनाएं बराबर होती रहती हैं। 8 अगस्त, 1978 को एक नर्स के पीछे दो गुण्डों का झगड़ा हुआ। नवम्बर, 1978 की रात में एक नर्स के साथ एक सी० आई० डी० के लड़के ने दुर्व्यवहार किया जो पकड़ा गया परन्तु कोतवाली में छोड़ दिया गया। 25 फरवरी, 1979 की इस घटना के बारे में सर्व प्रथम समाचार जागरण गोरखपुर से प्रकाशित होता है, और उस के अंक 28 फरवरी में छपा। इसमें इस बात का भी उल्लेख है कि नर्सों के साथ सामूहिक बलात्कार, बस्ती में आतंक। मेरा यह आरोप है कि पुलिस अधिकारी भी इस भ्रष्टाचार में सम्मिलित हैं। इस संबंध में नर्सों ने स्पष्ट रूप से बयान दिया है। मैं सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जघन्य अपराध है। मेरा यह स्पष्ट आरोप है कि बस्ती के सूचना अधिकारी ने पहले तो यह सब स्वीकार किया लेकिन बाद में उन्होंने दूसरा बयान दे दिया। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें राजनैतिक लोग शरीक हैं, इसमें पुलिस शरीक है, इसमें तस्कर शरीक हैं और इस प्रकार से वहां पर जो नर्सों हैं, जो कि दूसरे प्रदेशों से आकर वहां पर स्वास्थ्य विभाग में कार्य कर रही हैं जो कि अधिकतर केरल की हैं, उनके साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जा रहा है। तो मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से आग्रह करता हूँ कि सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में सदन में बयान दे और क्या कार्यवाही सरकार ने उनकी सुरक्षा के लिये की है यह बताये।

महोदय, अंतिम बात कहकर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। श्रीमान्, यहां स्वास्थ्य अधिकारियों ने नर्सों से कहा है कि 15 दिन के अन्दर इस बात की जांच सी०आई०वी० के द्वारा— बस्ती जिले उत्तर प्रदेश की इस घटना की न

हुई तो वे लोग संघर्ष करने पर उत्तारू हो जायेंगे। यह बड़े शर्म की बात है कि उत्तर प्रदेश की सरकार इस बारे में कोई कदम नहीं उठा रही है। इस प्रश्न को सबसे पहले वहां विपक्षी दल के नेता श्री ब्रह्मदत्त ने उठाया जिसके कारण मैं इस मामले को सदन में ला सका। आपने जो इसके लिये अनुमति दी इसके लिये मैं आभारी हूँ।

REFERENCE TO THE REPORTED DAMAGE TO NUCLEAR PLANTS

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the countries which are hostile to India like China, Pakistan and South Africa are assisted by countries like France and the USA to develop and perfect their nuclear programme whereas in India the nuclear programme has suffered despite the fact that our Prime Minister gave a solemn assurance that whatever programme in that field we have in India will be used for peaceful purposes.

Sir, in the Baroda plant there was some damage sometime back but it has not been reported to this House nor has it been reported in the Press to what extent the damage has been caused and what is the rehabilitation programme.

Similarly, the Nuclear Fuel Complex in Hyderabad which is also very vital for the country, has been suffering right from the beginning either because of the labour problem or because of non availability of the spent fuel to this factory and it is not able to go to its full capacity. And recently on the 12th of March there was a fire in this important project and it has taken the authorities more than two hours to extinguish that fire. But no paper or the Prime Minister was able to inform this House of the cause of that 'fire and the damage done to that project. And no information has so far been made available to this House.

Sir, I would like the Prime Minister to view this with all seriousness since most of the plants which are engaged in the nuclear fuel program, are either damaged or are subjected to various problems. Are these all just normal accidents or is there any sabotage in these projects? It is important. I would request the Prime Minister to make a statement and give the information regarding all these projects which are engaged in the nuclear fuel programme, to this House and to the country. Thank you.

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

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Viren J. Shah.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH (Gujarat): I am sorry, Sir, I do not wish to speak.

SHRI DEVENDRA NATH DWIVEDI (Uttar Pradesh): The Budget is so indefensible that Mr. Viren J. Shah does not want to defend it.

SHRI VIREN J. SHAH: The Budget does not require any defence from the Treasury Benches. The people have welcomed it. I am quite sure, speeches are not called for. That is why I kept quiet.

SHRI DEVENDRA NATH DWIVEDI: The capitalists are so happy that they do not want a discussion.

श्री नरसी सिंह (राजस्थान) : महापति महोदय, इस सदन में श्री द्विवेदी जी उठकर कह रहे थे और यह चर्चा हुई कि यह बजट कुलक बजट है, गहरी लोगों का विरोध करने

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair].

वाला बजट है, मजदूर विरोधी बजट है, उद्योग विरोधी बजट है और एक माननीय सदस्य ने तो यहाँ तक कहा कि यह जन विरोधी बजट है। इन सारे विशेषणों को लगाने के बाद भी मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करने के लिये और स्वागत करने के लिये खड़ा हूँ। और यह

क्यों ? इसका एक कारण है। कारण यह है कि एक सदस्य ने जिन्होंने इसको कुलक बजट कहा उन्होंने साथ ही मैं यह भी कहा कि खेती के लिये तो केवल 57 करोड़ रुपये बढ़ाये गये हैं, जो कि कुछ भी बढ़ोतरी नहीं है। यह खुद ही उनके मस्तिष्क का विरोधाभास प्रकट करता है। एक तरफ तो कुलक बजट है और दूसरी तरफ उनको खुद शिकायत है कि खेती के लिये केवल 57 करोड़ रुपये की बढ़ोतरी हुई है। लेकिन इस सारी आलोचना के पीछे कुछ राजनीतिक कारण हैं उनको हमें देखना होगा कि क्यों इस बजट का इतना विरोध किया जा रहा है। इस बजट का समर्थन केवल मैं इसलिए करता हूँ कि उप-प्रधान मंत्री जो हमारे वित्त मंत्री भी हैं। उन्होंने इस देश की राजनीति को खुल कर सामने आने के लिए विवश कर दिया है। अगर इस बजट को चौधरी चरण सिंह के अलावा कोई और प्रस्तुत करता तो इस बजट को चाहे और कोई आलोचना होती लेकिन इसको कुलक बजट कह कर आलोचना न की जाती। यह बात सही है लेकिन चूँकि इसके प्रस्तुतकर्ता चौधरी चरण सिंह हैं इसलिए इस बजट को सब से बड़ा विशेषण कुलक बजट का दिया गया है। इसमें ऐसी क्या बात है ? खेती के लिए खाद तथा सिंचाई के लिए बढ़ोतरी की गई है ; विजल की बढ़ोतरी की गई है, पाने का पानी गांव में मिल सके इस बात के लिए बढ़ोतरी की गई है। इसके अलावा काम के बदले अनाज योजना का अधिक प्रावधान किया गया है। जिसने भी खाने वाले जिन्होंने इस बजट को कुलक बजट कहा है उन्होंने किसी ने भी इन प्रावधानों का विरोध नहीं किया बल्कि इतना स्वागत किया है और अच्छा ही कहा है। केवल एक बात उन्हें कुलकान की नजर आई और वह यह कि रसायनिक खाद जो खेती में हम लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं उस पर से 50% एक्साइज ड्यूटी कम कर दी गई, यह क्यों किया गया, यही बात उनकी नजर आई है। जो लोग

[श्री नथी सिंह]

खेती से थोड़ा बहुत भी तालुक रखते हैं, मैं उनकी बात तो नहीं कहता जो केवल किताबी ज्ञान रखते हैं और जो शहरी लोग हैं उनकी बात मैं करता हूँ, शहर में जो लोग रहते हैं वे अच्छी-अच्छी सब्जियों को उपभोग करते हैं और गाँव वाले नहीं करते, वे भी जानते हैं कि अगर रसायनिक खाद का सब से अधिक इस्तेमाल करता है तो शहर के पास रहने वाला सब्जी उगाने वाला छोटा कारखाना करता है जो खाद का इस्तेमाल कर के अपनी छोटी होल्लिडिंग में से तीन-तीन फगलें लेता है और उसकी इनकम बढ़ती है। इसलिए अगर शहर वाले यह कहें क्योंकि इसमें रसायनिक खाद पर छूट दी गई है इसलिए यह कुलक बजट है मुझे तो उनकी बुद्धि पर तयस आता है इसके अतिरिक्त और मैं क्या कह सकता हूँ। इसके बावजूद और क्या कारण है, कौन से तत्व हैं जो इस बजट को कुलक बजट या जनविरोधी बजट कहने के लिए मजबूर होते हैं। मैंने जैसे कि पहले कहा अगर इसे कोई और प्रस्तुत करता तो यह बात न कही जाती। इस बजट में एक खासियत है जिसको ले कर लोगों के दिलों और दिमागों पर कुछ तरह का भ्रम छाया हुआ है और वह यह है कि यह सारी की सारी जो पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ चली और जिन योजनाओं का समर्थक इस देश का पूँजीवादी वर्ग रहा और उनके कट्टर दुश्मन अपने को साम्यवादी कहने वाले लोग भी योजनाओं के समर्थक रहे, इन योजनाओं का जायज बताया। 1951 से लेकर 1952 तक खेती में काम करने वाले लोगों की औसत आमदनी अगर 198 रुपये प्रति साल थी तो 1975-76 में घट कर 196 रुपये रह गई। गैर-खेती का धंधा करने वाले लोगों की आमदनी अगर 318 रुपये प्रति साल थी तो वह 813 रुपये हो गई। यह आमदनी, अब जो बजट है इसमें सब से बड़ा फर्क किया गया है। उप प्रधानमंत्री ने भी इस बात पर जोर दिया कि अब तक खेती को मुनाफे के बजाय नुकसान

का धंधा माना गया है, अलाबकर धंधा माना गया है और उसकी आमदनी 30 वर्षों में बढ़ने के बजाय 2 रुपये प्रति साल घटकर रह गई है और दूसरी तरफ आमदनी चौगुनी हो गई यह फर्क मिटे और खेती भी मुनाफे का धंधा बन सके इसके लिए योजनाओं में मूलभूत परिवर्तन किया जाना चाहिए। यह जो जोर दिया गया है, यह जो आधार माना गया है इससे ही कुछ लोग चौकन्ना हो गए हैं। वे कौन हुए हैं? वे ऐसे लोग हुए हैं जो मशीनों के आधार पर इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को चलाना चाहते हैं। बड़े पूँजीपति चाहते हैं मुनाफा अधिक कमाएं, ज्यादा से ज्यादा मशीनों का इस्तेमाल हो, कम से कम आदमियों का इस्तेमाल हो ताकि उनका मुनाफा बड़े। एक दूसरी तरह के लोग भी हैं जो चाहते हैं औद्योगिकरण हो लेकिन पूँजीवाद न रहे, देश में दूसरे प्रकार की प्रणाली हो जिसे साम्यवादी या समतावादी कहते हैं उनको भी खतरा है। इसलिए मैं यह कह रहा था कि दोनों तरफ से ही इसको कुलक बजट कहा जा रहा है। एक तरफ वे हैं जो लोग पूँजीपति हैं, जिनके अखबार हैं। मैंने अखबारों में देखा और मेरे पास कटिंग भी हैं। जितने बड़े-बड़े अखबार इस देश में हैं उनमें चौधरी चरण सिंह को एक विशेषण दिया गया है कि वे धनी किसानों के हिमायती हैं और यह सारे बजट में धनी किसानों की हिमायत करने के लिए करल रिच की हिमायत करने के लिए कहा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उप प्रधान मंत्री ने इस आलोचना का पूर्वानुमान लगा लिया था इसलिए उन्होंने अपने बजट में ट्रैक्टर पर कोई छूट नहीं दी। मुझे लगता है कि अगर यह उनके दिल में जो एक शक और श्रुद्धा है तो वह उसी का कारण है। आप जानते हैं ट्रैक्टर कोई किसान अपने पैसे से खरीद नहीं सकता है। पांच गुने दाम हो गये हैं और पांच गुने दाम होने के बाद भी दाम में या एक्साईस में कोई छूट नहीं की, क्यों नहीं छूट दी गई कि कुलक कह देंगे, कुलक तो अब भी कहा

जा रहा है। अगर आप रसायनिक खादों में 50 परसेंट की छूट नहीं देते तब भी कुलक कहा जाता। योजना में जो सिद्धांत और परिवर्तन की बात ले कर आप चले हैं उनसे जिन लोगों को खतरा है वे इसको कुलक बजट कहेंगे ही। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ट्रैक्टर या तो कोऑपरेटिव के पास हैं या प्रैग इंडस्ट्रियल कारपोरेशन के पास होते हैं अथवा दूसरे बड़े किसानों के पास होते हैं। जो छोटे कृषक हैं वे अब समझने लगे हैं कि अगर ट्रैक्टर से खेत जुताई करायेंगे इसमें उनकी ज्यादा सुविधा होगी बजाय बैलों के मेन्टेन करेण के, लेकिन इसमें छूट नहीं दी गई। इनके बाजूबद भी लोग कहते हैं कि यह कुलक बजट है और इसका यही कारण है। इस देश में दो तरह की बातें कही गयी हैं। एक तो लोग चाहते हैं कि पूँजीवादी प्रणाली इस देश में बड़े एवम् दूसरे जो अपने को प्रगतिशील करते हैं जिसमें द्विवेदी जी अपने को शामिल करते हैं कि हम भी प्रगतिशील हैं, वे कहते हैं कि पूँजीवादी प्रणाली मिटे और साम्यवादी प्रणाली आये। दोनों का एक ही लक्ष्य है।

हिन्दुस्तान के गांव में रहने वाला आदमी कच्चा माल पैदा करके देता रहे और इस तरह से पूँजीपतियों का मुनाफा बढ़ता रहे ताकि यह पक्का माल तैयार करे। आज कपास का कुछ दाम किसानों को नहीं मिलता है लेकिन कपास तेज से तेज होती जा रही है। आज आलू प्याज सड़ रहा है, गन्ना सड़ चुका है उसकी कीमत नहीं मिलती है, उसकी परबाह किमी को नहीं है लेकिन उनकी फैक्टरी में बनने वाला माल दुगुने, तिगुने, चार गुने भाव पर मिल रहा है। जैसे इस देश में एक बार साम्राज्यवादी अंग्रेज जो चाहते थे कि हमारे यहां के हिन्दुस्तानी लोग हमारे लकाशावर मैनचेस्टर के लिए कच्चा माल पैदा करने रहे, वही हमारे देश के पूँजी शाह चाहते हैं गांव में रहने वाला खेती पर निर्भर रहे। यह अपने पैरों पर खड़ा न हो और योजना इस तरह से न बन पाये, ताकि हमको कच्चा

माल मिलता रहे और हम मशीनों के जरिए मुनाफा कमाते रहें। इसलिए इस देश में एक तबका है जो कहता है कि यह कुलक बजट है। एक दूसरा तबका चाहता है कि देश में क्रांति लानी है। वह क्रांति कैसे लायी जायेगी? अगर हमारे यहां मजदूर रहेंगे, इन्डस्ट्रीलाइजेशन होगा, संगठित मजदूर बनेंगे तो वे चाहे जब हड़ताल कराकर सरकार को घुटने टिका सकते हैं। अभी माननीय कल्याण राय जी नहीं है उसका भाषण मैंने पूरा पढ़ा है उन्होंने जोर दिया कि यह मजदूर विरोधी बजट है। कुछ पब्लिक इन्टरप्राइजेज को मुझे अभी देखने का मौका मिला है। मुझे खुशी हुई और अचम्भा भी हुआ कि वहां पर जितनी अच्छी तनखाहें मिलती है वह गांव का अच्छे से अच्छा आदमी, औसतन आदमी नहीं कर सकता है। उससे ज्यादा उसको नहीं मिल सकता है तथा उसके साथ ही साथ ऐसे पब्लिक सेक्टर हैं, इस्टील कारखाने हैं जो बीजू पटनायक की मिनिस्ट्री के अन्तर्गत आते हैं जिनमें पांच पैसे में एक कप चाय और 75 पैसे में बढ़िया खाना भी कैंटीन में दिया जाता है। ओकरो और दुर्गापुर इस्टील प्लांट हैं तथा और भी इसी के पब्लिक इन्टरप्राइजेज हैं। एल० आई० सी० और बैकों की तनखाह की बात छोड़िये। मैं चाहता हूँ कि ये सुविधाएं कम न हों लेकिन गांव में जो आदमी है, गरीब है जिसको न्यूनतम मजदूरी नहीं मिलती है वह भी इन सुविधाओं के स्तर तक आ सके। मैं पुछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या ऐसी योजनाएं भी होनी चाहिए या नहीं। जब यह बात कही जाती है तो यह कहा जाता है कि यह कुलक बजट है। इस योजना में इस तरह का कपातरण क्यों किया जा रहा है? उसका भी निहित स्वार्थ है। इस देश में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने तीन सिद्धान्त सामने रखे हैं, असमानता मिटाने का, फिजलवर्च बन्द करने का, उत्पादन बढ़ाने का और साथ ही साथ देश में बेरोजगारी और अर्द्ध बेरोजगारी को मिटाने का। ये तीन सिद्धान्त कैसे पूरे होंगे, जब देश की अर्थ-

[श्री नत्थी सिंह]

व्यवस्था विकेन्द्रीकृत हो, उसमें ग्राम स्वावलम्बी बनें, खेती भी लाभदायक रोजगार में परिणित हो तब यह सिद्धान्त पूरे होंगे। खेती केवल नुकसान का घंघरा रहे, कारखाने बढ़ते रहें और जो आर्गेनाइज्ड लेबर हो गया है जो बहुत थोड़ा प्रतिशत है उसको वेस्टेज इन्टरेस्ट बनाकर चले, यह उनकी विचारधारा है। उनकी विचार धारा साफ है चाहे वे पूंजीवाद के विरोधी हों लेकिन वे एक बात में साफ हैं कि मशीनीकरण, औद्योगीकरण के जरिए देश की तरक्की हो। केवल पूंजीपतियों को हटाकर एक दूसरी तरह का अधिनायकवाद वहां आये। और उसमें साफ थिकिंग है। मैं उन पर कोई बदनीयती का आरोप नहीं लगाता। उनकी विचारधारा बड़ी साफ है। वह कहते हैं कि एक तरफ यह वित्त मंत्री का आग्रह है, मुझे तो बड़ा अचम्भा होता है जब वे कहते हैं कि वे बड़ा किसानों के पक्षपाती हैं। मैंने उनकी किताबें पढ़ी हैं। वे कहते हैं कि जितने छोटी होल्डिंग्स होंगी, वे ज्यादा मुनाफा देने वाली होंगी बजाए बड़ी फार्मों के। लेकिन हमारे दूसरे भाई जो कलेक्टिव फार्मिंग में विश्वास रखते हैं, जो स्टेट फार्म में विश्वास करते हैं, जो नहीं चाहते कि किसान स्वावलम्बी बनें, छोटा खेत उसके पास हो, वह अपनी मन की मर्जी के मुताबिक काश्त करे, अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो जाए, यदि वह अर्थ-व्यवस्था रहेगी तो इस देश में किसान को भी मजदूर बना कर क्रांति का सपना जो देखते हैं, उनकी विचारधारा को प्राधान्य पटुंचा है।

तो, इसीलिए इस हमले में जो पूंजीवादी लोग हैं या साम्यवादी लोग हैं यह सब साफ सोचने हैं कि इस देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था जो है, इस देश में जो गांव के किसान को अपने पैर पर खड़े रहने की बात कहते हैं, जिसको हम विकेन्द्रीकरण व्यवस्था कहते हैं, वह पूंजीवादी नहीं चाहते कि इस देश में कच्चा माल पैदा करने वाले, खेतिहर किसान कभी अपने पैर पर खड़े हो जाएं। वह नहीं चाहते हैं

कि वहां गृह-उद्योग इतने लग जाएं कि वे अपने पैर पर खड़े हो सकें। इसी तरह से साम्यवादी लोग जो हैं, वे चाहते तो हैं कि पूंजीवाद हटे, लेकिन किसान कलेक्टिव फार्मों में मजदूर हो, स्टेट फार्मों में मजदूर बने, खेत का मालिक न रहे। वह अपने पैर पर खड़ा न हो जाए। तो उन दोनों का उद्देश्य एक ही है। इसलिए जैसा मैंने कहा इस बजट में कोई बहुत बड़ी देन नहीं दी गई है किसान को। फिर भी आज इसे कुलक वजट कहा गया है। लेकिन एक दिशा दी गई है और दिशा इसलिए दी गई है कि इसमें जितनी दिशा है कि अब तक जैसे मैंने कहा कि किसान की आमदनी कितनी बढ़ी है, और शहर में रहने वाले की कितनी बढ़ी है, उस सब को उलट करके खेत में काम करने वाले श्रमिक और गांव के गरीब श्रमिक पर सब से ज्यादा जोर दिया गया है। जो शहर का सबसे ज्यादा गरीब है, वह स्लम्स में ही रहता है। इसलिए यह सारा विचारधारा का झगड़ा है और विचारधारा यह है कि विकेन्द्रीकरण अर्थ-व्यवस्था इस देश में रहे या केन्द्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था जो मशीनों पर आधारित हो, वह व्यवस्था इस देश में रहे। पूंजीवादी व्यवस्था या साम्यवादी व्यवस्था रहे, इसके पीछे यह कारण है। इसीलिए इस वजट को कुलक वजट और शहरी विरोधी वजट, उद्योग-विरोधी वजट और जन-विरोधी वजट कहा जा रहा है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। जहां तक यह वजट है जैसे मैंने कहा इसने केवल एक दिशा दी है, सोचने के तरीके में परिवर्तन करने की दिशा मात्र दी है। लेकिन इसके पीछे एक और कारण है। इस वजट के जो तीन उद्देश्य उप-प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बताए हैं, उनमें से जो ज्यादा उद्योग गया है, वह दूसरे नम्बर के उद्देश्य पर है, उत्पादन वृद्धि पर। जहां तक हमारी असमानताएं, विषमताएं मिटाने की बात कही गई है, लेकिन इस पर इतनी चीख-

चिल्लाहट इस देश के बजट पर हुई है। रोजगार बढ़ाने वाली बात। आज अगर हम देखें कि एक तरफ निजी उद्योग है, दूसरी तरफ सरकारी उद्योग हैं और तीसरी तरफ सरकारी विभाग।

अगर देश में कहीं रोजगार मिला है, तो सब से अधिक दूसरे नम्बर पर यानी सरकारी उद्योग में और इस साल के निजी उद्योग के आंकड़े इस सदन में रखे गये हैं। इसी सदन में पिछली बार मैंने एक प्रस्ताव रखा था कि काम को हमारे संविधान के मूलभूत अधिकार में शामिल किया जाए और विषमता हट जाए तो सारे आंकड़े दिये थे। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हम रोजगार देना चाहते हैं, जैसे गांव का गरीब कैसे बढ़ेगा, केवल एक ही तरीका है, उसकी श्रमशक्ति कैसे बढ़े और उसके लिए यदि हम कुछ करना चाहते हैं, तो निश्चित रूप से जो गांव की अर्थव्यवस्था है, उसमें सुधार लाना पड़ेगा। दूसरी बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उत्पादन की जो बात है, उसके लिए भी किसान को सुरक्षा देनी होगी। अभी इस बजट में इस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। जैसे मैंने कहा हमारे वित्त मंत्री को पूर्व आभास था कि कुलक बजट कहा जाएगा। इसलिए ट्रैक्टर चाहे गरीब कर्ज लेकर खरीद कर रखता, चाहे वह एग्रीमेंटर में रखता, चाहे वह कोऑपरेटिव में से लाता है, क्या हमारे पांच गुणा दाम हो गये हैं तो इस बजट को कुलक बजट कहा जायेगा। इसलिए उन्होंने ट्रैक्टर का नाम ही नहीं लिया। लेकिन जब उत्पादन बढ़ाने की बात करने हैं, तो किसान की फसल की सुरक्षा भी बढ़ानी होगी।

आज उपभोक्ता मंहोदय, आप जानते हैं कि राजस्थान में कभी टिड्डी-दल घाता है, कभी बाढ़ आ जाती है, कभी सूखा पड़ जाता है। अब की बार अतिवृष्टि हुई, चने की फसल नष्ट हो गई। इस देश में सभी की सुरक्षा है, लेकिन किसान जो पैदा करे,

उसके वास्ते फसल सुरक्षा की कोई योजना नहीं। इस के लिए फसल बीमा की योजना अनेक बार हमने उठाई है इस सदन में। लेकिन हमारी उस बात पर ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। सरकार उस ओर ध्यान नहीं देती कि उसके फसल की बीमा की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए, उसकी सुरक्षा होनी चाहिए (Time bell rings)

चौथी बात मुझे कहनी है, अगर किसी तरह से हमारे देश का उत्पादन हो सकता है और किसानों की रक्षा हो सकती है तो उसके लिए समता मूल्य प्रणाली अपनानी होगी। आज बड़ी बात कही जाती है कि मूल्यों में बड़ी स्थिरता आई है। क्या बात करते हैं? मूल्यों में कहां स्थिरता आई है? सिर्फ खेती में जो काम करता है—मैं लगानार इस बात को कहने आ रहा हूँ—उसके लिए भाव बढ़े हैं। कारखानों में उत्पादित वस्तुओं के भाव लगानार बढ़े हैं लेकिन जो खेती करने वाला है, जो महत्तकश किसान है, उस को अपने उत्पादन का उचित रिटर्न नहीं मिलता, आप उस को लागत दाम भी वापस नहीं देते। इसलिए सबसे जरूरी बात यह है कि हमारे देश में इस तरह की प्रणाली रखें; समता मूल्य प्रणाली जिस के अनुसार खेत में काम करने वाले की उत्पादन और लागत का हिस्सा करके जो लागत और मुनाफा बँटे उसको कारखाने के लागत और मुनाफे के साथ जोड़ा जाए और समता मूल्य प्रणाली लागू की जाए।

इसों के साथ-साथ मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ, यहां कुछ बातें राजनैतिक दृष्टिकोण से उठायी गई हैं। जो कारण मैंने बताए उसी के साथ साथ दूसरा कारण बता देना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में अगर हमें किसी तरह से विकेंद्रीकरण से अर्थ-व्यवस्था को नहीं करता है, अगर गृह उद्योग के जरिए हमें रोजगार देना है, तो उसके लिए उचित उपाय करना होगा। आज यहां पर बड़ी आवाज उठायी गई कि भाई, मंचेज पर टैक्स लगा दिया, अब तो वित्त मंत्री जी ने कुछ कम

[श्री नत्थी सिंह]

भी कर दिया, और कहा गया कि दूसरी कई चीजों पर, टूथपेस्ट और टूथ पाऊडर पर और साबुन पर कर कम कर दिया, लेकिन मैं बताना हूँ कि वे लोग हरल रिचकी बात करते हैं लेकिन मैं वित्त मंत्री से एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने जो काम किया है वह बहुत मुश्किल काम है। यदि पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था की जगह साम्यवादी व्यवस्था आ जाए तो उस के लिए उतना मुश्किल नहीं होता। आज जो गांधीवादी अर्थ-व्यवस्था चाहते हैं उन को अपने दृष्टिकोण में आमूल-चूल परिवर्तन लाना होगा। अगर आप मशीनरी से बर्तवस्तुओं पर टैक्स लगाएं तो हाथ के उद्योग पतने और गांवों की तरक्की हो। मेरा यह सुझाव है कि इस के लिए कानूनी बंदिश आप को लगानी पड़ेगी कि जो चीज हाथ के उद्योग से बन सकती है वह बड़े उद्योगों को न दिया जाय। बाकी ये मंचेज पर और बीड़ी पर और अन्य चीजों पर से टैक्स आप हटाइए लेकिन पावनदी लगाइए बड़े उद्योगों पर, मल्टी नेशनल पर कि जो चीज हाथ के कुटीर उद्योग बना सकते हैं उन्हें कुटीर उद्योगों में ही बनाया जाएगा। तब जाकर इस देश के गृह उद्योग बढ़ेंगे।

उपसभापति महोदय, सब से बड़ी बात यह है : आखिर इस देश के अंदर जो विकेन्द्रीकरण व्यवस्था आप लाना चाहते हैं उसके कई दुश्मन हैं जैसा मैंने कहा, कुछ राजनैतिक विचारधारा के आधार पर हैं, कुछ दूसरी तरह से हैं। अभी जो यह बात उठ जाती है, जैसा मैंने कहा कि यह आशाजनक बजट है, लेकिन अगर कोई दूसरा वित्त मंत्री इसको पेश करता तो कहते कि यह कुलक बजट नहीं है। चौधरी साहब ने बजट पेश कर दिया तो यह बजट कुलक बजट हो गया। तो इस देश में विकेन्द्रीकरण व्यवस्था तब आएगी जब गांव का हरिजन, लैंडलेस लेबर, छोटा किसान खेत पर काम करेगा और जब गांव के गरीब और शहरों के गरीब एक होंगे,

एकजुट होंगे, तब सारा वातावरण बदलेगा। लेकिन इस देश में बहुत लोग होशियार हैं। वह चाहते हैं कहीं इन में फूट पड़ जाए तो बात बने क्योंकि सीधी बात कहें तो कोई सुनेगा नहीं (Interruptions).... आनरेबल मैम्बर जो मेरी बात को समझ रहे हैं, वे भी उनके नारे में गुमराह हुए होते। कुछ दिन पहले चौधरी साहब के पास जब गृह मंत्रालय था तो उन्होंने कहा मैं तो भ्रष्टाचार-मुक्त स्वच्छ प्रशासन दूंगा, तब भी उन के नारे को किसी ने नहीं सराहा बल्कि इस सदन में और बाहर इस देश में एक हवा बनाई गई यह तो हरिजन विरोधी है। तो हरिजन विरोधी की बात कही गई और अब जब उन पर वित्त मंत्रालय आ गया, तो कहने लगे यह तो अर्बन रिच हरल रिच के हिमायती हैं। कारण क्या है? लोग जानते हैं कि अगर इस बात को किसी तरह से बढ़ा कर लिया गया और छोटे किसान में, लैंडलेस में, हरिजन में और शहर के रहने वाले आदिमियों में फूट नहीं पड़ी तो यह उनका नारा नाकामयाब हो जाए; अध्यायित नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिए उनमें फूट डालो और नारा लगाओ। और नारा बर्भा हरिजन विरोधी का आता है, कभी हरल रिच हिमायती का आता है। ये सारे राजनैतिक पड़यंत्र को हमें सोच समझ कर चलना पड़ेगा क्योंकि 23 दिसम्बर को यह झूठ साबित कर दिया गया था—कितने गरीब उसमें आए थे? फिर भी, आज जो अखबार पढ़ें, मेरे पास 4 अखबार हैं, चारों अखबारों में हरल रिच का हिमायती कहा गया है। इस पड़यंत्र को हमें पहिचानना पड़ेगा (Time bell rings) केवल एक बात, अन्तिम बात कहना चाहता हूँ—मेरा सविमर्शन है—कैसे आएका लोकतांत्रिक ढंग से, जो विकेन्द्रीकरण हम चाहते हैं या आर्थिक विकेन्द्रीकरण हम चाहते हैं? उस में गांव में पंचायती राज, हमारे जिले में, राज्य में और केंद्र में यह जो चौखम्भा राज की बात हम कहते हैं। लेकिन आज एक ओर तबका है जो सरकारी अफसरों का तबका है, और

वे एक साथ हैं, और उन सब में एक बड़ी बात चल रही है। सब चाहते हैं कि पंचायती राज और सहकारिता पनपे लेकिन एक नारा दिया जा रहा है कि सहकारी बैंकों को, लैंड डेवलपमेंट बैंकों को खत्म किया जाये क्योंकि उन के कारण एफी-शियेंसी नहीं रहती। टायर बढ़ जाते हैं। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह एक बड़ी चालबाजी की बात हो रही है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि विकेन्द्रीकरण हो और लोकतान्त्रिक ढंग से प्रशासन चले तो आप को जिले के स्तर पर और गांव के स्तर पर जनता के प्रतिनिधियों के हाथ में प्रशासन की व्यवस्था और अर्थतंत्र की व्यवस्था देनी पड़ेगी। उस के नियमन की व्यवस्था वहाँ के प्रतिनिधियों के हाथ में देनी पड़ेगी। आज जो नीकरणाही नारा लगा रही है कि यह टायर सिस्टम हटा दिया जाये उस के पीछे भावना क्या है। जो लोग चाहते हैं कि नीकरणाही ही इस काम को चलायें वे देश को केन्द्रीकृत व्यवस्था की ओर ले जाना चाहते हैं, विकेन्द्रीकरण की ओर नहीं ले जाना चाहते। तो यह एक बड़ा खतरा है और इस को हटा कर ही हम आगे बढ़ सकेंगे। तो जनतांत्रिक प्रणाली के माध्यम से आप आगे बढ़ें, रोजगार बढ़ायें और देश में उत्पादन बढ़ायें और इस समय धन का जो केन्द्रीयकरण हो गया है, कुछ लोगों के पास जो सम्पत्ति जमा हो गयी है उस के लिए आप को यह भी करना पड़ेगा कि इस देश में ऐसी अर्थव्यवस्था लायी जाये कि जिस में एक आदमी के पास एक से ज्यादा काम न हो और भर पेट दाम नहीं, पेट भरने लायक दाम हर एक को मिलें। हम लोग एक बात भूल जाते हैं कि इस पार्टी ने अपने चुनाव घोषणा पत्र में कहा है कि हम देश में हर एक को रोजगार देंगे और अगर रोजगार नहीं दे पायेंगे तो बेरोजगारी का भत्ता देंगे। आज वही पार्टी कहती है कि

बेरोजगारी का भत्ता देना तो डोल्स देना होगा। मेरा कहना है कि हम लोगों ने जो नीति तय की है उस के अनुसार हम संविधान में संशोधन करें और उस के आधार पर अपनी नीतियाँ बनायें। ऐसा कर के ही हम अपने देश में फौजी हुई विषमताओं को मिटा सकेंगे और खेती में स्वावलम्बी बन सकेंगे और ऐसा कर के अपना उत्पादन बढ़ा सकते हैं और लोगों को रोजगार दे सकते हैं। इस के लिए आज देश में जो राजनीतिक गतिविधियाँ चल रही हैं उन से सजग रह कर इस सदन को और दूसरे सदन को और हमारे राज चलाने वाले लोगों को विचार करना है, आम लोगों को सजग बना कर वर्तमान अर्थव्यवस्था को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए कदम उठाना है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस बजट का समर्थन और स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, at the outset, I would like to extend my warm personal congratulations to the Finance Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister for assuming charge of the crucial Finance Ministry. But I do not know whether it was fair to him to be given this portfolio just a few weeks before the Budget, at a time when the Budget proposals would have been more or less finalised by his predecessor and at best, he could graft some of his ideas on to the Budget which was already almost prepared. Therefore, the Budget has the appearance of a patch-work and I do not think the Finance Minister is really wholly to blame. It is the time element. Nevertheless, this appearance is unfortunate. But I think slowly the Finance Minister is trying to harmonise with it to the extent he can.

In his reply to the Lok Sabha debate he has made some concessions. Sir, I think we should be thankful for the small mercies be-

[Shri Krishna Chandra Pant] cause the fact the Finance Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister is responsive, the fact that he is sensitive to the criticism and is prepared to correct some of the mistakes made in the Budget, is a happy augury. And one can then hope that by the time the Finance Bill comes up, he will have realised that the people expect much more than what he has done in the Lok Sabha already. For instance, they expect relief in respect of kerosene, on transport costs on 'bidis' and on other items of common consumption. If he does not give them relief, I can only say that the reliefs which have already been announced, Sir, have only caused a partial sense of satisfaction. But, by and large, there is still great disappointment at the tax on essential consumer items.

Sir, the Finance Minister has justified the levy on LPG on the ground of thermal efficiency. May I say, Sir that on the same grounds exemption should be given to pressure cookers because both time and energy are saved through pressure cookers? Sir, the Finance Minister has assured us of his solicitude for children. But that was not necessary, Sir, because the leaders of the Janata Party have given ample evidence of their love for children, particularly when they happen to be their own.

Sir, the Deputy Prime Minister has said that market prices are higher than the levies warrant. Who is to control the situation Sir. And from all over the country, after the concessions have been given, reports are coming in that these concessions are not reflected in market prices. And I would like to know what steps the Government proposes to take to remedy this situation to see that the relief that has been granted, marginal as it is, is passed on to the consumer.

, Sir, Budgets represent a declaration of economic policy by the Government. One Budget and the next Budget have a certain harmonious relationship and they have to function within a plan. But now these

are the days of the rolling Plan and one does not know in which direction the Plan is rolling because with every new year, the Budget seems to have a change, and with the change of every Minister, it changed drastically and so, Sir, there is no consistency in fiscal policy. Sir, in the last two Budgets, some incentives were given for savings and investment, some relief was given to old-age people to discharge their social responsibilities, an imaginative innovation was introduced in the capital gains tax which reduces the generation of black money. All this has been changed by this Budget. I do not have time to go into the details here, but this Budget is, in many respects, a drastic departure from the last. And unless there is a continuity in fiscal philosophy, Sir, in a country with a complex economy like ours, there is a great deal of uncertainty all around. And this uncertainty damages economic growth and economic development, and individuals as well as institutions cannot plan properly in such an atmosphere of uncertainty. But, Sir with so many tongue-loose Ministers in the Janata Party Government who make off-the-cuff statements on economic policy, I am not surprised at this atmosphere of uncertainty. I hope the Deputy Prime Minister will exercise his authority to see that statements on the point said that he will have. Or those who are responsible for economic policy. We have statements from Mr. Fernandes and Mr. Patnaik in which they have talked of nationalisation of several key industries. The Prime Minister turns round and says That it is 13 their personal opinion. And the Prime Minister, in a television interview, when pressed on the point said that he will have to educate the Ministers. Should we take it that this is a part of the adult literacy programme? If you want to nationalise, by all means, nationalise. Who is stopping you? But advance announcement of nationalisation is the worst kind of economic offence that a Government can commit. And,

therefore^ this kind of an off the cuff statement is something which no responsible Government allows. It creates such an uncertainty that sav. ings are eaten up, and not invested. Sir, in this connection, I would submit that the policy of the Janata Party is not nationalisation but politicking, refurbishing of the images of individual Ministers. And its philosophy is to remain in power anyhow at any cost. It is in this context that the country is looking at this Budget today. Incidentally, before I go on to the individual levies, I think there are many good points in this Budget which I do not want to under-play, I would just like to say that I was greatly intrigued by the relief or the failure to drag into the net the per. fumed hair oil, when all the toiletries were taxed. Sir, it is a mystery and there is a lot of speculation going on.

SHRI DEVENDRA NATH DWIVEDI:
By mistake he left it out.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA PANT: I do not think it was a mistake. It could have been pampering the weakness of Raj narain ji for all kind of perfumes, including *attar*, or, may be, it is the Deputy Prime Minister's prescription for removing the importance from within the Cabinet It could be either.

About the other levies, I would certainly like to welcome the relief that he has given on life saving drugs and the relief he has given to authors of textbooks. I would certainly welcome any effort to ensure that the farmer gets a reasonable return for his labour. All these things I would certainly welcome. But, I think I must join the unanimous opinion not only in this House but also in the country against the harsh and wide-ranging assault on the budget of the housewife. The number of items taxed in this budget is almost a record one. The net has been spread so wide that no one has been spared and the middle class people, the common consumers in the urban

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Budget (General)

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ment. But we do not understand why this emphasis on rural development should be considered a monopoly of the Janata Party. It is as much the concern of the Congress as it always has been, as that of the Janata Party. Therefore, what they are doing today is nothing but a continuation of the policy of the Congress, with one difference and the difference is that today relief to rural areas is presented in the form of a confrontation between urban and rural areas; that is the difference. And, this is most unfortunate, Sir.

There appears to be a presumption that all who are living in urban areas are affluent. I was seeing some figures the other day. It was said that 68 per cent of the people living in Delhi are those who have come from rural areas because their holdings were too small to sustain them in the rural areas. Therefore, they have switched over from villages. There is an organic link between cities and villages. Therefore, to compartmentalise this problem and to present it in a confrontational form is the worst kind of dis-service that any party or any Government can do. Ultimately, Sir, if you tax the urban people, the village people are bound to be hit. I know it personally how many people from my area, from the hill areas of U.P., have come to Delhi to take up small jobs in hotels, houses and class IV employment in Government service. They maintain their families in the hills by sending money orders every month. Now you hit their savings,

...dra Pant] ... that they have ... to affect the poorest ... in that area. And ... of other areas from ... migration has taken place to ... because villages have been ... able to sustain them. Very few ... people go to cities because of enter- ... prise. It is necessity which drives them to cities. It should be under- ... stood that taxing the urban poor is going to have a very bad effect in rural areas. I was asking some class IV Government servants, who had come to me the other day on the occasion of Holi, what the impact of the present Budget was on them. They said it was Rs. 100 per month. How are these people going to live? How are they going to make any kind of savings, with Rs. 100 extra gone every month. I do not know. And the Finance Minister, I hope will have some sympathy for these people. Therefore, this is the economic aspect.

And the political aspect is that the Janata Party seems to have a genius for increasing the divisions and confrontation in society instead of harmonising them and instead of reconciling them for the common good and it seems to specialise in the politics of social fragmentation. Since it has come to power, we have seen a fillip to communal forces, to casteist forces and to regional forces and to that is added a new kind of confrontation—rural *versus* urban. Sir, the root of the problem is the failure of the Janata Party constituents to function as one party within that party. Each constituent even today thinks in terms of its own base support. Each constituent is more anxious to retain its own base support rather than to think in terms of the Janata Party as a whole, what to speak of the country as a whole, and the result is, keeping this identity means that all the time they have an eye on a particular group either in the cities or in the villages. And this has been brought out fully during the debate in the Janata Parliamentary

Party. It is a pity that the people of this country have to suffer because of these fissions. And fissions that are taking place within the Janata Party all the time.

What we need today in the country is a Government of all the people which is capable of subordinating all narrow sectional interests to national interests, and which appears to be doing so. Caesar's wife at least must be above suspicion, if not the son.

The Finance Minister asked a question in reply to the Lok Sabha debate. He asked: "What option did I have? I had to cover a very large gap." I looked at the Budget papers; I also looked at the "Economic Survey and I am sorry to say that there is no indication of any serious attempt to cut down Government expenditure or non-developmental expenditure or unproductive expenditure. No serious attempt has been made. And then there is the question of the public sector. In 1976-77, the public sector had come out of the red. Today, after two years of Janata administration, it is back in the red. So, management of the economy is faulty. And when the management of the economy is faulty, we are bound to have large gaps. Because we have large gaps, therefore, we have to have large doses of taxation. It is a vicious circle. Therefore, unless the Government has the political or the administrative will to cut down expenditure, I am afraid, we will not go in for larger plans and larger development and you will tax more in order to have a lower rate of growth. This is the real problem which we face.

The question of tax arrears is often raised in the House. Janata Party is very fond of special courts. If there is a justification of special courts and speedy trials anywhere, it is in tax arrears. Why does the Government not come forward with a proposal in this respect? So, our quarrel is not with the mobilisation of resources. We accept that in a

poor country like ours with our problems of population when so many people live below the poverty line, we have to mobilise resources. For self-reliant development, mobilisation of resources is necessary. There is high deficit financing and the problem is that there is also lower developmental expenditure, that is what we are objecting to. We are not objecting to the mobilisation of resources. We are objecting to the fact that allocations in key sectors are not utilised and therefore, while we can persuade the people and we can have a bilateral approach on this question if more taxation and more sacrifice means more production and better future for our children, we cannot do so for larger Governmental expenditure on current consumption. This is where the Budget fails to come up to the standard which we expect. Therefore, the basic objection is that the Budget is neither growth-oriented nor is it employment-oriented. It does not go to the roots of the problems which are being faced by the country in spite of the fact that the quantum of taxation which has been proposed is Rs. 665 crores this year—it is really Rs. 900 crores—it is the highest in any peace-time Budget. This has to be noted and the deficit financing, the gap that has still been left the uncovered deficit namely, Rs. 1355 crores, is also the highest. Never in all these years have we had such a Budget, not even in 1972-73, which was, in effect, a war-time Budget.

Sir, what has been the fate of the growth rate in the Annual Plans? This I would like the Deputy Prime Minister to consider. Sir, he has, in his speech, referred only to one year. He said that this has come down from 17 per cent to 7.4 per cent. But the growth rate has been successively brought down. In 1976-77, the growth rate was 31 per cent. In 1977-78, it was 27 per cent. In 1978-79,

It was 17 per cent. Now, in 1979-80. It is 7.4 per cent. The budgetary support has been reduced in 1979-80 over 1978-79. There is no massive additional investment this year in this Budget. Therefore, Sir, with all the taxation which has been levied and with all the punishment that has been inflicted on the people, ultimately, the Budget is to secure a mere 7.4 per cent increase in Plan investment. This is the more unwelcome feature of this Budget and the momentum gained in the earlier increases to which I have just referred has this year been lost. I think, some experts have calculated that in the first year the taxation was of the order of Rs. 400 odd crores. Over five years, it will be Rs. 2,000 crores. This year, it is of the order of Rs. 900 crores. Over four years, which is the remaining period, it will be Rs. 3,000 crores. The target for the Plan is Rs. 6,000 crores resources mobilisation, of which, Rs. 5,000 crores have already been covered. But the Plan outlay in all these years has been only one-third of the target. This is a very serious imbalance because, later on, you will find it more and more difficult to mobilise resources for the Plan and unless this matter is seriously considered by the Deputy Prime Minister, I am afraid, the Plan size will have to be shrunk. Sir, again, the Deputy Prime Minister has said that the Finance Commission has asked him to give money to the States. He says 'We have had to transfer resources to the States and, therefore, I could not have a larger Plan'. But what is the position in the States?

Rs. 1278 crores have been transferred. But what is the size of the State Plans? The size of the State Plans has increased by only Rs. 114 crores. After transferring Rs. 1278 crores, the Plan size has increased by only Rs. 114 crores. In addition, their own resource mobilisation has slackened. As against the target of Rs. 4,000 crores, this year, they have raised only Rs. 142 crores which will,

[Shri Krishna Chandra Pant] at best, amount to Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 crores in five years. This is the position of the State Plans. The whole Plan will be in jeopardy, when we see the way the things are moving and that is why, I would like the Deputy Prime Minister to give special thought to this problem.

Sir, the Plan is also based on some other presumptions. One of them is price stability, reasonable price stability. But what is the position of prices today? Agricultural prices are coming down. I do not want to go into the details. The price_a of sugarcane, cotton, jute, tobacco, potatoes, paddy and 60 on, wherever you look, are all coming down. But the prices of manufactured goods have a tendency to go up. In this situation comes this Budget with its heavy dose of taxation. The impact has been back-breaking.

Then, Sir, it has been said—this is ridiculous—that the price increase will be only one per cent. Ask any housewife and ask Mr. Dharia. It is really amazing that a day after the Budget, an official spokesman has said that the price increase will be only one per cent. Then, on the next day, Mr. Dharia stands up and says 'I do not agree'. Sir, I tend to agree with Mr. Dharia in this matter although I do not think he should have said this in the House. And some experts say that the price-increase will be 10 per cent. If you look at the Economic Survey, you will notice that while the wholesale price index has gone up by one per cent, the retail price index has gone up by 4.4 per cent. One has to beware of going only by the wholesale price index because we may fall into the trap of assuming that the consumer is not having to pay higher prices, which in fact is not the case. It is 4.4 per cent, four times higher than the wholesale price index. Therefore, I would like to request the Deputy Prime Minister not to take price rise lightly. The prices have gone up all over the country. I do not want to go into the details but they have also gone

up in respect of the commodities which have not been taxed. The railway freight increase has taxed everything across the board; from vegetable to steel; everything has been taxed and the prices have gone up. The cumulative effect of all these levies is to push up the prices all along the line and to this has been added a massive dose of deficit financing. Mr. Morarka is not here. He gave us some figures the other day. He said that while the average deficit in the first 18 years was of the order of 300 crores, the deficit financing in the last two years had gone up to the extent of 1500 crores on an average. This is the extent of the deficit financing in two years and the Prime Minister is supposed to be anti-deficit financing. I do not know how this Government functions and I do not know whether the economy can really absorb this kind of deficit financing. This year agricultural production is at plateau. It is not much more than the last year's production. Industrial production last year rose because there was much unutilized capacity. This year the utilization capacity has improved considerably and therefore, the scope for further improvement in the utilization of capacity is limited. In this situation if you go in for heavy deficit financing, there is a real danger of another price-wage spiral, inflationary spiral which ultimately hurts the lower income groups most, not only in the urban areas, but in the rural areas also. Sir, a clear warning to this effect has been given in the Economic Survey, but I do not want to go into it because it will take a long time. Here I would like to mention only two items. Firstly, item 68 is going to tax everything across the board. This item 68 will hit almost everything that has not been specified for excise duty. Most of the people do not understand the implication of this item 68, but it is going to cost 8 per cent duty on all kinds of goods. Incidentally, a number of goods are going to be manufactured in the small scale sector.

With o'ne hand the Deputy Prime Minister is encouraging the small scal_e industry and with the other, with item 68 he will be taxing, though unintentionally most of the items. Then, with the ris_e in the cost of petrol, the cost of transportation is going up. In this situation, shortages ar_e appearing in th_e industrial sector. Not to speak of pulses, oil seeds, steel and other things, even coal is in short s_upply, other goods are in short supply and all this will reinforce the pressure on prices. Therefore, it would be highly dangerous for the Deputy Prime Minister to take a complacent view of the price situation.

The Government appears to be banking on a big buffer stock of foodgrains—built up by us incidentally, by the Congres_s Government—to contain the price rise. I have no quarrel with this approach, but the question that we have to ask ourselves is, at a level of 125 million tonne_s,₃ of foodgrain_s production, with a population of 600 crores plus, why is it that we have s^uch a large buffer stock? It is a reflection on our poverty. It is a reflection on the low per capita consumption of cereals. It i_s a reflection on th_e fact that ^o many people ar_e living belo_w the poverty line. It is a reflection on the fact that many people sleep hungry at night. Therefore, th_e foodgrains buffer stocks are not, in my view, a sign of the health of th_e economy or the living conditions of the people. It is quite the other way. Therefore, what we have to do is to understand the implications of having a large buffer stock with such a big population and we need to help these poorer people, we used to create employment, we need to have micro planning for this purpose. But the problem is, is the cake growing fast enough? Are we generating sufficient employment? It is here that the Budget does *>ot reflect any concern for the basic problems of the country.

;And, Sir, when you come to the the poorer sections—whether it is the landless labour, whether it is the small and marginal farmer, or whether in the cities it is sweeper—I do not find that the Budget would be of help to these gorups. I do not even find a mention of the tardy implementation of land reforms which goes to the very basis of restructuring of the society and the economy in the rural sector.

So far as employment is concerned Sir, very briefly I would only say that the Janata Party has set a 10-year limit for removing unemployment and if I remember aright. Mr.George Fernandes one said; "Give me the charge of unemployment and I will remove it in two years" I think he had submitted hi_s? resignation at that time but later he took it back. Sir, what has happned in this field? In the live registers of the employment exchange, at the end of 1975 there were 9.33 million in 1976 9.78 million, in 1977, 10.82 million, in October 1978, 12.33 million—an increase of 14 per cent, an increase of 15 lakhs. Now this is the trend that is supposed to remove unemployment in 10 years and this is the position. Prof. Ranga says: "What about educated people" I shall give him the figures for educated unemployed separately. The youth i_s disappointed, this acute diappointment i_s building up great frustration amongst the youth. Among the educated, the job-seekers, for Prof. Ranga's benefit, numbered 53.9 lakhs in June 1977 and 60.25 lakhs in June 1978. Even the number of technical personnel—engineering, medical, agricultural and veterinary—who are unemployed has gone up. And, Sir, I would like to mention one point. The Deputy Prime Minister's strategy of employment is to encourage small scale industries. I agree with that approach. But there is a warning. The Smaller private sector, employing 10 to 24 people, shows a growth of employment in December 1977 over that in December 1976 which is only 0.25 per cent, as against 2.2 per cent in the private

[Shri Krishna Chandra Pant] sector and 3.8 per cent in the public sector. Therefore, if this small rate of growth in employment in this sector is any indication much thinking will have to be done and a great deal of preparation. Ground work will have to be done, which has not been done, in order that this sector achieves the desired result. And, as I mentioned, Item 68 will hit the small scale industries, which again is going to slow down employment.

Prof. Ranga asked me about the employment in the rural sector. I shall refer him to page 56 of the Economic Survey—and I quote:

"Although the overall performance of the economy can be regarded as satisfactory, its impact on the basic problem of unemployment is not perceptible . . . Employment in the organised sector does not show much improvement... The reorientation needed to generate more employment in the rural sector does not seem to be taking place at a satisfactory pace. The change with regard to rural industry which was hoped for does not seem to be taking place rapidly enough."

So this is the position which I want to bring to the notice of the Deputy Prime Minister and Prof. Ranga.

Then Sir, in the end I would refer to only one other major problem—the problem of growing population. Sir, our population is growing at a rate which is over 2 per cent, and even if we achieve a growth rate of 3.5 per cent, as we have this year, this 2 per cent eats very much into that 3.5 per cent. We do not have enough left-over to take care of the big problem of removal of poverty. Therefore, poverty, unemployment and population—all these three major problems get mixed up and one is inter-related to the other. Unless we control population, by the turn of the century, we will have a population of 100 crores. Even if we take drastic measures, it will come up to 90 crores. And UP. and Bihar will probably have a population of 30

crores, which is not very far different from the population of India in 1947. This is the measure of the size of the problem. Therefore, Sir, with all respect, I would say that we are racing against time and that the Janata Party's biggest mistake in the last two years has been to allow the family planning programme to slacken. They should not have let it slacken. I know the political coloration that has been given to this problem. I also know that there were many wrong things that were done earlier. I am not defending those things. But basically, this is a programme of such great importance to the country that the political leadership should have shown the will to tackle the problem firmly and not allowed the earlier measures that were taken to slacken suddenly. I do not think it will be easy to catch up with the time which we have already lost. Sir, I think we have a long way to go but there is no going back on the road which we have taken. We should set our goals high and make this country great. We should build it up with all our might and in this task I can assure the Deputy Prime Minister that we on this side of the House are never going to take a narrow partisan view of this problem provided we are satisfied that the view taken by the other side of the House is not narrow and partisan. Thank you.

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही

2.15 तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at sixteen minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at c" nineteen minutes past two *oi the* clock. Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

SHRI VITHAL GAGDIL (Maharashtra) : Sir, I would like to analyse this Budget very dispassionately and my endeavour will be not to repeat the points which have already been made. Sir, it is said that a Budget

reflects three things: the state of the economy, the state of affairs in the ruling party and the personality of the Finance Minister. Now what is the state of economy?

When we left the Government, we left behind a record stock of food-grains, record stock of foreign exchange, record stock of gold with the Reserve Bank of India and an economy which had come to a stage of almost take-off. And within two years the Janata Party, like a bad spendthrift son who follows a prudent father, has dissipated all the resources recklessly, with the result that now the state of economy is such that the industrial production is not picking up, law and order situation is deteriorating, there is hardly any industrial peace and all over there is a sense of stagnation. They started selling the gold. I do not know why they started selling gold. Ask any house-wife what is her reaction. I met a house-wife in Pune when they started selling gold. She said: when do I sell gold? I do so when there is danger to the family, when the money-lender is at the door or the court bailiff is at the door, when bankruptcy is threatening and when the reputation and honour of the family is at stake. When they started selling gold, I was an admission of the State of bankruptcy of the economy. This is the sorry state of affairs of our economy which the Janata Party has brought about. Naturally, it was reflected in the Budget that has been presented by Mr. Charan Singh. Therefore, I do not want to criticise him personally. He is only the inheritor of what has passed. Then it also must reflect the state of affairs in the ruling party. Now, indeed, this is a very strange party, perhaps, the eighth wonder of the world. This is the kind of Janata Party. See the ideological confusion. We are told that the Budget by his predecessor, Mr. H. M. Patel was already prepared. If you take two last years' Budget, they

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will give clue to his attitude, his approach and his philosophy which is completely different from the attitude, the approach and the philosophy of Mr. Charan Singh. If he had continued as the Finance Minister but for the accidental political compromise which brought Mr. Charan Singh into the Cabinet, perhaps, the Janata Party, by a majority, would have passed—why, perhaps? Certainly they would have passed—the Budget presented by Mr. H. M. Patel and now a completely different type of Budget is brought and I am sure the Janata Party is going to pass that also. That is the record of the Janata Party. Give any kinds of Budgets with diametrically two opposite points of view, and they will pass both the Budgets. I do not blame Mr. Charan Singh because of what has been happening in the Janata Party in the last few months. They had no time to look after the state of economy. They were busy only with one problem for months together. We heard on the radio, television and other media about the quarrel between Mr. Morarji Desai and Mr. Charan Singh everyday. We heard nothing but that. All kinds of formulae were being evolved.

One day we were told, Mr. Vajpayee met so and so; then Mr. George met so and so and all kinds of formulae—I do not know, probably 30 or 40 of them—were involved. It so happened, one day I had a bad cold in those days just as I have now, and I met a Janata Party leader. I said: "You have tried many formulae. I have got one formula in my pocket." Anxiously he asked: "Yes, what is it?" I said: "The only formula you have not tried is with me, and that is Vicks Formula 44. Try it and see if the quarrel can be resolved." Sir, one is surprised at the Prime Minister of India and the ex-Home Minister of India quarrelling in this fashion. How can I say that they are quarrelling like children? Looking at their age, I cannot call them Children. One said that the other did not come

[Shri Vithal Gadgil]

up to the door when he had the temperature. Then the second man said that no discussion took place and he did not come to the basic joint. I remember, Sir, differences used to take place between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel. Please see the correspondence between them. At one point of time, the differences were so much that one day, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "If you do not accept my contention as the Prime Minister, I should resign." Pat came the reply from Sardar Patel: "I am controlling the organisation; I am senior to you in age; all advantage is with me. Yet, if anybody has to resign, I have to resign because you are India." See the nobleness; see his noble state of mind of those persons and see the state of affairs and the way the Prime Minister and the Home Minister quarrelled in Lok Sabha. How have we fallen? Naturally, this kind of thing was bound to be reflected in the present Budget presented by Mr. Charan Singh. Therefore, the Budget, as I said is also a reflection of what goes on in the Janata Party or what has gone on in the Janata Party for the last few months.

Then, again, there is hardly any coordination to which Mr. Pant made a reference. Every Minister makes a statement. I think, India now has 19 Prime Ministers and Mr. Morarji Desai is only the chairman of the committee of the Prime Ministers. This is what it amounts to. The "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" has pointed out that Mr. Morarji Desai was a Deputy Collector and he still continues to be a Deputy Collector. That is the approach of the Prime Minister. And I do not know how many there will be. We have a Prime Minister and two Deputy Prime Ministers. I will not be surprised if tomorrow we will have an Additional Prime Minister, a Joint Prime Minister, an Extra Assistant Deputy Prime Minister or even perhaps a Prime Minister on Special Duty. This is the

state of affairs we are reduced to. And I do not blame Mr. Charan Singh if he cannot bring about ideological cohesion in his Budget.

Thirdly, as I said, the Budget must reflect the personality of the Finance Minister. And unfortunately he is not present here. What shall I say about his personality? If you ask me, he is born in the wrong age. He is really a 17th or 18th Century man. He would have been a good Revenue Minister under the Moghul Administration, because his approach is such. It is a world in which there is no place for cities, no metropolitan cities, no towns, no chemical complexes, no industrial establishments a state in which agriculture is not commercialised, industry is not urbanised and trade is not organised. That is the kind of society in which he would be very comfortable, a society in which there is nothing outstanding, no vision, no imagination, nothing big and everything small including the mind. That is the state of society in which he would have been very comfortable, and, therefore, his personality is entirely reflected in his Budget and in his endeavour to help to so-called small scale industries.

I think, there is much more to it than that, because the American doctrine, the World Bank's doctrine and the IMF's doctrine is that India should not have big industries. You remain a low material producing country. Everything small. And now a new theory is evolved, "Small is beautiful. Small is beautiful. I can understand how a small child can be beautiful, but how the small industry is necessarily beautiful I fail to understand. I thank myself and our luck that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru guided the destinies of this country in the forties and early fifties and did not fall a prey to this kind of a doctrine. If he had accepted that small is beautiful what would have been the State of affairs today?

Instead of the Vijayantark Tank's, we would have been producing wooden chariots; instead of the anti-aircraft missiles, we would have been producing the Caterpillars; instead of the Leander Class Frigates, in the Bombay Mazagon Docks, perhaps we would have been floating paper boats in a bucket of water. Because small is beautiful. Now, this is the kind of the philosophy, doctrine, that is propounded by Mr. Charan Singh and some of his colleagues.

So, in the light of these and in the light of the (Janata Party's) manifesto and the Finance Minister's own speech, I would like to test some of the provisions of this Budget. As I said, he would be very comfortable in a kind of society which I have described, a society in which there are no tractors, no refrigerators, no records, no chewing gums, no chocolates, no biscuits, and not even toothpastes. That is the kind of idyllic society which he wants to create, and it is for this purpose that taxes on these have been levied. But I would not like to reflect on those but would go to the next point which is much more important from my point of view. Sir, as I see the Budget and analyse it, I would like to describe the Budget as a curious Budget, an unclean Budget and a mysterious Budget, almost an Agatha Christie Budget. I will presently point out how. It is curious because none of the proclamations or the tall claims that are made in the Janata Party manifesto or in his own speech is going to be achieved. Unemployment—there is 1.3 nothing. Saving—hardly anything. Conspicuous consumption—how is it stopped? Tooth brush, toilet Soap, chewing gum, biscuits, chocolates—this is conspicuous consumption. And the perquisites that the rich capitalists are enjoying are not touched. This, is what is supposed to be conspicuous consumption, and this is, touted in the Budget. Industrial growth—hardly anything, as I shall presently point out. But We are told that everything will be

done. And I am not surprised, because the Prime Minister, like a good Deputy Collector, always gives adjournments and postponements. Every case is adjourned: Harijan atrocities—five years; prohibition—seven years; unemployment—ten years. Every time. So to his court, some date is given. It is very useful for a lawyer like me, but for a country like ours, it is disastrous. Everything is postponed. Now, let us see the curiosities. I shall not take much time; I shall narrate three or four instances which I find curious. The first curiosity I find is, the concession on capital gains is withdrawn. You know what is going to be the result? We will gain Rs. 14- crores, but in the process we will lose Rs. 200 crores. As a result of this concession, investment in Unit Trust of India and deposits was of the order of Rs. 200 crores. When this concession is withdrawn, they are not going to invest in the Unit Trust; they are not going to deposit in banks. It will result in black money. Therefore, on the one hand, Mr. Charan Singh proclaims that he wants to fight black money; but, on the other hand, this measure will create 'nothing but black money and black marketing

The second curiosity is, they appointed a committee, the Choksi Committee, and earlier the Jha Committee. That committee recommended that the maximum direct taxation should be 60 per cent. Now what do you find in this Budget? It has increased from 69 per cent to 72 per cent. Then why appoint committees and have their recommendations when you want to do exactly the opposite of what they recommend?

Coming to the trade gap, the exports are less now by 2.3 per cent and the imports are increasing by 24 per cent. Any student of Keynesian economics knows the famous equation I-S Investment-Savings. But now here the situation is that the investment is less than the savings. And how is it corrected? It is corrected

[Shri Vithal Gadgil] by the surplus on the balance of payments account, not trade account. And every student of economics knows the result. The curiosity is, the net effect of all this is that you are advancing money to advanced countries, to those very countries from whom you are borrowing. This is the peculiar situation. With the surplus of balance of payment, you advance money to advanced countries and from those very countries you go on borrowing. This is another curiosity of this Budget.

Then we are told from house-tops that this is a farmers' Budget. I will not go into fertilisers and all that, and how it will percolate to the farmer. But I would like to ask the Finance Minister one question. Has it ever happened in the history of this country, looking at it from the farmer's point of view, that the fuel wood or the firewood fetched a higher price than sugarcane? Now firewood is sold at Rs. 150 per tonne and sugarcane does not even fetch Rs 80 per tonne. So it has become profitable to collect firewood rather than cultivate sugarcane. Then again we in Maharashtra call the old newspapers "raddi"; here I am told it is called "kabadi". And what is the price it fetches? Rs. 2.20 per kilo. And what is the price given to the cultivator who produces paddy? Eighty paise. So it is profitable now to collect "kabadi" and "raddi" rather than cultivate paddy. That is the situation we have created for the farmer, and yet we are told that Mr. Charan Singh is a great champion of farmers. Under his very nose, this is the way farmers are suffering.

Then again take the Budget deficit. This point has been made by a number of people. Therefore, I will not elaborate this point further except to say this that the Budget deficit you will have now even within two years is Rs. 3500 crores which is much more than that provided for the entire Plan. What is provided for the entire Plan, you have exceeded it in the

very first two years. That is the state of affairs of deficit financing. Then again you see investment. If you take steel, soda ash, caustic soda, paper, etc. industries, industrial investment is not picking up. You have promised an industrial growth of 8 per cent. And what is it predicated on? On an increase from 22 per cent to 33 per cent by internal resources of the public sector. Looking at the history of the last two years I am not at all optimistic that this can be achieved, with the result that even that 8 per cent increase in industrial production will not take place. Then, money supply is increasing; it will increase at the rate of 15 per cent to 16 per cent when the rate of growth of national income is only 3.5 per cent. There is neither growth nor stability. This is a curious part of the Budget.

Then, as I said, it is an unclean Budget; an unclean Budget, because it will discourage the use of toothpaste, it will discourage the use of toilet soap and many such items, with the result that it can be truly called an unclean Budget. I also said it is an Agatha Christie Budget. It is a kind of mystery that you find in Agatha Christie's novels. And the mystery is this, this year we have record taxation, we have record deficit financing, and yet there is the least increase in Plan expenditure. Therefore, the mystery before me is: Where has the money gone? If there is a record taxation, a record deficit financing and the least increase in Plan expenditure, then the question is: Where has the money gone? That is the mystery which I do not understand. Perhaps, as in the last chapter of Agatha Christie, Mr. Charan Singh will tell us what the mystery is about.

Then, I will not elaborate on the rising prices, because there has been a massive deficit financing. And what pinches me is this that market borrowing has increased four times. What is the effect? The effect is demand constraints which arise out of highly skewed income distribution.

and the abject poverty of the millions sought to be loosened by a painless manner for the rich by resorting to borrowing and credit. This is the technique of the management of the economy that has been done in the last two years.

Lastly, I would only make a mention about the rising prices and I will finish. If you want me to describe the Budget, I will say that it will ruin the middle class without benefiting the poor at all. Taxes have been levied on all kinds of things. Mr. Charan Singh should know what the ideal in India was. I would like to quote from Bana Bhatta, the famous Sanskrit writer. He wrote, if my Sanskrit is not wrong, the best kingdom is that,—"Yasmin Rajye Kara-grahanam Vivahasamaye qua"—"karagraham" should be only at the time of marriage. Under Mr. Charan Singh's dispensation—"karagra-hanam" will be not only every month, but everyday; from morning till evening there will be "karagraha-nam." Therefore this is not the best kingdom. If you want to see the impact of it, I will only mention the experience of a housewife from my own city, Pune. She does not come from the "rich; she does not come from the urban rich or even the middle class; she comes from a very, very, poor class. Let us see how, according to her, the prices of everything have gone up, how the prices of meat have gone up in Pune and Bombay. She told me, on her husband's birthday recently she asked her husband to bring meat worth Rs. 2. The husband went and came back empty-handed. She asked him: "What is the matter?" The husband said, "Oh! it is a long story" She said, "all right, tell me". The husband narrated the long story. He said—I went to the butcher and asked him to give me meat worth Rs. 2. The butcher asked me, "Have you got a bus ticket?". I said, "I am asking you to give me meat worth

Rs. 2; why do you ask for my bus ticket?" The butcher said: "The

prices have gone up so high that you can wrap up meat worth Rs. 2/- in the bus ticket". So, it was wrapped up in his bus ticket. But by the time he reached home, it had fallen through the punch hole which the conductor makes in the tickets. This is the state of affairs so far as rise-in prices is concerned.

Lastly, if you want me to describe the Budget, I will say that the Budget must be titled "Economic Consequences of Mr. Charan Singh". There is record taxation, record deficit financing, sluggish investment, no benefit for industrial growth and, lastly, tremendous amount of inflation. These are the disastrous consequences of Mr. Charan Singh as the Finance Minister. Therefore, I would end up by laying that these are the economic consequences of Mr. Charan Singh. That is a book I would love to write if I find time.

SHRI V. GOSSTAMY (Tamil Nadu):
Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the very outset, I must thank you for giving me an opportunity to take part in the Budget discussions.

This Budget is a record-scored in deficit financing. Even after more than Rs. 600 crores by way of additional taxation, there is an uncovered deficit of Rs. 1,368 crores. This will seriously affect the economy of our country. Instead of gearing up investment and employment, this will gear up inflation, spiralling inflation, galloping inflation.

India today stands at the crucial crossroads of destiny. Even after celebration of the two silver jubilees—one of Independence, and the other of the proclamation of our country as a Republic, misery continues to torment the lives of our downtrodden poor people. We have to hang our heads in shame in admitting that we have miserably failed in our war against poverty, hunger, ignorance and unemployment.

Is this Budget a programme launched by the Government to eradicate

LShri V. Gopal Swamy] poverty? No. Is this Budget a step towards socialism No. Is this Budget a step taken to improve the lot of the farmers, the poor peasant^ in the village sector? Definitely no. On the other hand, this Budget has thrown an unbearable burden of taxes ■on the weak shoulders of the poor—people—both urban poor as well as the rural poor.

The Janata leaders and the hon. Ministers of the Janata Government had taken a pledge at the Raj ghat on the eve of their climbing the thrones to follow in the foot-steps of Mahatma Gandhi. So, it will be very relevant in this context to quote the gospel of Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhiji said: "Recall the face of the poorest man whom you have seen and contemplate whether the steps you propose to take will restore his control over his own life and destiny. In other words, will they lead to the swaraj of the virtually starving millions?" I would like to put this question to the hon. Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of our country: Will this Budget lead to the swaraj of the virtually starving millions? No. On the other hand, this Budget is another blow at the back-bone of the poor people.

I have heard in this House and also outside the House and even in newspapers I have seen people criticising and attacking the Budget as Kulak Budget, rural oriented Budget, peasant oriented Budget at the expense of the urban population. But that is not the case, Sir, I saw in some of the newspapers some cartoons. Some of the papers have published some cartoons indicating that our Finance Minister, the honourable Mr. Charan Singh, has invaded the urban market with his weapon, the powerful plough, to threaten the urban people. But that is not the real picture. Of course, Sir I have got great regard and respect for the honourable Finance Minister Mr. Charan Singh, the leader of the kisaanis. Of course, he has taken cer-

tain steps and he has attempted to do something and he has bestowed his thoughts in the direction and he has entered the arena. But what I want to say is this: I wish he does not lose the battle. I say this because he has not taken any concrete step to improve the lot of the poor peasants, the poor agriculturists. In this connection, I want to say this: I want to know whether it is a fact that this Budget is made to rob the urban Peter to pay the rural Paul. But both Peter and Paul have been taxed to pay the Government Exchequer. Now, Sir, what are the proposals said to have been mentioned to help the agriculturists? The first thing is this: One concession was given by Mr. Charan Singh and that concession was withdrawn in his reply in the Lok Sabha, that concession regarding the light diesel. I think, Sir, one Mr. Chingalraya Naidu, an Honourable Member of this House, brought to the notice of the Finance Minister that this would help the people only in the northern States, particularly Madhya Pradesh and Punjab, but not the peasants in the southern sector because they are not using the light diesel engines, but they are using the high-speed diesel engines. They are not using the light diesel and, therefore, they are using the heavy diesel only. Now, what the honourable Finance Minister has done is this: He has withdrawn the concession which has been given in respect of light diesel also. Sir, in Tamil Nadu, during the DMK rule there, several lakhs of pumpsets were given power connection, electric power connection. After 1976, because of the bad policy adopted by the Government there, no pumpsets have been given power connection. So, Sir, the agriculturists there, in order to run their pumpsets, use high-speed engines and they utilise high-speed diesel. So, Sir, this concession should be given to them in respect of this also. The Finance Ministry should, therefore, reconsider this, should reconsider what he has done, and the concession should be given not only in respect of light

diesel but also in respect of heavy diesel.

Then, Sir, I want to say something regarding fertilizers. Sir, regarding fertilizers, some Members mentioned that a slight concession has been given in respect of fertilizers also. What has he done? What he has done is only a drop in the ocean. We have to see how much the farmer has to pay for this nowadays. I think, Sir, when our honourable Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai[^] was giving his reply to the discussion on the President's Address, I drew his attention to the problem of the cost of inputs and to that he replied that it was being looked after. What has been looked after? Nothing. The cost of inputs has not been looked after. I want to bring to the notice of the Government to what extent the cost of inputs has gone up. For example, Sir, the cost of fertilizer per bag of 50 kgs. was Rs. 33.75 in the year 1968. But, in the year 1978, it costs Rs. 81/-. In respect of pesticides also, in respect of dythene M.45, the cost was Rs. 7.75 in the year 1968, but, after ten years, it has gone up to Rs. 35/-. Like that, in respect of another pesticide cerin, also, which is mostly used by the agriculturists in our State, the cost was Rs. 15/- in the year 1968, but, after ten years, it has gone up to Rs. 45/-. The cost of a 3 HP. pump-set in 1968 was Rs. 1100. This has now gone up to Rs. 3500 in 1978. A pair of bullocks in 1968 cost Rs. 700. Now it costs more than Rs. 2500. The cost of a bullock cart in 1968 was Rs. 700; now it costs more than Rs. 2000. In 1968 the cost of digging a well in the ratio of 30—40—50 was Rs. 5000. Now it has gone up to Rs. 20,000. The cost of drilling per foot has gone up from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20 in ten years. The cost of spare and other implements used by the peasants has increased five times within ten years. From 1968 to 1978, during ten years, the cost of inputs has gone high. Sir, at the same time, nothing has been done to make any improvement in this regard. Unless

the farmers get remunerative prices for their products, their condition and their lot cannot be improved. The painful paradox is that the farmer who produces the paddy, who produces wheat, who produces cereals, who produces grain and who produces cotton, has no say in the fixation of prices. But, at the same time, in our society, the industrialist, the businessman the capitalist, is the sole authority to fix the prices of commodities which are placed in the market for sale. The industrialists enhance the prices of articles produced at their own sweet will and pleasure. The industrialist always maintains a balance between the cost of production and profit. But the farmer who brought forth the grain with the sweat of his brow has no say in the fixation of price. Who are the people who fix the prices? It is the 'bania', the merchant, the broker, and the commission agent in the 'mandi'. When he comes to the, thrashing ground or the farmer's house, this poor farmer enquires the merchant the broker "what is the price of my commodities?" This is the condition.

The other day, in our House some of the Members vociferously demanded high prices for cotton. Sir, in this connection I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that the price of cotton has gone down very low. For instance the price of twenties cotton, a variety, has come down from Rs. 350 last year to Rs. 200 per quintal. But at the same time, the millowners the monarch of industry are minting money like anything. Whenever the big sharks in industry get together, they say: this is our finest hour. Never in history have they made such high profits. They are making unprecedented profits. Even the Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, has admitted that. It has appeared in the 'Indian Express' of 17th of this month, under the heading 'Cloth price hike unjustified'. I quote the Industry Min-

[Shri V. Gopal Swamy] ister, Mr. George Fernandes. The other day he said:

"There was no justification for the textile industry to increase the cloth prices. He said that cotton prices have declined by 13.8 per cent, and 40 per cent of the inputs of the industry was cotton."

But the figures that he has given about the price of cotton are not correct. The price of cotton has gone down more. But at the same time, the millowners and the textile industry monarchs are minting money like anything. The gates of Heaven have opened for them in the Janata rule. What are the steps taken by this Government to curb this menace? The industrialists, the textile mill-owners, are minting money, but at the same time the cotton growers are shedding tears. No step has been taken to wipe off their tears. Sir, they boast that a huge amount of loans have now been given to the farmers. But these farmers are not able to get the loans. What is the reason? They have not repaid the loans because they did not get any remunerative price. The small and marginal farmers, because of this, are not able to clear their dues, and as per the rules and regulations of the Cooperative Credit Department, they are not able to get the loans. That is why, Sir, farmers in Tamil Nadu are now agitating. What I want to tell the Government is that there should be a moratorium to the loans of the small and marginal farmers, those who are unable to pay the loans and not to the rich farmers. Then only they will be in a position to get loans and to improve their lot. (*Time bell rings*).

Sir, I do not understand the rationale behind the move to impose excise duty on kerosene. Kerosene is a house-hold fuel in villages, in hamlets and also in towns. Sir, this year 1979 is the International Year of the Child. Sir, poor people in villages and towns and those who live in huts and cottages use kerosene for lighting the lamps in the evenings so that their children

do their home-work. So, Sir, is this duty on kerosene a reward given by our Charan Singh Dada to the children of this country? I hope, our Finance Minister will scrap this duty on kerosene. Sir, in Madras already the dealers have hoarded kerosene and the people are suffering and they are unable to get kerosene. So, I hope the Finance Minister, in his reply will announce that the duty imposed on kerosene is scrapped.

Sir, I have stated earlier in my speech that even after 32 years of independence, India has not been able to wipe out the traces of poverty and hunger. According to a report of the World Bank of 1976, India is placed in the list of low income developing countries and out of 125 low-income developing countries, we are behind 117 countries. The first and the foremost reason for this is that we have not been able to exploit the abundant, rich resources of nature. Goldsmith, the great poet[^] beautifully described "Nature, a Mother, kind alike to all; Grants her blessings at labour's ear. nest call."

Sir, I would suggest that the first step to be taken by the Government is the provision of assured water supply to 120 million hectares of land which is considered to be cultivable. Of course[^] the task is not easy. We also realise that the Indian rivers are mostly seasonal. Construction of reservoirs for the purpose of irrigation during the lean months invited the attention of the British engineers in those days. The effort has been going on for the past 30 years on a big scale. Even then, one-fourth of the land which is cultivable is not covered by the major or minor irrigation programmes. So, I want to tell the Government that they should take up as many small projects as are possible in all the States to exploit the surface and groundwater potential through labour-intensive minor irrigation programmes. (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I will finish within a few minutes.

Sir, at page 11 of the Plan Budget, it has been mentioned about minor

irrigation that a provision of Rs. 10 crores has also been made for special subsidy for minor irrigation. There is also a provision of Rs. 1.20 crores for giving assistance to States and Union Territories for strengthening the ground and surface water organisations. Sir, I agree that an amount Rs. 1488 crores has been allocated to the States. But that is not enough. Sir, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that about 2,500 t.m.c. feet of water is going waste to the sea from the west-flowing 3 P.M. rivers on the slopes of the western ghats. If you tap 50 time feet of water from the west moving rivers for the purpose of irrigation that would help the agriculturists of north Tirunelveli my district Ramanathapuram district, of Tamil Nadu the Rayalseema of our State to produce five lakh tonnes of paddy annually. So, the Government should allocate resources for such projects also.

Then, Sir, the other thing is that in Tamil Nadu the farmers are suffering. They are unable to clear electricity dues. At the same time there is a huge overdue of Rs. 13 crores which is to be paid by the industrialists. The Malco Company itself has to pay Rs. 9 crores. No panai action has been taken against them. But the farmers are victimised. They are threatened and the power connections given to their pumpsets are severed or disconnected. So what the Government should do is to recover the overdues from the industrialists. First of all, they should be compelled to pay these dues. Otherwise the connections given to their industries should be severed.

Time bell rings In this connection, Sir, I would like to quote my beloved leader, the founder of the D.M.K., Arignar Anna, who spoke in this House, when he was a Member of this august House. I quote: "A Government if it is to be called a welfare Government, a progressive and modern Government, should not crush the people with taxation merely

because it needs more and more money for expenditure. They should prune expenditure. There should be priorities. They should augment their resources not merely from new taxes but from the revenues that have been promised by the public sector. We have allocated a colossal sum to the public sector and what is the performance of the public sector. Have you realised the revenues expected of it? When you have failed openly, miserably and continuously in regard to public sector, when you have indulged in more and more taxation, we on this side of the House have got a right to question your new taxation proposals. That is why we are against your new proposals in this Budget. When I say that the Government should look to the sources other than taxation, I am referring not to loans, because they have to be repaid. I refer to public sector revenues, which we have not been able to get. I say that the taxation proposals of this Government are more and more regressive leading to the grinding poverty of the people. This is more relevant today at this juncture because our resources are wasted. On an investment of Rs. 13,000 crores on the public sector in 1976-77, our net losses were Rs. 14 crores. If reports are to be believed they may exceed Rs. 400 crores this year. In the public sector undertakings there should be profits. The Government should look into that.

Before I conclude my speech on the Budget, I welcome any attempt that may be made by the Government to help poor peasants, poor agriculturists in this Budget but I oppose the taxation policy of this Budget. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI LEONARD SOLOMAN SARING (Sikkim): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, on the occasion of the general discussion on Budget let me extend my welcome to the Budget of 1979-80. I do feel that the Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister deserve congratulations and I hope that every farmer joins me in welcoming the Budget.

[Shri Leonan Soloman Saning] But I want to draw the attention of the Government towards some of the grave problems faced by the people of Sikkim in their day to day life. That my State Sikkim is a land of immense scenic beauty, natural charm and replete with flora and fauna from the immemorial is well known. It had its charm and fascination of its own though known to few people. Sir, the bashful beauty of an unknown lake, the timid thrust of an unnamed mountain, the sunny sweetness of unexpected flowers in the summer time, the sad drop of a withered leaf in autumn left to die by a ruminating deer, are there for the traveller to discover and appreciate the charm of the unexpected beauty of my State. But it is quite strange that no adequate attention was paid towards the development of tourism in as much as the State is absent in the tourist map of India so far. The nearby Darjeeling, however, developed into an attractive tourist centre throbbing with many tourists including foreigners every year. I would urge upon the Government to kindly take interest in developing the tourist spots in my State and put my State also on the tourist map of India.

The importance of Sikkim as a border State cannot be emphasised too much. Unfortunately, however, the only means of transport into the State is by roads only. No place or centre in Sikkim has come on the air map and rail link. Unfortunately, my State, Sikkim, does not find a place in the list of six States in which new railway lines have been sanctioned during the 1979-80 Railway Budget. Because of the strategic position of Sikkim, it is urged upon the Government to consider the case of Sikkim in the matter of rail links.

Further, National Highway 31A which connects Gangtok with the rail head Siliguri is not adequate from the viewpoint of width and all-weather condition. It should urgently be widened to allow safe passage for heavy vehicles also. Special

fund should be created and allocated for maintenance and urgent repairs and very frequent restoration work of the Highways. In addition to this, such highways in the State, whether maintained by the State PWD or Border Road Organisation, should receive urgent attention for their widening with a view to improving the retarded transport to give a fillip to the economy of the State.

Further, a third line air service is under consideration. Sir, I welcome the gesture and I would like to urge upon the Government that the air service contemplated should be introduced urgently in the overall interest of the State.

Further, more telephone and telegraphic facilities to the State should be geared up to render satisfactory and adequate services throughout the year. The State should be given a separate and distinct telephonic District and modern equipment, and exchanges should be provided urgently considering the peculiar needs of the State. An overhauling of the system and administration is a crying need. The Government should take special interest in the communication system in that region.

Of the many produce of Sikkim like cardamom, oranges, apples, ginger, handicrafts, canned fruits and timber, the item cardamom is suffering from one drawback. Sikkim cardamom is not included in the Board of Cardamom and the people there are left to tend themselves in this matter. If Sikkim cardamom is included in the Board of Cardamom, then it will prove a boon to the cardamom growers of the State and through the Board Sikkim cardamom will find a favourable market in foreign countries also. Another facility that can profitably be provided is the cold storage facility for perishable commodities. Therefore, the introduction of such a facility in the State is imperative. I would request the Government to pay immediate attention

to the provision of cold storage facilities in the State.

My State is ideal for a dairy development programme because it provides good cattle grazing grounds in abundance. This has been confirmed

- f by a team of experts of the Swiss Cattle Breeding and Fodder Development Project. We are earnestly awaiting the launching of the National
- Dairy Development Programme, known as OPERATION FLOOD II in the State.

Sikkim can generate power by utilising natural resources to such an extent that the whole of the State including the neighbouring States would be self-sufficient. Apart from the proposed major hydro-electric project by harnessing the powerful river Teesta, which alone can have capacity to generate energy of more than 10,000 Megawatts, smaller tributaries innumerable in number can be tapped to pool their hydro-electric power to boost the immediate requirements of the State essential for development of small-scale industries and for rural electrification. This aspect should also be given urgent attention. I want to say that there is one such hydro-electric project named Lower Lagyap Hydel Project. We are hearing year after year about its commissioning, but it has not yet been commissioned, maybe due to lack of technical things or funds. It should be commissioned immediately to meet the requirements of the people.

My State is lagging behind in the matter of radio and television. These mass media are very essential for educating the masses and for their day-to-day living. So far, we have neither a radio station nor a television centre. Urgent steps should be taken for setting up a radio station and a television centre, which will also boost the culture of Sikkim and project its image throughout the length and breadth of the country. The SHrmjf a,yan ranges and their lower parts lie in the areas where there is

very possibility of getting oil. Assam and Nagaland are the glaring examples from where we are getting oil supplies in ample. My State also lies in the same range. Therefore, sincere efforts be put in for oil exploration in Sikkim.

Sir, it is not to over-emphasise that education is very essential for the overall development of any place. We are having neither any University nor any medical or engineering college. Our students going in for higher education in medical and engineering disciplines are compelled to face immense difficulties in getting admission outside the State as there is no quota reserved for them there. So, there is a very urgent need for establishing a full-fledged University having all these faculties. I hope the Government will give due attention in solving this problem.

To be really advanced, there must be an industrial base which may also generate employment. We are far behind in this respect. Since our State is a hilly one, industries with small capital in small units can be started there. In this connection, I would urge upon the Government that a paper pulp factory can be easily established there as raw materials required for such an industry are available in plenty in Sikkim. At this moment, we are having an assembly plant of HMT watches. What I want to stress is that a full-fledged watch component factory may be established in my State.

Banking facilities are not adequate in my State. We are having only one branch of the State Bank of India and that too at Gangtok. Branches of the other nationalised banks may be opened in the rural sector so that the farmers and the down-trodden can be benefited through the loans and advances meant for agriculture and small-scale industry.

My State is very rich in mineral resources. But it has not been exploited to the maximum. Exploration for more copper, lead, zinc,

I Shri Leonan Soloman Saning]

sulphur and gold may be undertaken expeditiously.

Last of all, I would also like to add that certain subsidised commodities like cement, salt and so on are not reaching their destinations in time. For, instance, quarterly quote of 28 wagon-loads of salt despatched from Gujarat has not yet reached the State and there is extreme shortage of salt in my State and the delay would boost up the price of salt by 20 paise per Kg. if supplied from Siliguri. I would urge upon the Government to look into this matter and ensure timely supply and quick transport of such commodities to the State.

In the end, I would like once again to support the Budget.

SHRIMATI AMARJIT KAUR (Punjab): Sir, the Budget 1979 is an intriguing Budget for all in so far as it is an eye-brew raiser on trends of change being evolved in ^{iv}ie general pattern of our country's economic priorities. It is interesting in so far as it has caused widespread discussions on the actual and the conveniently imaginary merits of landholders within our agricultural society.

The priority given to our agriculture is long overdue and is most welcome. But I dare say the pulse of the farmer in this Budget has been taken from sources other than his wrist. The reliefs given to the agriculturists tend to become optical illusions when looking at the overall picture of the Budget. The humble farmer's calculations on the Budget is approximately Rs. 12 per crop per acre. Only under irrigated conditions, will he be able to grow two crops, thus making Rs. 24 per acre per year. This paltry sum falls by the wayside when considering what he will have to pay because of the increase in the prices of kerosene, soap, matches and, most important of all, d'psel, which incidentally, was relieved from the excise levy imposed originally, and has been duly

smacked back just to be doubly original. Diesel, the life-blood of the mechanisation of agriculture should never be tampered with so lightly lest clots form to damage the heart of progressive agriculture. This simple and honest farmer is happy about this budget tilt towards him and has begun to feel that there is somebody upstairs who remembers him, that he is no longer being taken for granted, but, Sir, he also knows that the present economic policy towards him is as yet a mirage—the future is yet to be seen. In the same vein, the farmer will be patiently watching to see the rapid implementation of the planned integrated developments for small scale industries in that villages so that he can try to obtain some work for his children, since he will be unable to will any of his remaining land to them because of the divisions and subdivisions his lands have gone through in the last thirty years to his relatives of the past.

The farmer is unhappy that a lot of funds allocated to him in this budget will, in all probability, get to him only through the cooperative banks, rather than the nationalised banks which he prefers. He is convinced that the cooperative banks which were once for his benefit have now become political dens of corruption and exploitation, dens that have bred the 'inspector raj' and are breeding mafia in every district, in every State. He fears that unless some drastic and fearless steps are taken to reorient the entire structure, rules and laws of these banks to bring them back to their original norms, he will get only the shadow of the benefits he is to receive. He prefers to deal with the nationalised banks any day, now.

Sir, I am sorry this budget has bypassed solid incentives for the mechanisation of agriculture in this country. I believe there is an absurd belief that mechanisation of agriculture is anti-labour—a cause of unemployment. This, Sir, is a total

fallacy and this fallacious thinking is the cause of the bias towards this progressive development. On the contrary mechanisation of agriculture create ten times more work for the existing labour in a given area, thereby creating a ten fold demand for additional recruitment of labour within the same given area. This is because tractor power causes a quick change in the cropping pattern and further creates rapid processing in the sowing, maintenance and harvesting of crops. It is mechanisation that has allowed three to four crops a year as against one without it. It is why, Sir, the existing labour who got employment for only four to five months in a year in the past are now overworked throughout the year, necessitating so much more recruitment of labour. When this labour is just not available, further machinery like combine harvesters are required to do the job, or else the crops will perish in the fields. The finest examples of this factual position are Punjab and Haryana where mechanisation of agriculture is fairly advanced. This progressive measure is one of the major causes of the two States becoming¹ surplus in foodgrains and, the absolute cause of them becoming acute labour deficit States. It is because of this grave situation in these States that it has become absolutely necessary for the Government of India to allow the State of Punjab to produce combine harvesters to cope with this acute labour shortage. Therefore, mechanisation by tractor power must be spread in a concerted manner in all States of the country for generating employment, for idle labour and at the same time for enhancing food production all over the country. But this, Sir, can only be done if the prices of tractors and their implements are brought down drastically, for the prices of tractors have increased over 120 per cent in the last seven years due to indiscriminate taxation. A very serious thought must be given to this when planning for the future.

The farmer, Sir, is very confused when he is constantly being dubbed

as a kulak, especially during this budget, by those members of the intelligentsia who derive their judgments from observations made by city-bred armchair agro-economists with urban kulak background and envious dispositions. Who is a kulak today? A man who owned 10,000 acres in 1946, was brought down to 30 acres in 1950 and was further touched again to own 18 standard acres today! Is not he the farmer who invested his all and worked day and night in collaboration with agro-scientists of the Universities and brought about this! fantastic green revolution that pulled our country away from the brink of famine and starvation? He has done his utmost duty towards his country by continuing the process of progressive production and making us surplus in foodgrains. If this be the qualifications of a kulak, then the kulak obsessions must create another class and coin a new word to give vent to their envy, for the agricultural kulak of the past has proved himself to be a true patriot of today.

And, Anally, Sir, it is unfortunate that this Budget has inadvertently caused unhealthy rivalry between urban and rural people. This is wrong, for both sectors are not contrary but complementary to each other and derive sustenance from one another. The urbanite must not be grudge, the farmer the profits of his labour, as the farmer does not begrudge him his innumerable ways of making a living. The farmer knows that he will go back a thousand years without the support of the cities, but the cities will perish without the total support of the villages. Thank you, Sir.

DR. LOKESH CHANDRA (Nominated) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when a street urchin picks the pocket of a person who boards a bus, the law of the land is there to take charge of him. But when the Finance Minister of this great country presents a 'pick-pocket' Budget where from the smallest, the

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra]

tinest person in the land to those who represent the middle class of this country, nobody is touched the law of the land comes to grief. In the last 32 years, this is the most outrageous budget which has not only destroyed the middle classes, the peasants, the workers in the factories, but has also introduced an inflationary spiral which is going to lead to an infructuous spending on the part of the Government. While it has grown in size, it has diminished in vision.

The whole Budget is an erosion of the future potential of the country. While increased quantum of funds have been made available for administrative charges, there is in an inverse proportion a decrease in the goal of performances. Many friends have earlier spoken of *tile* price rise that will be the bane of this Budget. But I should like to point out that in this Budget, no care has been taken to consider the goal that we had set ourselves when we had become free. In the last year—1977-78—the multi-nationals rose in terms of assets. Their assets were worth Rs. 4130 crores and their remittances amounted to Rs. 115.30 crores. These Rs. 115.30 crores were out of Rs. 193 crores of profits before taxation. All the profits of the sweat and toil which were due to our land were remitted to more affluent nations. This is a part of the *laissez faire* policy of the present Government.

Another point which merits attention is that in violation of environmental hazards, in this Budget the Government has provided substantial amounts for the construction of 5-star hotels in Delhi. This has to be viewed in the background of the fact that already some of the hotels of the ITDC which are functioning in the capital are incurring losses to the tune of Rs. 18 lakhs per annum. For example, the Qutab Hotel incurred a loss of Rs. 18 lakhs" last year. There are no residents in the Qutab Hotel, Ranjit Hotel and other places. In

spite of all this, the Government, in this Budget, has taken a decision to construct more 5-star hotels. When it was pointed out to the Ministry by various developmental agencies, like the DDA, the Urban Art Commission and the Town and Country Planning Organisation, the Minister insisted that it should be done even by destroying the environment. The Minister himself has violated the scientific policies of the Government in saying that they will resort to the violation of the environment, but they will go ahead with their plan of constructing 5-star hotels.

In the External Affairs Ministry, there is an infructuous expenditure stipulated in this Budget, namely, "Own Houses for Missions abroad." No figures are mentioned in the Budget for the construction of "Own Houses For the Missions". 'Blowing, as we do, that in foreign countries the construction costs are very very high, astronomical figures will have to be spent in pursuance of this policy for "Own Houses" abroad. It will not only be a capital expenditure but at the same time the maintenance of these houses would again come to astronomical figures, and the two combined would lead us to an expenditure which will be detrimental to our national interest in the long run.

Another factor missed in this Budget is that national know-how has been totally ignored. For example, Air India hired a New York artist for redesigning its New York office. And after the designs were completed and the New York artist was paid, she has sued Air India for Rs. 64 lakhs in damages. I do not know why a government which came on the vote of the masses of this land should ignore its own artistic potential just to ornament its Air-India offices at New York, that it should hire the services of New York artist, to be subjected to the ignominy of being known in American circles as a bad paymaster. The Government may ultimately have to

pay Rs. 64 lakh to this New York artist in punitive damages.

Furthermore, in this Budget there is no provision for storage of smuggled goods which are seized or confiscated at Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. In answer to a question the Minister said that Rs. 34.28 crores worth of goods are lying in the godowns. For these godowns the Government has paid Rs. 30.7 lakhs in the year 1978, which means Rs. 8 lakhs per city of Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Madras. The losses incurred in 1978 amounted to Rs. 42,000. Every year crores of rupees worth of goods lie in these godowns uncared for and they are never sold; they are pilfered, and this source of income goes waste.

While in the Budget the Minister has been careful enough to point out the accrual of income of a few lakhs of rupees, he has totally ignored losses which are gradually mounting up due to the inefficient management by the Government.

An infructuous expenditure in the Budget is the adult literacy drive. As we all know, the adult literacy drive will consume Rs. 200 crores. As has been pointed out in national and international circles, this adult literacy is money thrown down the drain. Only recently there was, Dr. Paolo Friere who very rightly pointed out that given hypothetical choice whether he would prefer 5 million adults made literate or only 10,000 made thinkers, "Dr. Friere had no hesitation in choosing the latter." If we had spent this Rs. 200 crores in building schools, that would have given us at least 2,000 schools and with an expenditure of a million rupees each and the whole country would have been covered. The policy of the present Government as I have been saying in Hindi is not Rajniti but it is Ajniti the moment today is more important and the future has a minor place in its planning. Another fact to be borne in mind is that this Budget ignores our future potential. And wherefrom

does that future potential come? As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the very beginning of our freedom, had pointed out, scientific knowhow and its development is an essential part of the future. Without it there can be no future of the nation. And this is an aspect which has not been carefully looked into by the Budget-makers. For example, there has been a slide-back from self-reliance in science and technology. While in 1978-79 the budget for science and technology was Rs. 34 crores, in 1979-80 it has been reduced to Rs. 33 crores. This is a detrimental reduction and ultimately its effect on the future will be one of the stagnation.

Let us come to the Botanical Survey of India. For the last years there has been no significant achievement by the Botanical Survey. In former times the Botanical Survey had brought out *The Flora of India* and the Zoological Survey had brought out *The Fauna of India*. For quite a few years the scheme of bringing out new editions of the Flora and Fauna has been going on. In the present Budget a scheme of emeritus scientists for the Flora of India has been newly introduced but I am sure that the performance of these two departments will have to be carefully watched and for this our science and technology policy should form an important concern of the Parliament.

In the Budget, there is provision for the National Remote Sensing Agency. There is another similar body, under section 21, for the States. I do not understand why top-heavy over heads have been devised by splitting up the same type of activity in proportion to what it adds to administrative expenses in the same proposition it detracts from developmental achievements.

The National Research and Development Corporation has been provided with a small amount and this Corporation is responsible for inventions and their promotion. I am

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra]

sure that a country like ours which is moving forward into the future which is the Age of Science has definitely to provide more funds so that we can be self-reliant.

Now let us come to the Instrument Development Programme. Another programme of a similar type is the Regional Sophisticated Instruments Centre. Both of them could have been co-ordinated and a good bit of expenditure could have been saved 'in pay packets which would have added to a more effective scientific development in this field.

Now, let us take up section 221 which refers to standardisation of geographical names. What is the necessity for the standardization of geographical names because we already have the geographical names standardized by the Posts and Telegraphs Department. It is an expenditure that has no validity.

There is the National Museum of Natural History. For this Rs. 81 lakhs have been provided—Rs. 35 lakhs in the Plan and Rs. 16 lakhs in the non-Plan expenditure. Three days ago I went to see how this Museum of Natural History works and I was shocked to see that it was just an extension of a biological laboratory of any College in Delhi. If so much money has to be spent it should contribute to our national development.

Now the Ocean Science and Technology Agency. I quote from the Hindustan Times, 11 today. The Prime Minister Shri Desai said: "One of the abuses of scientific knowledge was the production of the destructive nuclear weapons." So, the basic approach of the Prime Minister is anti-science. I fail to understand how it will be possible for this Ocean Science Board, which has been recently constituted under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, to grow. Ocean science is becoming a very important source for food and various other necessities of life. European analysis point out that the

reserves of oceans are so rich that they can last 150,000 years; nickel lying in the oceans alone could cater to man's need for the next 150,000 years. Again, to quote another journal, vast sources of minerals shall be found by off-shore drilling operations. In one area of the Red Sea, geologists found gold, silver, copper and zinc worth billions of dollars. With such riches lying under the deep. Ocean Science should have been one of the major concerns of the Budget; but in the Budget we do not find any special provision for the survey of oceanic riches.

For the department of Atomic Energy, not in sufficient funds have been sanctioned. On page 72 there is a reference to the variable energy cyclotron. India is continuing with out-of-date technology in the atomic sciences. There should have been a provision for updating nuclear technology in this country. While we are going to use cyclotrons, our neighbours will have a more sophisticated and more modern technology of betatrons and synchrotrons.

Let us come to the Tarapur plant. The Tarapur plant is a "chronic patient. We do not know for how many years it will remain like this. The Government has stated that India will have its own nuclear "fuel in a few years. But every time we are in a critical stage, a fire takes place in the nuclear fuel complex. The Hindustan Times of 14th March, 1979 says that a fire broke out in one of the wings of the nuclear fuel complex at Hyderabad. If we are really to go ahead with our development of nuclear technology adequate security arrangements will have to be made, without them we will not be able to reach the takeoff stage. In this Budget, there is no visible provision for this type of security.

Under para 31, the Address by the President to Parliament says: "The Government intends shortly to issue a statement on technology policy."

It evades the issue of scientific development. The wording should have been "science and technology policy". The Government is still committed to the Science Policy Resolution of 1958. It is historic Resolution, but after 21 years in the changed circumstances it requires fresh consideration. If science and technology 23 to be made meaningful in our economic plans, there should be a new science and technology policy, not only a technology policy.

On the pattern of the Public Accounts Committee, there should be Public Performance Committee to supervise science and technology and other departments of the Government. Only the spending is supervised, but the results that accrue therefrom i.e. the performances are never looked into. If the performance is also scrutinised, the country will be able to attain its goals quicker.

The Budget is lacking in several aspects, it is negative in others and in many places it is suicidal.

Thank you.

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAMCHANDRA MHAISEKAR (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the Budget. I welcome it, though I have my own reservations to support it fully, because I have a feeling that it has not been able to make a dent, as desired, on the agrarian economy of this country. Sir, I support the Budget because I feel the Finance Minister has given a new direction by introducing the importance of agrarian economy in the Budget which it fully deserves secondly because it pronounces an element of equivalent treatment to agriculture and industry in the fiscal policy, [The Vice-Chairman (Shri Lakshmanan in the Chair)] and thirdly because he has shown an open mind and offered to withdraw certain taxes and given certain concessions on certain articles of common and daily use of common man in the Lok Sabha.

Sir, I now come to criticism. Samuel Butler had very rightly and typically 2213 RS—7.

observed that life is an art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises. I feel that this dictum very clearly and very perfectly applies to the criticism that has been made in this House on the Budget. Some have said that this is an agricultural-oriented Budget. Some have said that this is a kulak Budget. Little they have thought that the farmer has marginally benefited from the Budget. It is also a fact that the Finance Minister, for the first time, has been instrumental in bringing about a very satisfactory discourse on this august platform, in this forum we call Parliament, and for the first time we are feeling that we are having a national debate in parliament on what is agricultural economy, what is its contribution, how it has to be developed and how not. Many people in their own way, retorting and taunting perhaps, have said so many things which should not have been said. Sir, the criticism has come from many who have hidden anti-rural and anti-agricultural bias and who do not have pragmatic outlook about agriculture, and it appears as if any new step that is taken towards agriculture, is taken as a sharp line of demarcation between rural and urban. I do not know why such a thing should happen.

Another possibility about the criticisms is that they are biased because of the influence of worked up diehard political compulsions. Statistics have been used, and the same statistics have been used to draw diametrically opposite conclusions. Some body said that this way statistics are more effective than damned lies.

There has been actually no reversal in the policy as far as the Budget is concerned. An attempt has been made to bring simultaneity and co ordination in the pace of agricultural development and industrial development, the two important sectors of our national economy. We have also to remember that the most advanced technologies, being most capital intensive and least labour absorbing, are not meant for the deve-

[Shri Govindrao Ramchandra Mhaisekar]

loping countries like ours. Knowingly or unknowingly we had forgot-ton this principle, this postulate, and are reeling under the consequences having to rely for a number of industrial projects ^{on} foreign countries from where we have borrowed these technologies.

Sir, Economics and Planning are claimed to have become sciences, but we really forget that they are punctuated and too often. So by a number of buts and if and stipulations This may be natural as they are governed by a number of complex variables. But, Sir, we have forgotten or connived at the most important variable, the agrarian economy, and the result is that there is an imbalance between the two major extremes of the human activity, the agricultural development and the industrial development. The process has begun with this particular Budget. It is the beginning Of a beginning and, therefore, I personally and sincerely feel that there should not be such a hue and cry about it.

Even in this Budget, Sir, agriculture has not received justice. If we go to the demand under Irrigation and Agriculture, we find that there is a shortage of Rs. 275.23 crores. Having given sufficient room for transfer of Rs. 74 crores as subsidy for the manufacture of fertilizers under the Ministry of Fertilizers and Petroleum, there is a shortage of Rs. 135 crores for the import of fertilizers, which would mean that there would be short supply of fertilizers. Sir, in fact, there are a number of items which require a very serious consideration on the part of the Finance Minister. The first is agricultural credit in this country. This will have to be made available on a larger scale at a lower rate of interest with a longer period of repayment and an initial moratorium of five years, which is generally granted as gestation period in the case of industrial units. Sir, even the orders

that the Government gives in this connection are not followed. I have got a news item and I quote from the Times of India of the 18th February. It says that the banks are flouting the RBI directive on credit. The banks were advised that nonfood credit should not go beyond 40 per cent of the deposits. But this has not happened. Actually the non-food credit has increased and the food credit has contracted. The agricultural credit which stands at Rs. 2,200 crores as against the industrial credit which stands at Rs. 15,000 crores today. Therefore, we have to pay serious attention to this particular aspect.

Sir, in fact, small farmers and those holding dry land should get this loan without interest.

Then, Sir, I come to a very important point and that is about crop insurance. Dry land farmers must find support through crop insurance schemes. Sir, there is insurance for everything in this country, but in spite of the fact that we have 75 per cent of dry land farming, we leave those farmers to the vagaries of nature. I appeal to the Finance Minister to embark upon either a budget debited crop insurance scheme or a Centre-cum-State supported crop insurance corporation. Methods and schemes should be found out to make dry farming economic through no-interest development loans, secondary occupations and other such activities which are likely to support dry land farmers. Besides, harnessing of water through percolation tanks and through "nalabandis" must get priority in the Budget provisions under agriculture. This is the most neglected part in the agricultural sector.

Sir, universal type schemes will have to be devised. In this Budget, I find very little provision for that. Sir, an example can be sought from the Maharashtra Government where dry land farmers have been exempted from land revenue. Those who have three or less than three hectares of land have been exempted from

land revenue. Such a universal type of provision will have to be made.

Now, coming to inputs—another very important thing—there is a recommendation of the National Agriculture Commission in this connection. The Commission has emphatically recommended that there should be no fiscal burdens on agricultural inputs. As a matter of policy, I understand, the Agriculture Ministry has accepted this recommendation. But whatever has been done in this direction is very utile and very unsatisfactory.

Then I come to the prices of agricultural produce. Much has been said about this. There has been a lot of discussion on this. I would not go into all this again. But I would only say that support prices are not going to help. There have to be remunerative prices for agricultural produce.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Even the support prices are not being paid.

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAMACHANDRA MHAISEKAR: The present Agricultural Prices Commission is an administrative and executive body. There has to be a statutory Agricultural Prices Commission with a pyramid-like structure, beginning from the States and going to the Centre. This has to be embarked upon by the Central Government.

Then, Sir, I come to a very important point, and that is about the agricultural labour. Thirty-five per cent of the village population is engaged either in agricultural labour or in secondary occupations of agriculture. Now, except for the Minimum Wages Act, which again is not effectively implemented, there is nothing that we have done for this worst-affected section. I wish this Budget had done something for these people. In fact they should also get equivalent treatment as industrial labour and get

monetary facilities like provident fund, etc. This may sound very odd to many people because we have not been able to consider about these rural, down-trodden sections. I would call them the "economically down-trodden people." We have not been doing anything for them. Sir, in regard to rural development, a few items require priority. Rural drinking water schemes require our attention. All-weather roads and rural housing have not received their due attention. If all these are done, the flow of millions from the rural areas to the urban areas will get reduced and may perhaps stop, urbanization may go very slow and the problems of urban areas would get reduced. We spend every year crores of rupees; we spend Rs. 1000 per month per industrial worker for providing facilities in an urban area, but we are not prepared to spend money in order to provide facilities to this particular labourer in his own house. Therefore, I particularly plead that these people should find some financial support from the Government.

Then I come to unemployment, a problem that has been very much discussed in this House. I only fail to understand why the Central Government does not embark upon a policy on the model of the Maharashtra Government Employment Guarantee Scheme. The Maharashtra Government Employment Guarantee Scheme guarantees labour to every village where there are twenty persons available, and it all costs Rs. 80 crores to the Maharashtra Government with a population of 6 crores. In my own humble way I have calculated, the country would require Rs. 1200 crores if this scheme is extended to the whole country. If the Central Government thinks of providing 50 per cent of it as an incentive to all the States, a very serious problem in this country will have been solved though not as satisfactorily as we would have wished. But I feel that this should be done by the Central Government. If one desires these things to find their proper places and

[Dr. Lokesh Chandra] get their proper share in the Budget, then there will have to be a drastic orientation in the fiscal strategy and in the fiscal policy of the Government. Not only this what I feel is there will have to be proper selection of the fiscal tools and firm resolve on the part of the Government, a determination to implement with those fiscal tools the fiscal policy decided upon in the interest of the poor and without heeding or yielding to the pressures that come from the agricultural, political, industrial or, for that matter, any other corner in this country.

Then, mobilisation of resources is another very important problem, another very important issue. The Seventh Finance Commission has done very little to reward States which have been mobilising resources on their own. Financial discipline at the Centre and in the States requires enforcement. Lavish expenditure will have to be cut down. Taxation no doubt is an essential part of a fiscal policy, but the transfer of massive Government expenditure is very effective. The most important thing is the metro-section draws all its benefits from the massive expenditure. Therefore* Financial discipline is very important. Financial discipline is important not only in Government administrative expenditure it is also very important in the developmental expenditure. Much greater care will have to be taken to see that the money provided for development in this country is spent frugally and spent with the point of view that there would be the maximum return.

Then I talk about the organisational force which is at the lowest ebb and which will have to be improved and increased. It will have to show efficiency in the collection of taxes as well as in offering concessions to the poor, concessions that are offered by the Government, that are given by the Government. I propose certain things and I will finish within two minutes. I have three or four pro-

position^ to make to the Government. I propose that there has to be an expenditure tax in this country. I have read the Finance Minister's reply to the debate on the Budget the other day in the Lok Sabha where he said that it was very difficult to collect the expenditure tax that was proposed by the Kaldor Committee. For that matter, every tax is very difficult to collect. Every tax that the Government levies is very difficult to collect. But we have to see that the tax is collected; we have to see that collection of the expenditure tax become successful in this country, because that is the only way you can restrict the incomes of the people, that is the only way you can restrict the draining of the money to the parallel black economy in this country. We will have to go in for that.

Then, I do not know why all interest payments that are made by corporate bodies are not made taxable in this country. All such interest payments are made *on loan* which were taken in order to increase the profits of the corporate bodies. Therefore, I do not know why such interest payments should not be taxed. Then all subsidies should be in direct form. There should never be any subsidy in indirect form. This has been the method followed by the bureaucracy. I recommend that all subsidies should be direct. I do not know why this should not be done. I do not want to give the reasons. They may be interested in it. All subsidies in this country should be direct, if at all there are subsidies. And subsidies which do not benefit the weaker sections and the poor sections should be withdrawn immediately.

We have seen that the Finance Minister has done very little exercise in taxing regular deductions that go under financial assets, like those of the *LLC*. Provident Fund or small savings. He has just raised the percentage of taxation or increased the percentage of exemptions above certain levels. I do not understand why this should be done. In fact cer-

tain income like Rs. 30,000 or Rs. 35, 000 should be prescribed and every deduction above that which creates financial assets in this country should be taxed straightaway. This is how we can augment the income of the Government.

We have to find out many more methods. This is only one proposition. I have spelt out certain methods that have to be adopted in order to see that there is maximum produce from every unit of agriculture. That is why I have taken such a long time. It has pained me to read in the papers that there are two million hectares of arable land which has not been cultivated in Madhya Pradesh. Still the Budget is described as Kulak Budget, agriculturists' Budget, and so on. I only wish that the agricultural economy which is our main source and which is the backbone of the national economy of this country is made prosperous and gives its maximum return to the country.

SHRI BHAIKAB CHANDRA MAHANTI (Orissa): Sir, if the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister raised a storm in his reply to the Budget discussion in the Lok Sabha practically quelled that down. What is left is something like a hang-over.

The biggest political event that came about in the history of this country was the change-over from one Government to another. The Congress Government made way to the Janata Government. Every Government has its own plans and fiscal policies. The Congress had it and the Janata has it. The fact that has to be taken into consideration is whether all the planning of the Congress Government was wrong or whether it was perfect; and whether all the planning of the Janata Government is wrong or perfect. The planning of the Congress Government is not all

wrong. If the basic and key 4 P.M. industries and the big industrial projects had not been taken on hand, perhaps this country

would now have been under the Chinese occupation or the occupation of Pakistan. Taking into consideration the precepts of socialism and socialist approach in our country, one can say that planning in the country was wholly too correct which can only be borne by the fact, Sir, that within the period from 1963-64 to 1975-76, in this socialist country of ours, the Birlas have made assets worth from Rs. 282.9 crores to more than Rs. 1600 crores and the Tatas have made assets worth Rs. 974.6 crores from Rs. 335.2 crores and the Mahatlas have increased their assets from Rs. 39.5 crores to Rs. 284.3 crores. It goes on like this, Sir, and there are about 18 or 20 big industrial houses like these, the last one being the Kasturbhai Lalbhai group who have made assets worth Rs. 93 crores from Rs. 33.92 crores. And these figures speak their own story. Whether the planning of the present Government is going to be correct or otherwise, it is for the future to see. But the fact remains that, in this Budget, Sir, the Finance Minister has given a new thrust and the intention of the Government now is to invest more in the rural sector. After all, Sir, India lives in its lakhs and lakhs of villages and 85 to 90 per cent of India's population lives in the countryside. It has to be admitted that in spite of all that has been done in the past, in spite of the good work that has been done in the past, the rural sector of the country, the rural folk of the country, have not been properly looked after so much so that the people living below the poverty line, who are now about 60 to 70 per cent in the country, go without any education. Not only that. The maladjustment has been so bad that on the one side you see skyscrapers rising their heads every day in this capital city of our country, Delhi, and, on the other side there are people who are passing their days and nights under the trees or on the pavements in the cities of Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and places like that. On the one side, you find 5-star hotels like the Ashokas, the Akbars and the

[Shri Bhairab Chandra Mahanti]

Oberoi Internationals and, on the other side, you find every day at your doors emaciated human figures with torn and tattered rags asking for a morsel of food from you. On the one side, you find parents like me doing their very best to see that their children get the best of education that this country could provide them in the public schools and, on the other side, you find tiny-tots, who should have been in the nursery schools and the kindergarten schools, running after you in the streets, in the market places and at the railway platforms, for a 5P coin. This is the position today and this is what is sought to be redressed. Not only that. Everybody talks in terms of socialism, in terms of the weaker sections of the society, in terms of the oppressed classes, and so on. But when it comes to the question of taking action, I am reminded of the famous couplet written by Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore in which he says:

"Kerosine bati kahe matir pra-deepe.
Dade bole dako yadi gola deva tipe. E-
Samaye gaganete ut-hileve chanda.
Kerosine bati Kahe esho mor dada".

Sir, the English rendering of this will be like this:

"The kerosene lamp tells the wick in the earthen lamp: 'If you address me as your elder brother, I will throttle you by the neck' At this moment, on the horizon there appeared the moon and the kerosene lamp tells: 'Oh, come! my dear brother.'"

This is our socialism. Everyone of us wants to rub his shoulders with the one who is higher up and not with the one who is below us. This is the situation, Sir. Some people call this Budget presented by the Finance Minister as the anti-people's budget. And some say that it is the poorman's Budget or the people's Budget. But the fact remains that it has paid a little more attention to the

village folk. This cannot be disowned nor can it be refuted. As I said earlier, Sir, the result is in the future. If anybody has the greatest stake, it is the Finance Minister himself.

Sir, as I have earlier referred to it, I am proud of the big achievement that has taken place in this country. I have, in this connection, no hesitation to say, let the critics of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remember that it takes centuries for a Jawaharlal Nehru to take birth. But critics of Jawaharlal Nehru are born everyday, every minute and everywhere. What Jawaharlal Nehru has done for this country nobody else, within the foreseeable future, can perhaps do. But let me also say that because of small maladjustment and imbalance, certain things have happened and the attention that is due to the peasants and the people in villages has not been paid so far. Let us atone for what we have done in the past. And if we realise this, then only we can do what should be done. Mistakes are committed; human error is there; and man is to commit errors. But greatness lies in realising the mistake and in trying to reform and rectify it.

Sir, having said this on general things, I would be failing in my duty if I don't say something about the under-developed State of Orissa, the State from which I come. Sir, on a previous occasion, while taking part in the discussion on the General Budget, I had pointed out in the House as to how the Eastern zone of this country, comprising of the States of Arunachal, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and which, because of its mineral, forest and other resources keeps the wheels of the nation moving, had been completely neglected all these years. Sir, the Seventh Finance Commission has done some justice to all other States except my State, that is, Orissa. The Central allocation of Plan assistance is made under what is known as the Gadgil formula. And this Gadgil formula might have done good to many other

States but, unfortunately, it has all along been most unfavourable to Orissa.

The Central assistance under the* Gadgil formula went down from 66 per cent in the Third Plan to 62 per cent in the Fourth Plan and to 52 per cent in the Fifth Plan. This treatment was meted out to a State which has 10 per cent of water resources and one-third of the country's total resources of iron, 40 per cent of manganese and inexhaustible reserves of bauxite, dolomite, coal and mineral sands. As a result, only one-tenth of the water resource has been harnessed so far, only 18 per cent of the accessible land is irrigated and only 28 per cent of the villages are electrified. The other natural and mineral resources virtually go untapped.

Now, the Finance Minister in his Budget Speech has said, "the objective of eradicating poverty and unemployment is basic to our new

development strategy. This calls for a radical restructuring of the priorities of our plan, eradicating "poverty". There can be no two opinions on this. Of all the States in the country, Orissa is the poorest. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the Young India, on 13 November 1924, said: "Orissa haunts me in my working hours and in my dreams. Whatever can be useful to those starving millions is beautiful to my mind." My friend quoted the paragraph from Mahatma Gandhi, which is known as the talisman. Mahatma Gandhi also wrote on 14 February, 1929. He was actually addressing a gathering of Sindhi students. He said: "As students of economics you ought to know that the fees that you pay do not cover even a fraction of the amount that is spent on your education from the public exchequer. Has it ever occurred to you my fine young men, as to where from the rest of the money comes from. It comes from the pockets of the poor, the living skeletons of Orissa, who go about with lack-

lustre eyes and despair written on their face and a gnawing hunger in their stomach from year's end to year's end, eking out their existence on a handful of rotten rice and a pinch of dirty salt flung at them by the insulting munificence of the rich Gujaratis and Marwaris. What have you done for these brethren of yours?" I ask every one here and the Finance Minister "what are you going to do for these starving emaciated millions of people of Orissa?" On a comparative basis the position of Orissa virtually remains the same today as what was stated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1924 and 1929. 41 per cent of the total population there live below the poverty line.

Sir, Orissa has a population of 220 millions out of whom a vast majority drag their existence in utter poverty and are denied the minimum social services. We talk of uplifting the scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and of removing regional imbalances. Here is a State where every fourth man is a tribal and every seventh a Harijan. In figures nearly 50 lakhs are tribals and 33 lakhs Harijans out of a total population of 220 lakhs, which together works out to 38 per cent of the total population of the State. Percentage-wise, Sir, in Kerala there are 61.7 per cent and in Orissa 61.7 per cent people who are below the poverty line. All the other States are much better off.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): How much are they better off?

SHRI BHAIKAB CHANDRA MAHANTI:
In case of Andhra Pra-

[desh, it is 50.1 per cent; in Assam, the percentage is 20.8; for Bihar, it is 44.0; for Gujarat, it is 48.2; for Haryana, it is 25.9; for Jammu and Kashmir, it is 32.6; for Madhya Pradesh, it is 47.6; for Madras, it is 52.1; for Maharashtra, it is 46.1; for Mysore, it is 49.6; for Punjab, it is 27.6; for

[Shri Bhairab Chandra Mahanti]

Rajasthan, it is 36.0; for Uttar Pradesh it is 44.4; for West Bengal, it is 47.7 and for Union Territories, the percentage is 30.2, and the All-India percentage is 45.6. Now, the tragedy is, where education is the maximum i.e. in Kerala where education is the minimum, i.e. in Orissa, there is the highest percentage of people living below poverty line. Even then, there has been no slackening of effort on the part of the Government of Orissa at raising financial resources for development. Orissa's achievement in the matter of mobilisation of additional resources has been next only to the very affluent States like Gujarat, Karnataka and Maharashtra. And yet the 7th Finance Commission to whom we in Orissa were looking forward with great hopes have dealt the heaviest blow.

Under the 7th Finance Commission Award, the rich States become richer, the poor State poorer. The Award gives the largest quantum of surplus of Rs. 3,500 crores to affluent States like Maharashtra and the highest per capita surplus of Rs. 676 goes to another affluent State, Haryana, whereas the less developed and the poorest of the States, Orissa, gets only a grant-in-aid to attain a position of zero surplus.

The large surpluses left with all other States except Orissa as a result of the Finance Commission Award will be utilised by them for Plan investment. Only Orissa cannot do so because she has no surplus.

What is most amazing and illogical is that although the 7th Finance Commission for the purpose of grant-in-aid have grouped Orissa with 7 other States, namely, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Sikkim, Tripura and Assam, which has a revenue surplus of Rs. 86.92 lakhs, they have excluded only Orissa and have grouped together the other 7 States mentioned above as Special Category States to be given accelerated Cen-

tral assistance for development. In the Sixth Plan, these 7 States are being financed to such an extent so that they may reach a per capita Plan outlay of Rs. 1,019.

Because of the unfair deal proposed by the 7th Finance Commission, Orissa's plan outlay under the Gadgil formula now in force will sink to Rs. 389 per capita whereas the per capita average of all the other States will be Rs. 680, and the average of affluent States will be over Rs. 1,000. Under this formula, for every rupee of State resources, while all other States get Central transfer varying from Rs. 2.77 to Re. 0.63, Orissa gets only Re. 0.86.

Sir, I do not wish to take more time of the House but would very earnestly plead with the Finance Minister to provide some more funds under Central Assistance and include Orissa under Special Category States so that assistance to be given to Orissa will not in any way affect the interests of other States. Thank you.

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Minister of Finance claims that the performance of the Indian economy during the current year is a matter of great satisfaction. Agricultural production has been attributed more to the greater investment by the farmers, adopting new practices and techniques and growing two crops in place of one, which means doubling the agricultural production. But this is not a fact. The production has no doubt been great, but not as great as claimed by the Finance Minister. It should not be forgotten that it has not as yet reached 125 million tonnes which was the target at the end of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

In spite of tall claims of increased area under irrigation there are States where the irrigated area remains less than 10 per cent of the total cultivated area. It is tragic to think that a large potential of Irrigation

resources has remained untapped so far. For example, there is the delay in the implementation of the Nar-mada and the Rajasthan Canal projects. Unless we provide for irrigation, adoption of new techniques and the use of chemical fertilisers are exercises in futility.

Our country is not a mere country, but a continent with all types of climates and consisting of more than 5 lakhs of villages where ~80 per cent of India's population lives. Sitting at Delhi or Lucknow or Bombay, it is not easy to imagine the condition of millions of people living in the rural areas. During the last 30 years or more, successive Governments, whether in the Central or the States, sometimes headed by the present Finance Minister, have been clamouring for decentralisation of powers. It was expected of the Finance Minister that he would, with his tall talk of rural development and eradicating poverty will take at least some steps in that direction. But no mention of it is found in the Budget literature. One cannot hope to rebuild India without decentralisation of power at the village level. The Father of the Nation thought of it more than six decades back and it was naturally expected of the present Finance Minister, who claims to be a Gandhi-ite, to make a beginning in this direction.

The same old structure has been retained and the entire developmental activities are entrusted to the Government servants who are not responsible to the people they are expected to serve. The villager is at the mercy of these officials. Nothing gets done without greasing the palm of the Government servants. It is strange that no word has been found in the entire Budget against corruption which is eating into the vitals of our country.

Sir, there is a deficit of Rs. 1355 crores after imposing a taxation of the order of Rs. 620 crores. In no year in the history of our country, was so much tax levied and so much deficit left. There is a danger of inflation. It may be that with the huge stock of foodgrains and the foreign exchange reserves, the deficit financing would not cause much inflation. But for how long? Already, there is blackmarket in cement, steel and vanaspati, and other essential commodities, and it is unwise to depend upon larger imports. It is high time that deficit financing be gradually given up.

Public sector undertakings with an investment of more than Rs. 2,000 crores are yielding poor results. It is time that the matter be gone into in depth and steps be taken to improve their functioning. There is no reason why the production of steel cannot be increased by two million tonnes. A large amount of potential is lying unutilised.

The concession given in the Budget for long-term capital gains has been withdrawn. It has been touched upon by Mr. Gadgil already. This will again encourage payment of part price under the table and generate black money. The withdrawal of this concession will kill the purpose for which it was given. The Minister will do well to think over it again. It is proposed to levy a tax on the gross receipts of hotels. The Minister may consider to exempt hotels in backward areas from this tax.

I belong to Jammu and Kashmir State. This is one of the backward States of the country. I do not think the budget gives any relief to our people. Two years back, for the first time since independence, a popular Government headed by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the most be-

[Shri Tirath Ram Amla] loved leader of the people, came into power as a result of the Kashmir accord. The demand for plebiscite has finally been buried. Peoples' minds are settled and the State has embarked on the path of progress. Steps are being taken to encourage the entrepreneurs to put up industries. Hydro-electric and thermal power projects are being taken in hand. New markets are being explored for the handicrafts and horticulture products. All round progress is being made. Our State has been the most peaceful State in the country since Sheikh Sahib came in power.

All this was not liked by those who are jealous of Sheikh Sahib's popularity and achievements. Maharaja Karan Singh is the foremost amongst them. They were on the look out for some cause to disrupt all this peace and progress and create conditions of law and order in the State.

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): Is he still Maharaja?

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA: He calls himself "Maharaja". He takes pride in it.

It was their wishful thinking that by doing so they could remove the democratically established Government.

Taking advantage of the students' agitation over the appointment of some school teachers in Poonch, a small border town in Jammu, the Maharaja who is well known since long for his views for separating Jammu and Kashmir so that he could establish his leadership in Jammu, instigated and financed students to indulge in violence and made a demand for setting up a Commission of Inquiry to go into the matter of regional imbalances.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Mr. Amla, because the so-called Maharaja is not present in this House and he is a Member of the other House it will be better to avoid his name.

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA: He calls himself Maharaja and takes pride in it.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): No, no, because he is the Member of the other House I would like you not to mention his name.

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA: The Sheikh was never against such a demand if made in a democratic and peaceful way. While he did not like was that the youth were encouraged to create chaos and destroy valuable public property. He gave the impression to the agitators that the agitation of the gentleman whose name I have already referred to here had the blessings of the Central Government which was very unfortunate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): You cannot say that some forces were behind them. Do not take the name of a Member of the House.

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA: It is fortunate that, before it was too late, the hon. Home Minister visited Jammu and removed this impression. Our State is a very sensitive border State. The Centre has to be very vigilant. Any wrong thing done in Jammu can have serious repercussions in Kashmir Valley and create problems for the State administration.

Sheikh Sahib has never said that there would not be imbalances. There might be some imbalances but these could not be his doings. These could be the legacy of the past when the gentleman referred to himself was at the helm of affairs either as a Sadr-i-Riyasat or as a Minister at the Centre. At that time he did not think of the welfare of the people of Jammu or Ladakh. All that he was concerned about was to secure his property and wealth. Being in the know of the Government policies as Central Minister, he has been disposing of his properties before promulgation of such ceiling laws. Sheikh Sahib conceded the demands of the action

committee and the committee announced the withdrawal of the agitation. Since the gentleman was not associated with the settlement talks...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN): Mr. Amla, by the way, how is it relevant to the general budget?

SHRI TIRATH RAM AMLA: It is very important. It pertains to my State.

... he is still instigating the students to keep the agitation on. He is instigating Kushak Bakula also to start agitation in Ladakh and writes statements for him. Our problem in the State is not the problem of autonomy for Kashmir, Jammu or Ladakh. Our problem is the eradication of poverty, unemployment and disease. Kashmir is situated over 300 kilometres away from the railhead. No heavy industry can be put up there. Due to the cold climate, only one crop can be grown in a year. It is the handicrafts which can give some employment to the people. The Central Government has put up some centres for imparting training in carpet-making. This needs to be done in a big way.

Kashmir is a paradise on earth. It is a place of great attraction for tourists. Tourism can be the biggest industry. The Centre can help a good deal in this respect. There was a move to make Srinagar Airport an international airport. This needs to be expedited. The Centre can open a training college for Hotel Management and Catering. An industry based on horticulture has a big scope. Kashmir is known for its fruits. It is good that Ladakh has been opened to international tourists. Facilities such as frequent air services and hotel accommodation have to be provided. Jammu has a great potential for hydro-electricity, handloom and khadi.

The hopes created by the Janata Party two years back are fast receding. Leave aside unemployment and

corruption which are on the increase, what about the deteriorating law and order situation? Highway robberies, dacoities and murders are on the increase and when one reads the morning newspapers, half a dozen of such tragedies are reported in the Delhi city alone and no effective steps have been taken to reduce them and bring the offenders to book. The Minister claims that the Budget would benefit the poor and that he had been careful enough to lay burden upon the upper classes. The only luxury in which the poor in India indulge in, is smoking *hukka* and bidi or chewing tobacco. Even these have been taxed. Take the case of the matchbox. Is there any person in this country, however poor he may be who does not use matches? Even taxes on laundry soaps and low-priced toilet soaps have been increased. Tax on kerosene, petrol and high-speed diesel has been increased. This will certainly hit hard the kisan and the middle class man. According to the Minister, toothpastes and tooth brushes are luxuries. He has taxed items of everyday use among the lower middle classes. The Minister claims that he has avoided imposing any further burden on articles of mass consumption. The Minister is very much behind time if he thinks that the above-taxed items are not used by the common man. This betrays his ignorance about the living standards of the people.

I wonder if the claim of sparing the poor from imposing extra burden in the present Budget can hold water even for a second. (*Time bell rings*). I am finishing in one minute, Sir. The Minister is a past master in propaganda and making false claims. He thinks he can confuse issues and bamboozle people with the claim of helping the kisans. He has laid extra burden upon them and yet says that the Budget is kisan-oriented.

In short, the Budget is a budget of taxes which gives no hope to the poor. The concession in the excise duty upon fertilisers may help the big

[Shri Tirath Ram Amla]

farmers in the irrigated areas. But what about the small farmers who constitute more than two-thirds of the rural population? There is no mention of pesticides which are so essential for horticulture and which are used by the big as well as the small farmers. The Budget is disappointing and will increase disparities. If income and the poor shall become poorer. Thank you, Sir,

श्री लाडली मोहन निगम (मध्य प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष, महोदय, मैं इस आर्थिक मसूवे का समर्थन करता हूँ लेकिन इस के साथ ही साथ कुछ चीजों की तरफ मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री जी का और सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों का ध्यान आर्पित करना चाहता हूँ, जिन के चलते हिन्दुस्तान में आज भी कोई बहुत मौलिक बुनियादी आर्थिक परिवर्तन नहीं हो पा रहा है। आज भी बजट बनाने की दृष्टि हम लोगों की वही साम्राज्यवादी दृष्टि है। मुझे तो कभी कभी अपने मुल्क के प्रजातंत्र के ढाँचे पर भी शक होने लगता है। आज जमहूरियत में, संसदीय कहिये या जनाधिकार कहिये, जनमत सर्वोपरि है, लेकिन जब कभी इस देश की राजधानी की जो गव ने खूबसूरत सड़क है उस पर खड़े हो कर मैं अपने देश को देखने की कोशिश करता हूँ तो एक अजीब किस्म की कचोट अपने दिल में पाता हूँ। उसमें सब से ऊपर देश का सदर रहता है, जैसे पहले किसी जमाने में कबीलों के सदर रहा करते थे। किसी एक ऊँचे टीले पर। उस के नीचे बने हुए हैं हिन्दुस्तान के दो बाजू, जिन को माउथ ब्लाक और नार्थ ब्लाक कहते हैं और जो नौकरशाही का प्रतीक है। जो राज-काज चलाते हैं और उन के चरणों में सब से नीचे बैठे हुए हैं हम अपने संसद् भवन में। इस को देख कर हिन्दुस्तान की दृष्टि का पता लगता है कि कौन सर्वोपरि है और किस को

महैनजर रख कर चीजें बनायी जाती हैं। आज भी इस सारे बजट में जो आंकड़े वाली बातें हैं या उन के साथ जुड़ी हुई जो चीजें हैं उन पर मैं बहस नहीं कर रहा हूँ, मैं तो कुछ बुनियादी प्रश्नों पर छेड़खानी करना चाहता हूँ। मिमाल के लिए आज भी हमारी दृष्टि वही बनी हुई है कि जिस में जितना हमारा वग है, जहाँ राजा वग रहता है या वह सड़कें जो हिन्दुस्तान की सम्पन्नता का प्रतीक बन चुकी हैं उस की मुख सुविधा को ध्यान में रख कर ही बजट बनाया जाता है। नहीं तो कोई बजट नहीं थी कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो सर्वोच्च पैसे वाले लोग हैं उनके साथ छेड़खानी क्यों नहीं की जाती। उन लोगों के साथ जो पेंशन के प्रतीक बन चुके हैं, कुछ नहीं किया गया, उन पर हाथ नहीं डाला गया। एक उदाहरण दे कर मैं अपनी बात साफ कर सकूँगा। दिल्ली की परिसीमा 450 वर्गमील होगी। औसतन 45 लाख लोग यहाँ रहते होंगे। लेकिन जब उस के विकास की योजनाओं को देखते हैं और दूसरी तरफ निगाह डाल कर बजट के पन्नों में छिपी आंकड़ों की जगलरी को देखने की कोशिश करते हैं तो पता चलता है कि दिल्ली के विकास के लिए इस साल के मसूवे में 108 करोड़ का प्राविजन है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही एक मध्य प्रदेश का इलाका है जिस की घरती की परिसीमा के लिहाज से वह करीब 1 लाख 80 हजार वर्ग मील का इलाका है। एरिया में और उस की आबादी 5 करोड़ के लगभग होगी और उस के विकास पर 413 करोड़ रुपये का प्राविजन है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही और अन्दर जा कर देखने की कोशिश करें तो एक नयी चीज का पता चलता है कि केन्द्र की सरकार और उस के साथ ही जो यहाँ का एक दिल्ली विकास प्राधिकरण है, इन दोनों की रकम को जोड़ दें जो कि यहाँ के विकास के लिये

जो रकम निरत की गयी है, विकास प्राधिकरण की योजना 208 करोड़ रुपये की है और आप को ताज्जुब होगा कि इस 45 वर्ग मील के विकास के लिए इस प्रकार करीब 358 करोड़ रुपये खर्चा गया है और 1 लाख 80 हजार वर्गमील के इलाके के लिए 413 करोड़ रुपये खर्चा गया है। यह आप की दृष्टि का सन्तुलन है। मैं इस चीज को इस वास्ते कह रहा हूँ कि जब तक बजट बनाने के बारे में हमारी बुनियादी नीति, हमारा दिमाग नहीं बदलता तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता। यह जितने संकल्प बनने हैं, ईमानदारी से आप अपने गिरह्वान में मुंह डाल कर देखें, अगर आप नार्थ ब्याक के किसी बड़े अफसर से पूछें तो वह यही कहेगा कि यह सब लोगों को बनाने के लिए बढ़ा कर संकल्प बन रहे हैं। आज तक कोई भी बजट किसी भी साल का, जब से बजट बनाने की परम्परा शुरू हुई है, उस का कोई भी मंत्रा यथार्थ के साथ मेल नहीं खाता और किसी साल के आखिर में अगर आप मिला कर देखें कि जो उस के मंजूर हैं और जो काम हुआ है उन में कितनी संगति है या उस में कितनी उल्लिखि हुई है तो इस बात को पकड़ा जा सकता है। जहाँ बजट पास हो जाता है, विभागीय सीते में सीता मिला कर बजट पास होता है और उस तरह से सारा बजट पास होने के बाद मदन उस पर मुहर लगा देता है, और उस के बाद फिर अगर कोई विभाग अपने मंजूरों को पूरा करने की कोशिश करता है तो उसके बाद फिर उसे वित्त मंत्रालय के पास जाता पड़ता है। क्यों जाता पड़ता है। मैंने इस बात को जानने की कोशिश की, तो मेरी जो सूचना है उस के लिहाज से जो बजट बनाया जाता है वह सब कार्यान्वित होता है और आंकड़े कहना चाहिए, कुछ लोगों को लुभाते के लिहाज

से बनाये जाते हैं। यथार्थ उस से अलग होता है और इस वास्ते जरूरी होता है कि जो संकल्प यहां पास हो जाये, जिस जिस विभाग का, वह फिर दुबारा वित्त मंत्री या वजीरे खजाना के अहलकारों के बीच में जाये और उन की कदमबोशी करे इस लिए कि कुछ मिल जाये।

मैं जो कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या ऐसा कुछ नहीं हो सकता है यदि बजट पास हो जाता है मान लीजिए, हम लोग मार्च के महीने में बजट पास करते हैं, अप्रैल और मई का महीना लगा देना चाहिए योजनाएं बनाने में और इन दो महीने के अन्दर पूरे संकल्प जो पास हुए हैं उनकी योजनाएं बनायें। अगर वित्त मंत्रालय उन योजनाओं के जून के महीने तक सेशन नहीं देता है या हरी झंडी नहीं देता तो उसके बाद वह भी अपने आप में खुद मुख्तयार होंगे। बजट का प्रावधान वे स्वयं करें। होता यह है कि तीन महीने बजट पास होने के बाद लग जायेंगे। जुलाई अगस्त के बाद वित्त विभाग के पास, चूंकि तीन चार महीने वह निकाल देंगे और जब असली काम करने का मांका होता है तब जाकर, आपको ताज्जुब होगा कि हटाई मतली है कि कैसे संकल्पों को पूरा करें। जो बजट पर अमल भी हो रहा है उसका आखिरी और अंतिम फायदा उसी वर्ग को मिलता है जो वर्ग कुंडली मारकर दामों पर बैठा हुआ है। यह पहला मोका है कोशिश की गई है कि मड़कों से हटाकर देहातों की धूल पर। मड़क पर हम चले लेकिन एक मिमाल में देता है। हमने तम्बाकू पर छूट दो है। गरीब आदमी तम्बाकू खाता है। 124 करोड़ रुपये तम्बाकू में से ऐकमाइज ड्यूटी कम कर हम राहत दिलाना चाहते हैं। मुझे शक है कि क्या 124 करोड़ रुपये तम्बाकू खाने वालों को मिलेगा या नहीं। मान लीजिए तम्बाकू में आप ने छूट दी, तम्बाकू की खेती कितने आदमी करते हैं? 10—11 लाख करते हैं। 124 करोड़ रुपये की छूट आपने तम्बाकू के दूसरे माधनों से तैयार

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

हुए माल, बीड़ी या दूसरी चीजों को जो सबसे गरीब आदमी इसे इस्तेमाल करता है। इसका कितना महत्व है। लोग मांस से चन्द्रमा पर पहुंचने में सफल हो चुके हैं, लेकिन कोई मर्दान ऐसी नहीं बना जो बीड़ी बना सके। हिन्दुस्तान में यह बैलगाड़ियों के बाद सबसे ज्यादा लोगों को रोजगार देती है रोजगार पाने वाले बीड़ी उद्योग में करीब करीब चार करोड़ हैं। न इसने मतदूरों को फायदा होगा; न बीड़ी का जो उपयोग करता है उसको होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने संकल्प में कहा है कि करीब 119 करोड़ रुपये की आमदनी तम्बाकू की बनी हुई चीजों से होगी जिसमें हुक के का तम्बाकू जुड़ा हुआ है जो 134 करोड़ रुपये कम होगा, उसमें से 119 करोड़ रुपये आ जाएगा, लेकिन जो 5 करोड़ रुपये हिन्दुस्तान के खजाने को चोट लगी वह किमको मिलेगी। हिन्दुस्तान के तम्बाकू के व्यापार में 80-85 घरेलू हैं 5 करोड़ का फायदा उन्हीं विचालियों को होता है, चाहे रघुनाथ रेड्डी रखिए, रघुमिया रखिए, कुछ रखिए उन्हीं को यह मिलने वाला है।

इसी के साथ मुझे खुशी होती है यदि इस संकल्प के साथ कुछ उसमें असमानता दूर करने की कोशिश आप करते। इस बारे में जो बीज बोया है, फल जायद उसका दो तीन वर्षों में मिले। पता नहीं वही रफ्तार रहेगा कि नहीं। संकल्पों के लिए जो हमने प्रावधान रखा है जैसा कि हमने वित्त कमीशन से कहा, करीब करीब उन्हीं अन्दाजा लगाया है कि छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना में चार हजार करोड़ रुपये राज्य सरकारों को अपने आंतरिक साधनों को जुटाकर योजनाओं को सफली भूत करना है। दो वर्ष हो गये। आप उससे दो हजार करोड़ रुपये भी नहीं निकाल पाए। पिछले तीन वर्षों के अन्दर 145 करोड़ रुपये और पिछले साल सिर्फ 76 करोड़ रुपये राज्य सरकारों ने अपने आंतरिक साधनों से जुटाये हैं

केन्द्र ने देश के विकास को दृष्टि में रखते हुए दो हजार करोड़ रुपये केन्द्र की परियोजनाओं की संख्याओं में कटौती करके इकट्ठा किया है ताकि राज्यों को वित्तीय साधन मिल सकें। लेकिन फिर एक आशंका है। विकास के नाम पर जो कटौती की गई है, तथा यह घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का बजट चलते चलते जो रुपया रह जायेगा वह कोई महत्वपूर्ण नहीं होगा। उसको पूरा करने में लग जायेगा।

अभी इसी महीने पांच राज्यों ने जब अपने बजट पास किए। इनमें जो मुश्किल से 145 करोड़ रुपये के साधन जुटाने की बात है। तो मुझे जो आशंका है, जो विकास कार्यों के लिए काम हो सकता है, जिस तरह की व्यवस्था हम चला रहे हैं, इन क्षेत्रों के जरिए घाटे के बजट की पूर्ति हम नहीं कर सकेंगे। जहां तक टैक्स का सवाल है कि किस पर लगाना है और किस पर नहीं लगाना है यह बात अलग है। सभी सदस्यों ने कहा है कि हर गरीब आदमी छोटे से लेकर बड़े तक इन टैक्सों से पीड़ित होगा और मैं कहता हूँ कि इसे हाना पड़ेगा अगर हम को कुछ देश में समानता लानी है, बराबरी लानी है। अगर लोगों के जीवन में तबदीली लानी है तो टैक्स भार उठाना पड़ेगा और मार कर उठाना पड़ेगा। मुझे सिर्फ तक लोफ इस बात पर होती है कि जो कोओपरेटिव सेंक्टर हैं उसको न ही छेड़ा गया। आप ऐसी कोई व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं करते कि देश में वह आदमी जो इनकम टैक्स को किसी तरह से चोरी करता है उसकी सारी सम्पत्ति जप्त करने का कानून बन जाए। फिर आप देखेंगे कि कहां चोरी होती है। मैं और चीजों पर नहीं जाऊंगा लेकिन इतना जरूर कहूंगा कि जो इनकम टैक्स की बकाया रकम है वह वसूल क्यों नहीं होती। आपको इस में कुछ करना चाहिए। मैं इसकी वसूली के लिए एक चीज कहना चाहता हूँ। हमने अपने घोषणा पत्र में संकल्प लिया है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान से विलासता को दूर करेंगे, बराबरी लायेंगे और कम से कम प्राथमिक शिक्षा सबको देंगे और पब्लिक स्कूल खतम करेंगे, पर नहीं

हुए इस के लिए मेरा एक सुझाव है कि हिन्दुस्तान में पब्लिक स्कूल खत्म नहीं कर पा रहे हैं न सही लेकिन यह संकल्प और मन तो दिखाइये कि हर लड़का जो पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़ता है उसका बाप कितनी उसकी फीस है उसका 50 फीसदो पैसा उसकी शिक्षा के लिए एक तरीके से टैक्स कहिए या लेवी कहिए उस को देना पड़ेगा। इसी तरह से दूसरी चीजें भी हो सकती हैं।

यह जो आधुनिक उद्योग को चीजें हैं जैसे माटर कार या रेफ्रिजरेटर आदि, मैं नहीं कहता कि इस्तेमाल न करें, जरूर करें, हम सबको नहीं दे सकते लेकिन इतना तो कर सकते हैं कि जो लोग इस्तेमाल करते हैं उन से उपभोग टैक्स के रूप में कुछ लेना चाहिए। आपको ऐसा कानून बनाना चाहिए कि जो ये चीजे इस्तेमाल करे वह उपभोग टैक्स दे।

आजादी के बाद आपको ताज्जुब होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में पहले 300—400 किस्म का कपड़ा बनता था और आज 4000 किस्म का कपड़ा बनता है। शैतान की आंखों की तरह हमारी मांगें, हमारी लालच का दायरा बढ़ता ही जा रहा है। आज इन पर कोई रोक नहीं है और कुछ नहीं तो कम से कम इतना तो कर सकते हैं कि 11 रुपए से ऊपर का कपड़ा बाजार में खपत के लिए आए, तो उस पर 20—25 परसेंट एक्स्ट्रा टैक्स लगाया जाए वह परचेज टैक्स नहीं होगा, सेल्स टैक्स नहीं होगा, उपभोक्ता कर होगा मैं समझता हूँ कि 300 करोड़ मीटर कपड़ा जो फैशन और विलासिता का बनता है इस पर कुछ टैक्स लगा दिया जाए तो 800—900 करोड़ रुपया प्राप्त हो सकता है इतने रुपए की पूर्ति हो सकती है यह मैंने एक छोटा सा सुझाव दिया। गांव की बहुत सी चीजें हैं अगर उनकी बात कहने लगूंगा तो बहुत समय लग जाएगा लेकिन एक चीज कह कर मैं खत्म करूंगा कि आज एक मन

चाहिए हम सब लोग ग्राम उद्योग की बातें करते हैं क्यों नहीं हम इन उद्योगों को खड़े कर सकते हैं। एक कुटीर उद्योग का बना हुआ साबुन, हेमामालिनी की तस्वीर के साथ, छापकर बिकने वाले लेक्स साबुन के मुकाबले खड़ा हो सकता है। हम लोगों के जमाने में नरगिस की तस्वीर छाप कर साबुन को बेचा जाता था लेकिन आज हेमा मालिनी की तस्वीर छाप साबुन बेचा जाता है। गांधी जी की तस्वीर के साथ साबुन को छाप कर बेचना चाहेंगे तो क्या बेच सकेंगे। सवाल यह है कि हम को कहीं न कहीं कुछ नये तरीके से सोचना होगा और सोच कर काम शुरू करना होगा।

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

एक छोटा सा सुझाव मैं देना चाहता हूँ जिस तरीके से इन्कम टैक्स में खर्च के बारे में छूट दी गई उसमें कुछ और चीजें जोड़ दी जाती हैं, जैसे लाइफ इश्योरेंस स्कीम है इससे इन्कम टैक्स में रिबेट मिलती है उसी तरह से और भी काम करने चाहिए। एक काम आप कर डालिए कि जो आदमी 2 हजार रुपए का साल में या अपने सम्पूर्ण खर्च का 1/10 हिस्सा ग्राम उद्योग से या सरकार द्वारा मान्यता प्राप्त या राज्य सरकार द्वारा चालित दुकानों से सौदा खरीदेगा और उसकी रसीद लगा कर अपने इन्कम टैक्स रिटर्न में दे देता है तो उसको रिबेट मिल जानी चाहिए। खाली यह तरीका हो सकता है ग्राम उद्योग द्वारा बनी चीजों की खपत का। नहीं तो हम आधुनिक उपभोक्ता की खपत की संस्कृति पर रोक नहीं लगा सकते।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बहुत अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि टैक्स लगाये और लगाना पड़ेगा इस देश का अत्योदय अगर हम को करना है। जिन्होंने 30 वर्ष तक मौज-मस्ती मारी है उन पर चोट करनी पड़ेगी। उन पर किसी तरह का शर्म करने का या नादिम होने का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता। मैं यह डंके

[श्री लाडली मोहन निगम]

की चोट पर कहता हूँ कि इस देश में दो हजार वर्ष तक भी पुराना हल चल रहा है तो कुछ नहीं होने वाला है। जब तक उसमें माकूल परिवर्तन नहीं करते, तब तक टेक्स पर टैक्स लगते ही चले जायेंगे। हिन्दुस्तान का वह दिमाग जो ट्रेक्टरों के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है उसको हल और ट्रेक्टर के बीच में कोई न कोई रास्ता सोचना होगा, कोई न कोई रास्ता निकालना होगा।

इसी तरह से, यह ठीक है कि आप गांवों के विकास के बारे में सोच रहे हैं। मैं भी इस बारे में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता था, लेकिन चूंकि आपकी घंटी फिर बज जाएगी, इसलिए इस संबंध में ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। सिर्फ इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ संकल्प और मन लेकर आप जिस नई दिशा की तरफ चल रहे हैं या चलने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उसके बारे में आप सब संभावनाओं को देखें और उसके प्रति आपने जो इरादा और संकल्प कर रखा है उसके रास्ते में कोई अवरोध उत्पन्न न हो जाय, इसका आप ध्यान रखें। जहां तक दामों का सवाल है, खेतों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दामों और कारखानों के दामों में कोई समन्वय नहीं हो पा रहा है। यह कहा जाता है कि चीजों के दाम सिर्फ एक परसेंट या दो परसेंट बढ़ेंगे, लेकिन कहीं कहीं तो चीजों के दाम 10 परसेंट तक बढ़ गये और बाजार में चीजों के दाम 30 या 35 परसेंट तक बढ़ गये हैं। आज तो इस सरकार के उद्योग मंत्री ने स्वयं कहा है कि चीजों के दाम अन्वाधुनिक बढ़ रहे हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इन बातों की जिम्मेदारी किस की है? हमारे पास तो कोई मशीनरी नहीं है। मशीनरी तो राष्ट्रपति जी के पास है। उनके नीचे जो लोग बैठे हुए हैं उनके पास सारी मशीनरी है। उनके सबसे नीचे तो हम लोग बैठे हैं, लेकिन हमारी आवाज कौन सुनेगा। शायद

हिन्दुस्तान के प्रजातंत्र में अन्त्योदय और गांधीवाद की दिशा में बढ़ने का वह सब से बड़ा दिन होगा जिस दिन संसद इस देश में सबसे ऊपर होगी और ये नार्थ-साउथ ब्लॉक्स उसके दायें-बायें या उसके नीचे होंगे। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक सपना है, एक कल्पना है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जिस सपने को साकार रूप में उतारना चाहते हैं उसमें कम से कम वे मिट्टी के तेल की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की कृपा करें और इस पर लगाये गये टैक्सों को कम करें। मैं बिजली के लट्टू दिलाने की संभावना की बात नहीं करता। इस संबंध में मुझे एक घटना याद आती है। मैं चुनाव के सिलसिले में बिहार प्रदेश में घूम रहा था। मैं ने सड़क पर चलते एक आदमी से पूछा कि तुम्हारी जिन्दगी में सबसे बड़ा सपना क्या है? उसभापति महोदय, आपको उसकी बात सुन कर ताज्जुब होगा। जब हिन्दुस्तान के प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री से पूछा गया कि आप के जीवन में कौन सा सपना है तो इस देश का प्रथम प्रधान मंत्री कहता है कि मेरा सपना चन्द्रमा पर जाने का है। उसी देश का एक गरीब आदमी 30 वर्षों की आजादी के बाद कहता है कि मेरी जिन्दगी का सपना यह है कि बाबूजी, मेरे द्वार पर एक लालटेन लटक जाय। इस आणविक युग में जब कि मानव चन्द्रमा पर पहुंच चुका है, हमारे देश का एक इंसान सपना करता है कि उसके दरवाजे पर एक लालटेन लटक जाय। यह लालटेन हमारी प्रगति का प्रतीक है। शायद यही कारण है कि जब एक बंधूवा मजदूर किसी जमींदार के दरवाजे पर जली हुई लालटेन लटकी हुई देखता है तो यह समझता है कि लालटेन समाज में ऊंचे दर्जे का प्रतीक है। फिर मैं ने जब उस से कहा कि भाई, अब तो मिट्टी के तेल के दाम बढ़ गये हैं तो उसने कहा कि बाबूजी सुना है कि अब मिट्टी के तेल के दाम भी बढ़ गये हैं, इसलिए अब लालटेन भी नहीं मिल सकती है। मैंने उस से कहा कि फिर तुम अब क्या करोगे?

उसने कहा कि पत्नी से मैं ने घर में कह दिया है कि जब शाम को तुम रोटी बनाओ तो मुझे उमी दक्त खाने के लिए बुला लिया करो ताकि चूल्हे की रोजनी में मैं खाना खा सकूँ। उसके बाद दसवें भी सो जायेंगे और मैं भी सो जाऊंगा। और रोजनी की मुझे जरूरत नहीं है। सुबह फिर वही मेहनत और गुरदत की जिन्दगी शुरू हो जाती है। यह एक पक्ष है जिसकी तरफ ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। दूसरी ओर हमारी दृष्टि क्या बन रही है, उनकी तरफ भी ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। जिस साइंटिस्ट ने प्रेणर कुकर इत्यादि दिया और उसको इंधन के साथ जोड़ दिया उसको इस देश में पुरस्कृत किया जा सकता है। इस देश के अर्थ-शास्त्रियों ने प्रेणर कुकर को इंधन के साथ जोड़ दिया, लेकिन जित व्यक्ति ने मगन चूल्हा बनाया उसकी तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। इस देश के अन्दर करोड़ों महिलाओं की आर्थिक प्रगति से धूल से खराब हो रही है उसको रोकने वाला कोई नहीं। उसके संबंध में प्रयास वर्धा में होता है। असली बात यह है कि हमारे देश की यह विडम्बना है कि हम सब का सपना है, न्यूयार्क, और रास्ता है मास्को का, लेकिन हमारे देश में साधन हैं वर्धा के। इसलिए कोई प्राप्ति नहीं हो पा रही है। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे सपने भी वर्धा के हों, हमारा सोच भी वर्धा का हो और हमारे संकल्प भी वर्धा के हों। सोच, संकल्प और सपने का कहीं सम बय यह बजट कर पाये, तो सफल मानूंगा, इस आकांक्षा के साथ मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ।

SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I present my compliments to you and thank you warmly for giving me an opportunity to express my views today. I do so with a certain amount of trepidation because I am surrounded on all sides by such stalwarts in the cut and thrust of

parliamentary debate. I would not have dared to seek this honour had I not felt so acutely about the state of national affairs today. My senior colleagues in the party have already spoken eloquently on the state of drift the Janata Government has so relentlessly led the nation into. I do not want to add to whatever has been said except to say that the Janata Party, if it is a party, has demonstrated beyond doubt that power is the greatest cementing force even among such a disparate conglomerate. But that is only in passing.

So far as the Budget is concerned, Sir, none of the proposals in the Budget for 1979-80 is commendable. The benefit proposed for the farmers will not go to them. The Budget would hit hard the middle class people. It is true that some concessions such as those granted to writers of text books and to the handloom sector are good. The Budget has also shown some concern for the economic welfare of the farmers. But in order to reduce the cost and make the co-operatives viable, it would have been better if the income-tax co-operatives had been abolished. The working class has been heavily taxed. The taxes on basic things like diesel and kerosene have hit the farmers hard. The increasing shortage of coal and the reduction in the price of gur have ruined village industries, and lakhs of workers have been rendered jobless. The burden of taxes has been placed entirely on the poor people. During the 32 years of independence and 27 years of planning, we have not been able to raise the standard of living of our countrymen. Millions of our people are living below the poverty-line. They are ill-clad and undernourished. We do not have a food policy. With the exception of the past two or three years, we have imported 106 million tonnes of wheat at a cost of Rs. 5,000 crores. We have not been able to provide drinking water to our villages. We have 5,60,000 villages throughout the length and breadth of this country. Sixty-five per cent of our farmers have less than one acre of land and 15 per cent

[Shri Ghouse Mohiuddin Sheikh] of the farmers have more than one acre and less than two acres. Fifty per cent of the income is derived from agriculture in our country. But we spend only three per cent, on agriculture. In a short period, Japan has reconstructed its economy and again in less than 25 years Germany has emerged as great nation. We have not been able to harness the potential of our great country. Lakhs of villages are still without electricity. If we could energise pumps, it is possible to raise three or four crops in a year.

Every day 30,000 babies are born in our country. There is urgent need for vigorous family planning. I do not know where we will land if the present policy in regard to family planning programmes continues for some time. The present policy appears to be more political in nature than in the interest of the country.

There is vast disparity in wealth in our country. Some people own a fleet of cars; they are the owners of properties worth millions of rupees. People are minting money; they invest money in stocks, shares, property, land, insurance, etc. On the other hand, the vast majority of our countrymen do not have money enough to buy food every day.

We talk of equality and socialism only in our speeches and slogans and in the columns of newspapers but do nothing in reality. The majority of our people are illiterate and they have no education.

The expenditure on administration is steadily rising. An attempt has been made in the Budget to lay emphasis on small industries. But there does not exist any machinery to check whether the goods are manufactured in the small sector or in big industry. The Budget has left many problems unsolved. It is indeed a paradox that we are importing coking coal from the USA and other countries while coal is accumulated in large stocks at the pit-heads of our coal mines. 5 P.M. It is surprising that we are importing cement from countries like Cuba while there are enormous limestone deposits in

our country. We are spending crores of rupees on the import of coal and cement. Why cannot we exploit our natural resources? This will save valuable foreign exchange and generate employment. There is shortage of wagons in our country. There is disparity in income and employment. The Budget provision will not make any impact on the economy of the nation.

The situation in education remains far from satisfactory. Aligarh Muslim University is seething with discontent. This great national centre of education was once renowned for the quality of its teaching and patriotic fervour. There is need to improve the situation in the Aligarh Muslim University and restore its past glory. In this connection I would like to quote an Urdu couplet:

**‘कली का बेसबब सरमाये इस्मत न लुटता
चमन वाले अगर तंजीमें गलिस्ता की खबर रखते’**

The Muslim minority has not been dealt with fairly. The Muslims do not have proportional representation in Government services, public undertakings and private industries. The recent disturbances in Aligarh and several other towns of UP, Bihar and MP and various other parts of the country have shown that if there is an overwhelming majority of a particular community it is likely to go mad and no just and fair treatment can be expected in such a situation. The Muslims are in a miserable condition; their economic condition is shattering. This is dangerous for the unity and integrity of the country. There is need to bring the Muslim minority in to the national mainstream of the country and this can be done only by winning the confidence of the Muslims by providing reasonable representation to them in the administration of the country and by raising the economic level of their living. The Muslim representatives in the Cabinet at present are having all the interests except the Muslim interests. They are very particular about retaining their costs and seats. In this connection I would like to quote again an Urdu couplet:

“नजर उनकी जवां उदकी
तुआजव है कि इस पर भी
नजर कुछ और कहती है
जहां कुछ और कहती है”

So far as foreign policy is concerned, the Janata Party was alleged to have shewn, great vision in conducting its foreign policy. Examples of its efforts to improve its relations with our neighbours are often cited. Two incidents in recent days have proved the bankruptcy of the Janata Government. I have in mind the fiasco of the recognition given to the short-lived Bakhtiari Government in Iran and the honourable External Affairs Minister's visit to China. Foreign policy does not get conducted on the basis of goodwill and sentiments. It is based on hard calculations of national interests. And national honour, in my humble submission plays no mean part in it. The honourable External Affairs Minister has shown awareness of neither. All his escapades abroad can be explained in terms of two things: playing up his party's nonexistent liberal image, and making people pay dearly for his party's obsession with Hindi. The honourable Minister surely must have impressed the Chinese leadership of his commitment to the language, if not to his country's problems with China! Sir by now it is well established that the honourable External Affairs Minister's visit to China was a disaster. What worries me is the manner in which the visit ended. Instead of heading straight to Peking from wherever he was and asking for an explanation from the right quarters as to how a foreign dignitary's visit could be combined with war preparations against his friends, the honourable Minister chose to rush home and start crying hoarse from the comfortable portals of his Parliament. Does it demonstrate courage, I ask? More substantially, it is by now common knowledge that China attacked Vietnam. The situation from all accounts was explosive.

Where was the need to time the visit of the External Affairs Minister coinciding with such a situation? If the rumours are true that the intelligence and the diplomatic missions of the region had apprised the Ministry of the mobilization of Chinese forces, why was the visit undertaken at all? Is it true that the former Ambassador to Peking, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, had advised against the visit?

The above happenings reveal that there is something seriously wrong with the conduct of India's foreign policy. It is being so conducted as to satisfy the personal whims of a politician. National interests, you would agree with me, Mr. Vice-Chairman, cannot be equated with the grand or otherwise obsessions of individuals. They have to be carefully weighed, and executed with skill and poise. While I am at it, what happened to that proposal to redesign the Policy Planning Department of the Ministry? Everyone knows that the existing set-up has been allowed to degenerate into yet another ineffective bureaucratic cell. Vigorous steps need to be taken to breathe some life into it. It should be reorganized into a kind of 'brain trust' of the Ministry, with specialists reflecting hard on evolving short-and-long range policy options. Policy planning should be left to a group of serious scholars, with some inputs from those who actually conduct foreign policy—and not the other way round.

The basic weakness of our foreign policy lies in addition to its *ad hocism* and the simulated spontaneity, in its structural weakness. Let me explain this. The Ministry of External Affairs, "it is well known, is staffed by generalists of all hues and colours. The personnel is routinely transferred from one desk to the other and posted abroad not on the basis of their knowledge or expertise of the country or the region concerned but on the basis of his or her seniority and personal equation with

[Sari Ghouse Mohiuddin Sheikh] the bosses. It is well known, again, that Vienna or any other European capital is preferred...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAMLAL YADAV): You leave that point.

SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH:...by the mandarins of our foreign service than, for instance, the capitals of the South East Asian region. Hot spots like Hanoi, I am told, are dreaded by our career diplomats. Washington D. C, London and Moscow are, of course, a different story. The point I am making is that the Foreign Ministry is being managed as some kind of a legion of servants rather than as a group of dedicated civil servants. Further, on the structural level, there appears to be no indication of the changed character of international relations reflected in the Ministry's composition. A major part of international relations today consists of highly technical relations between the nations. Vast resources are being employed by nations to bring to bear the specialised skills available anywhere here to address such problems in numerous conferences held throughout the world. I have in mind those that have been held already on food, population, law of the sea, the new international economic order, and those that are slated to be held on water, transfer of technology, common fund and the integrated commodity programme, to name only a few. The kind of conference diplomacy, and the character of diplomats, required to handle these problems is something beyond the ken of our career diplomats.

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

SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH: Only two minutes more.

I am fully aware that the External Affairs Ministry does draw upon the available expertise in other Ministries. But that does not mean that there are no experts in the universities and other technical institu-

tions spread throughout the country. What I am urging here is the induction of the expertise from wherever it exists. Sir, I am particularly concerned with the kind of recruitment policy that we have devised for the services in the External Affairs Ministry, try. The Indian Foreign Service picks up the bright persons from the list of unsuccessful candidates in the IAS and IFS, the examination for both being the same. What this does is that it boosts the ego of these bright young boys, which is already inflated, into something else which is beyond control. They join the Ministry with the conviction that they are the cream of the Indian intelligentsia. They undergo training programmes just before their regularisation with a sense of benign tolerance rather than with a sense of humility to learn something about the socio-economic or cultural or political conditions of life in these countries which they are going to serve in. These bright boys and girls pick up the bureaucratic mentality and always look forward to their placements and promotions. I do not know whether the advanced countries have different methods of recruitment and in what manner such methods are superior to ours. But what I am concerned with here is this: We need a drastic change in our policy of recruitment.

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

SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH: Just as you have an independent foreign policy, you can have a policy on recruitment also and you can have a department staffed with specialists and trained youngsters who probably have undergone two or three or five years of degree courses in foreign affairs.

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

SHRI GHOUSE MOHIUDDIN SHEIKH: Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, for giving me this opportunity to speak. Thank you, Sir.

श्री गिब बन्धू झा (बिहार) : 1979-80 का बजट प्रोडक्शन-प्रोरिण्टिड, उत्पादन-मुखी बजट है और उत्पादन बढ़ेगा और बातें यदि न ही हों, तो समाज का भला ही होगा। इसलिये इस दृष्टिकोण से समर्थन करना जरूरी हो जाता है। लेकिन यह समता-मुखी नहीं है, इक्वालीटी-प्रोरिण्टिड नहीं है। अब कहा गया है कि एक नई दिशा दी गई है। मैं खोज रहा था इस बजट में की इसमें कौन सी नई दिशा है। जब से मेरे हाथ में बजट लगा है उसकी खोज में लगा हुआ हूँ। कहा गया है कि प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाया जाएगा, प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाकर के पावर्टी और अनएम्प्लाइमेंट, गरीबी और बेकारी को खत्म करने की कोशिश की होगी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि गरीबी और बेकारी को खत्म करने की भावना से बजट प्रांत-प्रोत है। लेकिन जो रास्ता बताया गया है, उस पर मोचना पड़ता है कि कहां तक हम उस मंजिल पर पहुंच पायेंगे।

अब मैं आपसे सवाल करता हूँ कि उत्पादन बढ़ाने से यदि बेकारी खत्म हो जायेगी और गरीबी खत्म हो जाएगी, तो जिस देश में उत्पादन बहुत बढ़ा हुआ है, उस देश में बेकारी नहीं होगी और गरीबी भी नहीं होगी। उदाहरण के लिए अमरीका का उत्पादन, चाहे कृषि का हो, चाहे प्रोद्योगिकी का, बराबर बढ़ता ही आ रहा है। इसमें कोई दो मत नहीं है। लेकिन क्या वहां बेकारी नहीं? मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वहां गरीबी नहीं है? उनकी गरीबी की परिभाषा अलगवस्तु दूसरी है। हमारा समाज में उनका स्टैंडर्ड दूसरा होने से उनको गरीबी की परिभाषा दूसरी है। लेकिन यह बात निर्विवाद है और वहां भी 26 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं। इस सम्बंध में बहुत सी पुस्तकें हैं, आंकड़े हैं जो बताते हैं कि उनके यहां बहुत से लोग पावर्टी रेखा के नीचे रहते हैं और बेकारी भी निर्विवाद है। इसमें कोई विवाद नहीं है। तो उत्पादन बढ़ाने से गरीबी हट जायेगी और बेकारी हट जायेगी, अमरीका में भी

ये बातें नहीं हैं हो पाईं। लेकिन हम जानते हैं कि यह बात वहां भी है। दूसरा सवाल यह है कि ऐसा कौनसा बजट हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी के बाद आया है जिसमें उत्पादन बढ़ाने और बेकारी हटाने की बात नहीं है? आप खुद बतायें, 1947 के बाद जितने बजट हुए कौन सा बजट है जो बजट प्रोडक्शन-प्रोरिण्टिड न हो रहा है और बेकारी को खत्म करने का प्रयत्न नहीं कर रही? आपको याद है जब कृषि मंत्री राजा जगन्नाथ मोहन मोरफूड कैम्पेन चलाया, खूब मतों में चला कि खूब उत्पादन करें हो। यहाँ तक कि अपनी फुलवाड़ी तक को लॉस उपजाई में लगे। फिर उसके बाद सिनसिला चलता रहा और बीच में आपको नथाराधित मोन रिवा-ल्यूशन भी पढ़ने को मिला, जो भी था लेकिन पढ़ने को मिला। तो कौनसा बजट आजादी के बाद का है जो प्रोडक्शन प्रोरिण्टिड नहीं रहा है और जिसमें बेकारी को खत्म नहीं करती। इसलिए जब बेकारी की बात आती है तो मैं सोच रहा था कि इसमें कौन सी नई चीज है? यदि अर्थ तंत्र में आप गये तो शुरू में ऐसा हुआ गया है—जो क्लासिकल इकॉनॉमिक्स सिस्टम और रिवाइज के जमाने से 18 वीं सदी से है—यह दृष्टिकोण रहा है कि उत्पादन बढ़ता रहे, धीरे धीरे यह सब खराबियाँ, बेकारी और गरीबी, ये सब खत्म हो जायेंगी। लेकिन हम देखते हैं कि ये बातें खत्म नहीं हुईं। जब तक समता की बात इसमें नहीं जोड़ी जाती है—मिर्फ प्रोडक्शन और रिस्टेड होने से काम नहीं चलता है, समता प्रोरिण्टेड भी होगा—जब जाकर गरीबी और बेकारी खत्म होगी। तो यह जो स्टैंडर्ड है, मैं सोच रहा था कि इसमें कौनसी नवीनता है? लेकिन एक नवीनता मुझे नहीं मिली।

अब आइये जो कराधान की बात है, टैक्सेशन की बात है। उसमें नवीनता खोज रहा था कि कौनसी नई चीज है, प्रिन्सिपल्स आफ टैक्सेशन जिस को पहले ही वह मैं खोज रहा था। इसमें त्रिक है, एल.के. शाकमेटी की जो सिफारिशें और

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

साथ-साथ डा. रेक्ट टैक्सेज कमेटी की सिफारिशों का भी उल्लेख है और कहा गया है की इसकी कोशिश की गई है कि उन सिफारिशों के मुताबिक ही कदम उठाए जायेंगे, टैक्सेज के बारे में। लेकिन ये दोनों तो भानुमति का पिटारा है, दोनों कमेटीयों की गिरफ्त में कान-सी ऐसी बात है कर के मामले में यह साफ होना चाहिए। अब तक जो सिद्धांत रहा है वह है। हाउ मच यू वर्क ? लेकिन यदि हमें नई दिशा देनी है तो हमें करना होगा 'हाऊ यू वर्क' लगाने में हमें यह करना होगा, इतना ही नहीं कि 'हाऊ यू मच गेट' ? गरीब तरीके से या बलक तरीके से या दूसरे तरीके से धन इकट्ठा किया गया है ऐसे इकट्ठे किए गए हैं, समाज का फर्ज हो जाता है कि तमाम को ले लें। यही नहीं कि थोड़ा थोड़ा बल्कि सारा का सारा ले ले। तो प्रिन्सिपल आफ टैक्सेशन का दृष्टिकोण भी बदलना होगा। एक एक तो मैंने स्ट्रेटजी है उत्पादन बढ़ाकर गरीबी और बेकारी कम करना। वह बात हमको ज्ञात नहीं है। दुनिया में यह बात चलाई गई लेकिन ये दोनों अभी कायम हैं। तो जब कराधान की, टैक्सेशन की बात आती है तो यह बात आती है— हाऊ मच यू गेट, मगर देखेंगे कि हाऊ यू गेट ?

एक बात अगर कोई नहीं है तो वह है कि जो आपका मैन्युफेक्चरिंग तम्बाकू है, जो तम्बाकू है, सन् 1943 से, अंग्रेजी जमाने से ही जो ड्यूटी चली आती रही कांग्रेस सरकार ने उसे नहीं हटाया लेकिन उसको हटाया है इसमें। लेकिन यह तम्बाकू उत्पादन करने वाले कितने लोग ? और कौन लोग हैं, यह देखना होगा इसी तरह से हमें सोचना होगा कि उत्पादन बढ़ाने में भी, जो कदम उठाये गये हैं, उन से किन को फायदा होने को है ? एक तो मैंने कहा सिद्धांत की सफाई में नहीं देख रहा, और जो कदम उठाए गए हैं उत्पादन बढ़ाने के उनमें फायदा किसको है ? आप ने फर्टिलाइजर पर रियायत दी है, पंपिंग

सैट पर दी है, जो डिजिल पर दी है वह ठीक है लेकिन इन सब चीजों को कौन इस्तेमाल करता है। देहात में कितने परसेंट ऐसे लोग हैं हकीकत में कि जो इन चीजों को इस्तेमाल करते हैं ? यह मैं मानता हूँ कि फर्टिलाइजर माइन्ड्रिनेस जिसको कहते हैं वह लोग हो रहे हैं। उसके लिये भावना लोगों में बढ़ रही है। मैं अपनी आंखों से देखता हूँ कि वे जानना चाहते हैं कि यूरिया किस को कहते हैं, न्यू वेराइटी किस को कहते हैं और इस दृष्टि से कुछ लोग सोच रहे हैं और इस में कोई दो मत नहीं है, छोटे से छोटे लोग भी इस दृष्टि से सोच रहे हैं लेकिन हकीकत में उस को इस्तेमाल करने वाले कितने लोग हैं ? यह रियायत जो दी जा रही है उन से कितने लोगों को फायदा होगा। वे उत्पादन बढ़ायेंगे कितना ? उत्पादन बढ़ सकता है इस तरीके से भी, लेकिन वह फायदा कितने लोगों को होगा ? साव्हे जी ने कहा कि यह फायदा 4 परसेंट लोगों को होगा। मैं कहता हूँ कि 5 परसेंट लोगों को यह फायदा होगा। हमारी महिला सदस्या ने कहा कि 5 लाख लोगों को फायदा होगा 7 करोड़ लोगों में से। उन दोनों की बातों में दम है और अगर उसे हम 5 परसेंट नहीं 10 परसेंट भी रख लें थोड़ी देर के लिये, तो मैं आप को फिर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की एक बात याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ। एक बार पंडित जी ने आंकड़े देने वालों के बीच में बैठे हुए थे और पंडितजी को खुश करने के लिये वे बहुत तरह के आंकड़े बता रहे थे कि उन के अनुसार इतनी तरक्की हो यही है, इतना रेट आफ ग्रोथ बढ़ रहा है। लेकिन उस सब बात को सुन कर पंडित जी ने कंकलुड किया और कहा कि इन आंकड़ों का कोई मतलब नहीं होता जब कि देश में एक भी भूखा इंसान है तब तक इन आंकड़ों का कोई मतलब नहीं निकलता। तो आंकड़ों के झमेले में हम न जायें, लेकिन थोड़ी देर के लिये जाते भी हैं पो इस से कुल दस परसेंट को फायदा होगा। 90 परसेंट का क्या होगा। मेरा

भी खेती से थोड़ा बहुत संबंध है। मेरी खेती होती है हड़प्पा और मोहनजोदड़ों के तरीके से। मेरे इलाके में केवल एक आदमी के यहां पंपिंग सेट की सुविधा है क्योंकि उस का खेत कुछ ज्यादा है। उस की आवाज आती है तो पता चलता है कि वहां पंप चल रहा है। लेकिन बाकी सब छोटे काश्तकार हैं, मार्जिनल खेतिहर हैं। तो ऐसे 70 प्रतिशत लोग हैं, 80 न भी कहिये, 70 प्रतिशत तो हैं ही, तो 70 फीसदी लोगों को फायदा नहीं पहुंचने वाला है। यह महद्द होगा केवल 5 या 10 परसेंट तक ही। तम्बाकू की बात मैंने कही। तंबाकू कौन उपजाता है। बाजार में बेचने के ख्याल से तम्बाकू कौन उपजाता है, जिनकी बड़ी खेती होती है वही लोग। वहां अन्न की बात खत्म हो जाती है। और वही लोग इस में आते हैं। तो यह फायदा भी उन लोगों को जायगा।

PROF. N. G. RANGA: No, No, absurd.

श्री शिवचन्द्र झा : हमारे यहां बाड़ी और झाड़ी जैसे लोग आलू बोते हैं उसी तरह से अपने खाने के लिये या शौक के लिये लोग तंबाकू बो लेते हैं। लेकिन बाजार में बेचने के लिये या कर्मागियल आधार पर व्यापारिक आधार पर उसे पैदा करने वाले बहुत थोड़े लोग हैं। तो इस का फायदा कुछ ही लोगों को होगा। तो यह रियायत बहुत थोड़े लोगों तक महद्द रहेगी। इसी तरह से उद्योग की बात है। अब मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। लोक सभा में जब डिबेट शुरू हुई तो मंत्री जी ने कुछ रियायतें एनाउन्स कीं। वह एक अच्छी बात है। बिस्कुट पर रियायत दी। चिल्लेन इयर है, लोगों ने हल्ला किया और इस लिये उन्होंने उस पर रियायत दी। किरोसीन पर जो कुछ आप लगा रहे हैं इसको भी आप हटा दें। श्री लाडली मोहन नियम जी और मोहन्ती जी ने ठीक ही कहा कि देहात के लोगों की सलाई चाहते हैं तो जिनके दरवाजे पर बीये भी नहीं जलते हैं इससे उनको

और अधिक धक्का लगा है। जो चिराग जलता है उसको गुल न होने दें। आपने गव चीजों के लिए एनाउन्स किया, यह भी आप घोषणा कर दें कि किरोसीन पर इयूटी हटा दी।

दूसरा एनाउन्समेंट आप दियासलाई, मैचों का भी करें। देहात के लोग इसे जलाते हैं। आपने कहा है कि मैकेनाइज और नान मैकेनाइज। इससे हमको कोई मेंम नहीं मलूम हो रहा है। कितना हमने आपको मिलने जा रहा है। 8 करोड़ की रेवेन्यू आप दियासलाई से बढ़ाकर ले रहे हैं। आपको 8 करोड़ मिल जायेंगे यदि आप दूसरी चीजों पर बढ़ा दें। न्यू स्टाइल आफ लाइफ पर बढ़ा दें। एयर कंडीशनर, रेफ्रिजरेटर पर 105 से 125 किया, 150 कर दें, 170 कर दें, 200 कर दें। होटल पर आप लगा रहे हैं तो उस को डबल कर दीजिए, ट्रिपल कर दीजिए, कोई एतराज नहीं होगा।

मिगरेट पर आपने लगाया है, ठीक है। मिगरेट पीना नेस्टी हैबिट है। जात्रा बनाइ शा ने कहा कि वह कोई अच्छा काम नहीं है। इसलिए उस पर 60 करोड़ के बजाए और लगा दीजिए, 68 करोड़ आ जायेंगे। तो दियासलाई जिसको आम जनता इस्तेमान करती है, 8 करोड़ का बोझ उन पर बहुत बढ़ा है। उसको आप हटा दें। इसी प्रकार किरोसीन पर कम करने की घोषणा मंत्री महोदय यहां पर करें।

उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री श्यामलाल यादव) : अब समाप्त करिये। समय बहुत कम है।

श्री शिव चन्द्र झा : अभी समाप्त कर रहा हूं। श्रीमन्, घाटे की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का कहा गया कि इससे दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे। उम्मीद की जाती है कि फारन रिजर्व्स और उत्पादन बढ़ने से दाम नहीं बढ़ेंगे। इस में ऊपर लेबुल पर दाम नहीं जायेंगे तो बड़ी अच्छी बात है। हम नहीं

(श्री शिव चंद्र झा)

चाहते हैं कि दाम बढ़ें, लेकिन जो तजुर्बा रहा है, फ्राक्सफोर्ड के एक प्रोफेसर ने प्रथम विश्व युद्ध के बाद जब बाजार में स्टर्लिंग का दाम घट गया तो उसने ब्रिटिश सरकार पर मुकदमा कर दिया कि इस सरकार ने हमारी मुद्रा की पाकेटमारी कर दी—इन्फ्लेशनरी ट्रेड बढ़ा कर उसने ब्रिटिश सरकार पर मुकदमा कर दिया। कल या परसों अश्रवाल जी ने भी यहाँ जवाब दिया कि 1 रुपये की कीमत 28 पैसे रह गई है। तो यह दाम बढ़ने का हमें तजुर्बा है। उत्पादन साढ़े तीन परसेंट हो रहा है आजादी के बाद और मुद्रा की ता'द 14-15 परसेंट बढ़ रही है। दोनों का संतुलन होना चाहिए। ये दोनों छोड़े एक साथ दौड़ो वाले हैं। संभावना इसकी अवश्य है कि दाम बढ़ेंगे। वही पुराना तरीका जो आपका है यह ठीक नहीं है। यदि यही काम करते तो बेकारी को हटाने के लिए के लिए एक्जेंशन प्रोग्राम निकालते हर बजट में एक हजार आदिमियों को बहाल करते तो बेकारी दूर होती। 50 लाख से ज्यादा लोग इंप्लाय हो जाते। 4 हमारे यहाँ 5004 ब्लाकम हैं जिनमें 50 लाख लोग इंप्लाय हो जायेंगे। तो बेकारी की समस्या अवश्य हल हो जाएगी।

इसी लिए मैं देख रहा हूँ कि सब मिलाकर उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए यह बजट है और उत्पादन जैसा कि मैंने कहा बढ़ रहा है, उससे फायदा भी है। इसी लिए मैं इस बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV I: I may request the hon. Members. There are three more speakers and the Finance Minister will be called upon to reply at 6 P.M. We have thirty minutes left and therefore, the hon. Members will not take more than ten minutes. I request Shri Warjri to speak.

SHRI ALEXANDER WARJRI (Meghalaya): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first of all, I would like to thank you for giving me a chance to speak on this Budget. I do not

want to comment like others on the character of this Budget. Enough has been said against this Budget even by Members of the ruling party. While supporting the Budget, they also said so many things against it. [agree, cent per cent, with those who call it an anti-people Budget. I would add that it is not only an anti-people Budget, but it is also anti-child. Though this year we are celebrating the Year of the Child, yet. I do not know how the child can be happy. I have seen writings everywhere. "Happy child Nations pride" But how can our children be happy when there are so many taxes, even on small pleasures like chocolates, chewing gum and other things? Taxes have been heavily imposed on them. As has been stated by previous speakers, the Finance Minister has announced in the Lok Sabha some concession on this. But it shows that no matter whom it affects, this heavy taxation will have its effects. Even baby food did not escape the clutches of the Finance Minister. Are we really celebrating the Year of the Child? I wonder how.

Sir, I come from North-East India and, at you know, North-East India is joined to the rest of India only by a small bottleneck. Now the railway freight has been increased and the price of petrol has also been increased. Most of the States in North-East India—there are six States—can be reached only by motor cars, by trucks and so on and this Budget proposal of heavy taxes, especially on petrol and the increase in railway freight, will hit hard the people of North-East India. It seems that a time will come when the people of North-East India will no longer be able to utilise the goods produced on this side of India. Enough has been said by Members on this.

Now, I would like to point out certain things which concern the State which I represent. They call for the special and immediate attention of the Central Government. I wish to express only two things since

the time is short, in relation to which the Central Government, especially, is responsible. First of all. I would like to draw the attention of the Ministry of Civil Aviation to the worthless expenditure which they have incurred. Crores of rupees had been spent on the construction of an aerodrome, an air-field near Shillong, capital of Meghalaya. The air-field has been completed and there were air services for a few months. But suddenly, for what reason I do not know, the air services were stopped. It is nearly three years now. I do not know why this has been done. May I know from the Minister in charge of Civil Aviation why the air services from Umroi airfield, near Shillong, have not been resumed? If the air-field has been defective, does it take more than three years for the Government or for the authorities concerned to repair it? If there are defects, why are they not being removed? When I visited the air-field I found it like a desolate playground; there was nobody. So much money has been spent on the construction of this airfield. Is it going to be abandoned? I would like to know it from the Minister in charge of the Civil Aviation.

The other important matter pertaining to the Civil Aviation Ministry is about providing employment to our people. There are only two persons employed as pilots in the Indian Airlines, who are from the North Eastern region comprising of seven States. Quite a number of young boys who have diplomas and who are qualified, are available, but they are not employed. I would like to know from the Civil Aviation Minister why this partial treatment is imparted to our people, especially when only two of them have been employed in the Indian Airlines as pilots. The other thing to which I would like to make a reference is about construction of link roads along the Indo-Bangladesh border of Meghalaya State. This is entirely the responsibility of the Central Government. These are strategic

roads important from defence point

of view and also important in the sense, to prevent infiltration about which we are talking so much, practically daily. Questions have been raised in this House and in the Lok Sabha. In spite of constant reminders from the State Government for the construction of the link roads, nothing is being done. Some roads have been built along the border but there are no linking roads. As I have said, the State Government has reminded the Central Government constantly on this, but the Central Government has not done anything as yet. The Border Task Force which is supposed to be doing the work is practically lying idle and doing nothing. These roads are not only strategic from defence point of view, but they will also help to solve the problems of the people of the border area. These people who are the guardians of our border, have been reduced to extreme poverty because there is no more trade with Bangladesh. These people were chiefly agricultural people. But they have ceased to produce anything because they cannot sell those things due to the closure of the traditional border markets. I appeal to the Government to give better and special attention to the problems of these people, and reallocate some amounts to help these people living in the border areas. I request also that till the border roads are linked up, the Minister of Commerce should try to approach the Bangladesh Government for reopening of the traditional border markets on the barter system, on the head load system, on the exchange system, as used to be done before Bangladesh came into existence.

I, therefore, request the Government to pay special attention to the needs of these people. Thank you.

श्री नामेश्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश):
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ऊँचे सिद्धान्तों की ओर न जा कर के, इस समय यह बजट क्या है और इसका क्या असर साधारण नागरिकों के ऊपर है. इस दृष्टि में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। यह बजट चाहे जो कुछ हो पर यह

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

समाजवादी बजट नहीं है। इसमें से चाहे जो कुछ भी निकलता हो लेकिन यह सफाई के साथ कहा जा सकता है कि इसमें समानता और समाजवाद की कोई भी वृत्ति, कोई भी महक नहीं है।

श्री कल्पनाय राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सही बात है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इतनी बड़ी सरकार के लोग और उसकी सारी मशीनरी ने 28 फरवरी की जत्र यह बजट पेश किया तो इसकी उन्होंने कल्पना भी नहीं की कि इसका क्या असर होगा। छोटी अकल का आदमी भी कुछ प्रीकाश लेता कि ऐसा न हो कि इस बजट के एनाउन्समेंट के साथ बाजारों से जीवनोपयोगी चीजें गायब हो जायें, चीजों की कीमतें आममान की ओर दौड़ जायें। हमारे फाइनेंस सेक्रेटरी बड़े ऊंचे सेक्रेटरी हैं, हमारे फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर भी बड़े एक्सपीरियेंस्ड मिनिस्टर हैं। लेकिन क्या उनके मस्तिष्क में यह बात नहीं आई कि ऐसे प्रीकाश लिये जायें ताकि जिस दिन यह बजट पेश हो, उस दिन से नागरिकों के सामने ऐसा संकट उत्पन्न न हो कि बाजार से सारा सामान गायब हो जाय, बाजार में सामानों के दाम दुगुने और तिगुने हो जायें। उनकी सारी मशीनरी मौजूद थी, उनका सप्लाय एंड डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन डिपार्टमेंट मौजूद था, उनके इन्सपेक्टर्स मौजूद थे, शहरों में उनके अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों की पूरी सेना मौजूद थी, वे उनको अलर्ट कर सकते थे कि तुम्हें यह देखना होगा कि चीजों के दाम न बढ़ने पायें। श्रीमन्, पता नहीं कि अधिकारियों ने इन्हें बताया या नहीं बताया कि बजट पेश होने से पहले ही 28 फरवरी के सुबह से ही पेट्रोल पम्प पर पेट्रोल की बिक्री बन्द हो गई थी।

एक माननीय सदस्य : पेश होने से पहले ही?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : पेट्रोल पम्पों पर पेट्रोल की बिक्री बन्द हो गई थी। टैंक्सियों, स्कूटरों और गाड़ियों की लाइनें मीलों तक लग गई। पम्पों के अन्दर पेट्रोल मौजूद था पर वहां के मालिक ताला बन्द करके गायब हो गये। तो यह व्यवस्था इन लोगों की है जो कि अपने को सक्षम और योग्य व्यक्ति कहते हैं। हम लोग तो बहुत साधारण कार्यकर्त्ता हैं, हम लोगों को इतनी बुद्धि नहीं हो सकती। मगर जो बड़े सक्षम और योग्य अपने को कहते हैं उनकी व्यवस्था यह है। जो दिल्ली में बैठते हैं, अफसर हों या मिनिस्टर हों, ऊंची तनख्वा लेते हैं, ऊंचे बंगलों में रहते हैं और सरकारी गाड़ियों का इस्तेमाल करते हैं, सरकारी स्टेनोग्राफर्स और सरकारी तौर पर सब कुछ करते हैं और सारा उपभोग होता है, उन लोगों की यह हालत है और जनता के साथ यह व्यवहार होता है।

श्रीमन्, मैं यह कह सकता हूं कि यह बजट न तो धनी लोगों को इन्सपायर करता है, न गरीब लोगों को इन्सपायर करता है, न मिल मालिकों को इन्सपायर करता है और न मिल के मजदूरों को इन्सपायर करता है, न यह देहात के लोगों को इन्सपायर करता है और न शहर के लोगों को इन्सपायर करता है। इसका किसान बजट कहा जाता है लेकिन मिल-मालिकों के अखबारों ने, पूँजीपतियों के अखबारों ने इसको कहीं छाप दिया कि किसान बजट है तो हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी हिलते नजर आए और उन्होंने झट से जो थोड़ी डीजल पर रियायत अनाऊंस की थी उसको विदड़ा कर लिया। लाइट डीजल जिससे कि किसान का पानी का पम्प चलता है और ट्रैक्टर चलता है उन पर जो रियायत दी थी उसको झट से विदड़ा कर लिया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : ट्रैक्टर में कहां इस्तेमाल होता है ?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : छोटे-छोटे ट्रैक्टर्स और टिलर्स में इस्तेमाल होता है।

तो हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने इस रियायत को वापिस ले लिया। फटिलाइजर पर क्या रियायत दी है। तीन चार साल पहले जब बाबू जगजीवन राम कृषि मंत्री थे उन्होंने खाद का दाम तीन चार गुना बढ़ा दिया था। उस समय हम लोगों ने कहा कि ऐसा न करो लेकिन उन्होंने सीधे-सीधे दूगुना कर दिया और कहा कि इसका कोई असर नहीं पड़ेगा। किसान इसका उपयोग करेगा। उनके अधिकारी जो बड़े काबिल हैं उन्होंने यह राय दी थी। लेकिन तीन महीने के बाद जब खाद का बिक्री बंद हो गई, गोदाम में खाद भरा गया तो वही मंत्री और वही अधिकारी इस नतीजे पर पहुंचे कि दाम घटाओं बरना निकेगा नहीं। उस समय तो खाद का दाम दूगुना कर दिया था और अब रियायत क्या दी है मिर्फापांच रुपये प्रति क्विंटल। ऊंट के मुंह में जीरा। कौन सा रियायत की गई है? सदन में तो करते हो कि किसान बजट है, किसान का कौन सा बड़ा फायदा इससे हुआ? रियायत तो मिर्फा पांच रुपये प्रति क्विंटल दिया है, इसलिए मैं उसको किसान बजट मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

श्री एल० आर० नायक : कुलक बजट है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : यह लोग जो हुलक है उनको कुलक का मेनिया है। यह दिमाग से गुलाम है। अपने दिमाग किसी व्यक्ति को बेच चुके हैं (Interruptions) इस लिए उनके दिमाग . . . (Interruptions)

एक माननीय सदस्य : यह भी बीच में आ गए हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : शाही जी, आप अपने विषय पर रहिये।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आप इनको कन्ट्रोल कीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : उनको अपनी बात कहने दीजिए।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : तो इसको अगर हाफ हार्टेड किसान बजट की संज्ञा देना चाहें तो दे सकते हैं लेकिन किसान बजट नहीं है श्रीमान, मैं कह रहा था 28 फरवरी की

बात। जो रियायत इन्होंने अब दी है जो कोमत खुदरा माल की बढ़ गई उसको दुकानदार किसी भी तरह से घटाने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। पहले जोर्टक्स अनाऊंस किये गये उनके आधार पर बाजार में खुदरा माल की कीमत बढ़ गई और अब दुकानदार एक पैसा भी घटाने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। और न ही घटा रहा है। इस इतनी बड़ी मूर्खता का क्या इलाज है, यह आप ही बता सकते हैं।

(Interruptions)

श्री प्रभु सिंह (हरियाणा) : तमल्ली से मुनिये, काम की बात है।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैं दूसरी बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ चूंकि इन्कम टैक्स वाले हमारे मंत्री बैठे हैं, बड़े मंत्री नहीं हैं, कि इस सरकार ने वायदा किया था कि 10,000 की इन्कम को फ्री आफ टैक्स कर देंगे। पिछले साल किया मगर उसमें अलगनी क्या लगा दी कि जिन की तनख्वाह 10,001 होती उनको आठ हजार से टैक्स देना पड़ेगा। बड़ी भारी और बारिक बुद्धि से वित्त विभाग के अधिकारियों ने काम किया . . . (Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब आप समाप्त करिये, 10 मिनट दिये हैं।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमान, पांच मिनट हुए हैं अभी तो मैंने शुरू किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : मैं आपसे अनुरोध करूंगा कि पहले से चूँकि तय हो चुका है और समय नहीं है इसलिए आप कृपया एक मिनट में समाप्त कीजिए।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आप अपनी पोथी में देखिए, 15 मिनट हैं।

मैं कह रहा था कि नीचे टैक्स लगाने का मतलब यह होता है कि उसकी वसूली में, लेवी में जितना खर्च होता है उतना भी नहीं आता है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूंगा कि उस 10,000 रुपये के एग्जैम्पशन को ईमानदारी से एक्जीक्यूट करें और सबको 10 हजार तक की छूट दें। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि

[श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही]

आज जिस हिसाब से रुपये का दाम घटा है और रुपये की कीमत 20 पैसे हो गयी है तो उस हिसाब से 12 हजार रुपये तक के एग्जेंप्शन की लिमिट होनी चाहिए थी...

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब समाप्त करिये और अपना आसन ग्रहण कीजिए ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : जरा शांत रहें, श्रीमन्, मैं पांच मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : बहुत सेंसीबल बातें बोल रहे हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : ठीक है ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मिट्टी के तेल के ऊपर टैक्स लगाने वाली सरकार कभी...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : यह बात हो चुकी है, अब अपने प्वाइंट रख दीजिए ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : गरीबों की दोस्त नहीं कही जा सकती है । टूथ पेस्ट, टूथ ब्रुश ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब समाप्त करिये, बात साफ हो गयी है आपकी ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : मैच बाक्स के ऊपर टैक्स लगाया तथा और किसी पर नहीं टैक्स लगा, शराब पर टैक्स नहीं लगा...

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : छोड़िये उस विषय को ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : प्रोहिबीशन की बात करते हैं मगर शराब पर टैक्स नहीं लगा...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब समाप्त करिये ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : समाप्त ही कर रहा हूँ । मगर आखिरी बात मुन लें चूँकि यह बजट का मौका है । अभी-अभी हमारे विदेश मंत्री श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने एक बयान में कहा है कि श्री कोसीजिन साहब को यहाँ चीन की निन्दा नहीं करनी चाहिए थी । इनको कैसे और कब चीन से मुहब्बत पैदा हो गयी, यह देशवासियों के लिए बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है, उस चीन के प्रति ईंदा हो गयी जो आज भी हमारी 20 हजार वर्ग मील भूमि को दबा कर बैठा हुआ है, उस चीन के प्रति जिसने माननीय अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी का यह सम्मान किया कि अपने निन्त्रित करने के बाद विषतनाम पर हमला कर दिया और इसको परवाह नहीं की कि हमारी भूमि पर कौन गैस्ट आये हुए हैं । मैं श्रीमन्, इस अवसर पर साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज कोई भी चीन के साथ हमदर्दी जाहिर करता है तो वह हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं है और हिन्दुस्तान का दोस्त नहीं है, जब तक चीन हमारे देश की जमीन पर पैर रखे है...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : अब समाप्त करिये ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : तब तक चीन के साथ कोई भी हमदर्दी जाहिर करने वाला व्यक्ति चाहे वे माननीय मोरारजी देसाई हों या श्रीमती इंदिरा नेहरू गांधी हों, उनको मैं हिन्दुस्तान का दोस्त नहीं मान सकता हूँ और हिन्दुस्तानी भी मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : बस समाप्त करिये ।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : श्रीमन्, आप समाप्त करने की बात कहते हैं तो समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । अभी हमारे दोस्त ने पेश किया था...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल पादव) :
उनको छोड़िये ।

श्री नानेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : अपनी बात कर रहा हूँ ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल पादव) :
कृपया सहयोग करिये ।

श्री नानेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : इस देश में आज फिर हिन्दू मुसलमान की बात पैदा हो रही है और बड़े जोरों से पैदा हो रही है ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल पादव) :
नया विषय मत छोड़िए ।

श्री नानेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : क्यों पैदा हो रही है ? इसलिए कि जाति की बात पैदा की जा रही है । इस देश में जाति की बात पैदा करके इस देश के स्वार्थी नेता केवल अपने व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थ के लिये जाति की बात पैदा करके देश में साम्प्रदाय पैदा कर रहे हैं । अगर जातियों को रिजर्वेशन मिलेगा तो इसे देखते हुए मुसलमानों में भी रिजर्वेशन की बात शुरू कर दी है । इसलिये अगर इस देश को बचाना है, तो जातिवादी नेताओं से बचना है, चाहे वे किसी भी दल के हों । जातिवादी नेता अपने स्वार्थ के लिये देश के हितों का हनन कर रहे हैं ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल पादव) :
अब कृपया अपना आसन ग्रहण करें ।

श्री नानेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : आपकी आज्ञा है, तो समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । लेकिन इस आज्ञा के साथ कि इस बजट में समय रहते संशोधन करके इसमें कुछ समता का पुट लाना चाहिये ।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री (बिहार) :
मुझे अच्छी तरह याद है जब जनता पार्टी सत्तारूढ़ हुई थी और हम कांग्रेस के लोग इधर चले आये थे तो पहला बजट अधिवेशन था और उस तनावपूर्ण स्थिति में भी कांग्रेस पार्टी का क्या हालत थी ? हमने बड़े ठण्डे

दिमाग से जनता पार्टी के सत्तारूढ़ होने का स्वागत किया था । देश की जनता ने या यह कहा जाए कि देश के मतदाताओं ने उस पार्टी को इस देश का शासन करने का भार सौंपा या सेवा करने का भार सौंपा, सेवा तो शासन करने का भाव है । सेवा तो बड़ी बात है । हमारी पार्टी की ओर से कुछ लोगों को अच्छा नहीं लगा था कि क्यों ऐसा कहा है । लेकिन मैंने कहा था और यह रिकार्ड में होगा । वहाँ श्री आडवाणी जी बैठे हुए थे । वे हमारे मदन के नेता भी हैं और मैंने कहा था कि आप काम करिये, विरोधी दल का जो काम होता है, हम लोग आपका सहयोग करेंगे और काम होना चाहिये । श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवाणी जी यह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि इस मदन में कम से कम जनता पार्टी की सरकार को सहयोग नहीं मिला है क्योंकि जनता पार्टी की सरकार के लोग इस दल में बहुत कम हैं, माइनोरिटी में हैं । यह तो जाहिर है और आप जानते हैं कि हम लोग मेजरिटी में थे, कांग्रेस वाले । लेकिन हमने यह कहने का कोई ऐसा मौका नहीं दिया कि अपोजीशन की तरफ से जनता पार्टी की सरकार को राज्य सभा में सहयोग नहीं मिलता है । यह आप जानते हैं । लेकिन आज जो हमारा मानस है, अब मैं सोच रहा हूँ कि उसकी अब वह नहीं रही, यह मैं सचवाई के साथ कहता हूँ । अब जनता पार्टी जनता की सरकार उन बेंचों पर बैठी हुई है, मेजरिटी में है तो रहेंगे, लेकिन जनता रोती है कि हम लोगों ने गलती की और हम आपसे कहते हैं कि जनता रोती है, पछताती है कि उन लोगों को वहाँ भेजा । लेकिन वह जनता की बात छोड़िये । जब जनता के बीच जायेंगे, तो फैसला होगा, हम लोग घर में बैठने वाले नहीं हैं ।

उपप्रधान मंत्री तथा वित्त मंत्री (श्री चरण सिंह) : बिहार में बड़े दिन पहले ही ही चुका है ।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : अरे, अभी दो लाइन नहीं बोले । आप तो मिनियर हैं और आप उठ गये । आपको तो इतमीनान

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

से सुनना चाहिये। हमने तो शुरू किया है और आप तिलमिला गये। इतनी बात बर्दाश्त नहीं होगी, तो कैसे चलाइएगा। अभी तो अढ़ाई वर्ष बाकी है। जब तक थम्पिंग मैजि-
6 P.M. रिटी है आप रहिए परन्तु हम को कहने भी तो दीजिए। इतनी क्षमता नहीं है तो उस गद्दी पर बैठने के लायक आप लोग नहीं हैं, कमी नहीं है। क्यों मैं कह रहा हूँ। यह नहीं कि मैं उनका दोस्त नहीं हूँ, वहाँ जितने मित्र हैं सब के लिए हमारे दिल में व्यक्तिगत स्थान है, रहेगा। लेकिन जब मैं आज देखता हूँ, जहाँ गरीबों को ज़िंदा जला दिया जाता है, बहू-बेटियों से बलात्कार किया जाता है, शासन नाम की चीज़ नहीं है, इस सदन में कई बार चर्चा हो चुकी है, हरिजनों पर जो जो जुल्म होता है। यह बर्दाश्त के बाहर की बात होती है। लाज को भी लाज लगती है। हम लोगों को भी लाज लगती है, क्या यह एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन है? हम आपसे यह कह रहे हैं कि 1977 में ये लोग सत्ता में आए, इन का तीसरा बजट है, दूसरा बजट भी हम देख चुके हैं। पहले बजट में कहा गया देखो भाई, हम लोग अभी नए-नए आए हैं, जरा सा मौका दो, हम लोगों को मौका मिलेगा तो उसके बाद देखेंगे। अच्छा भाई, हम ने भी मान लिया। पहला बजट तो हो गया, मौका नया-नया था। जब नयी गवर्नमेंट ने बनाया है तो थोड़ा समय सीखने में तो लगता है। चौधरी चरण सिंह उत्तर प्रदेश में थे, कोई कहीं था, कोई तो मिनिस्टर भी नहीं था। तो पहले-पहल हुआ है, अनुभव नहीं था, गवर्नमेंट में आने की खुशी थी और उमंग थी, लेकिन अब आटा-दाल का भाव मालूम पड़ रहा है। इसी लिए मैं कह रहा हूँ कि जिस राज्य में, जिस देश में निहत्थे गरीबों और खास कर आदिवासियों पर अत्याचार होते हैं, उसकी हालत को कौन नहीं जानता है। चौधरी साहब के दिल में ममता नहीं है, यह मैं नहीं कहता हूँ जिससे गलत समझें। लेकिन थोड़ी ममता रहने से क्या होगा? कुछ

ठोस काम करना पड़ेगा। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा है कि मैं तो, अगर हरिजन उद्धार के लिए, गरीबों के लिए, अन्टिबिलिटी को दूर करने के लिए मर भी जाऊँ तो ठीक होगा। तो मर क्यों जाएँगा, उपाय करिएगा, मरने से क्या होगा? मरने से तो नहीं होगा। अगर सब मर जाएँ, सब मिनिस्टर मर जाएँ, तो क्या उद्धार हो जाएगा? यह क्या दलील है? गांधी जी हिन्दू और मुसलमान के नाम पर शहीद हो गए थे, वह अलग चीज़ है। आपको उपाय निकालना चाहिए। पेट में भूख है तो पेट को खाना मिलना चाहिए, पेट को काट कर तो काम चलने वाला नहीं। तो यह कोई दलील नहीं है। इसी लिए मैं कह रहा हूँ जो इधर मैंने देखा है और सुनने को मिला है। यह हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं? 1977-78 की रिपोर्ट में आप कह रहे हैं, मेजर एट्रासिटीज़ हुई हैं। चौधरी साहब वित्त मंत्री हैं, उनकी फाइनेंशियल पोलीशन क्या है, उस बात में मैं बाद में आ जाऊंगा, लेकिन जिस देश में गरीबों और खास कर आदिवासियों को शासन में देखने वाला कोई नहीं, उनकी क्या हालत होती है, किस तरह उनके बच्चों पर जुल्म होते हैं, उन के घर जला कर, तबाह कर, उनकी बहू-बेटियों के साथ बलात्कार किया जाता है, पुलिस ताकती रहती है, वह देखती रहती है और कुछ नहीं कर सकती है—अब लोग कहाँ जायेंगे? यह राज्य किस लिए है? ये किस बात के लिए यहां बैठे हुए हैं? इनको शासन में रहने का कोई हक नहीं है। कम से कम हरिजनों के लिए मैं कह सकता हूँ कि उनके लिए इस राज्य में कोई कानून नहीं है, एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन नाम की कोई चीज़ नहीं है, मालूम नहीं पड़ता इस देश में शासन है। आखिर हम लोग भी शासन चलाते थे, हमने भी देखा है, हमसे भयंकर गलतियाँ भी हुई हैं। लेकिन इस तरह का निराशाजनक वातावरण क्यों है जनता राज में? क्या ये लोग करते हैं? हिन्दी में मुझे एक कहावत याद आती है :

“गए थे हरि भजन को ओटन लगे कपास” हिन्दी समझने वाले बूझ गए होंगे, अंग्रेजी वाले नहीं बूझे होंगे। हिन्दुस्तान में 1977-78 साल की घटनाओं को मैं कहता हूँ—इन्को चैलेंज करना चाहिए—बिहार में 1977 में 681, 1978 में 2,479, ये एट्रासिटीज के केसेज हैं, इसमें रेप है, आगजनी है, बायलेंस है, मर्डर है और भी छोटी-मोटी चीजें हैं। गुजरात में है : 1977 में 331 और 1978 में 540, कर्णाटक में 1970 में 59 और 1978 में 376—यह कर्णाटक भी हमारे देश में है जहाँ ऐसी बातें होती हैं ...

SHRI L. R. NAIK: I do not think the figure is correct.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : नहीं है, तो आप फिर चैलेंज कर दीजिए।

श्री चरण सिंह : यह बजट पर बोल रहे हैं ?

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : आप कह दीजिये गलत बात है। बजट किस के लिए है। कौन बोलता है कि बजट पर बोलिये। किसी ने कहा है।

श्री कल्पनाय राय : चौधरी चरण सिंह कह रहे हैं।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : तो चौधरी साहब फाइनेशियल बजट को समझते नहीं हैं। क्यों है यह बजट ? पहले जो आपकी बैंक ग्राउन्ड है उसे आप देखें। आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं इससे, उसको आप नहीं बचा सकते। यह बर्दाश्त करने की बात नहीं है। इसके पहले आप होम मिनिस्टर थे। हम जो कहते हैं और जो फीगर हम दे रहे हैं उसको आप चैलेंज कर दीजिए। आप इन्को गलत

कह दीजियेगा तो हम मान लेंगे और लोग भी समझेंगे कि मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहा है वह ठीक ही होगा, लेकिन हमको यहां अपनी बात कह लेने दीजिए। यह हमारा वक्त है। कर्नाटक में 1977 में 59 और 1978 में 376, केरल में 77 में 233 और 78 में 685, उड़ीसा में 77 में 69 और 78 में 137, राजस्थान में 77 में 261 और 78 में 886, उत्तर प्रदेश में 77 में 4974 और 78 में 5660 और महाराष्ट्र में 77 में 570 और 78 में 297 और यह 78 के चार महीनों के फीगर्स हैं, आठ महीनों के अभी नहीं आ पाये हैं। मैं यह पूछता हूँ आप से कि आपने शासन अपने हाथ में लिया है किस लिये, हम मर्यादा की परवाह नहीं करेंगे, आप जवाब में कह सकते हैं कि हम जब तक हैं यही होगा। तो हम लोग कुछ नहीं कह सकते। हम लोग तो हरिजनों के बीच में जायेंगे और अपना काम करेंगे। यह बजट आपका है। आप पुलिस को रख कर हरिजनों को मरवाइये। आप यही चाहते हैं तो इस बजट में यही होगा। तो यह पोजीशन है देश की। जो हरिजनों की जान की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता, माल तो उनके पास है ही नहीं, जान के अलावा उस गरीब हरिजन के पास और है ही क्या, इस बात को क्या आप नहीं जानते। आपको समझनी पड़ेगी यह बात। आप भूल नहीं सकते इस बात को। आप भी पब्लिक वर्कर रहे हैं। ऐसा देश जिसमें गरीबों की जान की रक्षा न हो सके उन ही आप तरक्की क्या करेंगे। यह पहली तस्वीर है जिसको मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। जो फीगर मैंने दिये हैं उनको आप चैलेंज करें। इस देश में अगर अगला चुनाव हुआ तो मैं इस फ्रंट से लड़ता हूँ राज्य सभा के कि हिन्दुस्तान का एक एक गरीब हरिजन और आदिवासी जनता पार्टी को वोट नहीं देगा। यह समझते हैं कि एक दफा हम हो गये तो फिर अपना रास्ता साफ है। यह नहीं होगा। डेम क्रेसी में ऐसा मत समझिये। एक दफा आप हो गये

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

तो दूसरी दफा आपका मंत्रिमंडल बनेगा या नहीं, इसमें शक है और यही मौका है आपको समझाने का। अभी आधा पीरियड बीता है, आधा बाकी है। यह तो पुराने खिलाड़ी है। नहीं आयेगे तो उधर से इधर आ जायेंगे। वह क्षमता है आप में और फिर मौका मिला तो इधर से उधर आ जायेंगे। यह आवागमन तो जारी रहेगा, लेकिन जिस पीरियड में आप हैं, जो कुछ आप कर रहे हैं, जो बजट आपका है, आप के जो काम हैं, लोग इन्हीं को याद रखेंगे। लोग यह याद रखेंगे कि आपने क्या कहा था और क्या किया था। जब आप पावर में थे तो सारकी कैसी बाधा थी, कैसे काम थे और बाद में आप कैसे बदल गये अगर आपने महसूस किया है कि आप और अगर आप अपना खर्चा दुस्त नहीं करते तो गरीबों को हरिजनों को खर नहीं है। अब चौधरी साहब ने कहा, बजट पर बोलिये। तो यह बजट किस लिये है। सब का हो सकता है लेकिन गरीबों का, बेरोजगारों का यह बजट कभी नहीं हो सकता। चधरी जी कहेंगे कि है, लेकिन मैं नहीं मानूँगा। गरीब का तो यह बजट ही नहीं सकता। यह अमीरों का और मानवरों का बजट है। गरीब का नहीं हो सकता और खास कर गरीब हरिजन का तो हो ही नहीं सकता। यह समझायेगे हमको। अब हम इसी पर आते हैं। बड़ी गुड़ो उड़ाई है उन्हें और यह लिख दिया है कुछ। भीतर कुछ और बात है और यहां बतलायेंगे कुछ और। उन्हीं के भाषण पर मैं आ रहा हूँ।

SHRI DEVENDRA NATH DWIVEDI: Sir, . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मिनिस्टर साहब को हा सुनना सब से महत्वपूर्ण है तो हम लोग यहां क्या आते ? हम लोग उनको भी सुनेंगे।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : श्रीमन्, यहां बहस होती रही है, वित्त मंत्री जी यहां नहीं रहे।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : आप लोग धीरे से सुनिये।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : कृपया माननीय सदस्य को बोलने दीजिये, समय बरबाद न कीजिए . . .

(Interruptions)

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : श्रीमन्, इन्होंने अपने बजट भाषण में दिया है। हिन्दी के दूसरे स्तर पर है कि जब तक गरीबों का आर्थिक फाउंडेशन मजबूत नहीं होगा, मैं समझता हूँ कि तब तक समाज सर्वरूपेण सुखी नहीं हो सकता। हरिजनों के बारे में पेज 38-44 में दिया है कि हम लोगों ने तमाम डिपार्टमेंट्स को और मिनिस्टर्स को यह दिया है कि 'सोशल कंपोनेंट' चलाया जाए। उसमें हिन्दी लफ्ज आया है, उसको चलाया जाए। मैं चौधरी साहब से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो गवर्नमेंट की मिनिस्ट्री है उस में किया है आपने ? जो चीज 15 वर्ष तक नहीं सुधरी, प्लानिंग कमीशन की रिपोर्ट है कि गरीबों की हालत ज्यों की त्यों है, यह हमारा कहना नहीं है, आप चला रहे हैं अब उनको। लेकिन गरीब और हरिजन वैसे का वैसे ही है। सब से ज्यादा गरीबी में नम्बर है तो हरिजनों का है। पांच पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बीत गई, यह आज भी हालत है। आखिर बजट क्या है ? . . .

(Interruptions)

नयी बात आप बोल रहे थे, तो मैं सुन रहा था मन ही मन। हम समझ रहे हैं। हम लोग जो यहां से बोलते हैं उसको भी समझिये। हम खूब समझते हैं। इनका बजट क्या है ? चौधरी साहब वित्त मंत्री हुए हैं, इन्होंने क्या दिया है ? थोड़ा सा उधर-उधर करके बजट बनाया है, कुछ नहीं दिया

है। खाली दिया है कि हमने तमाम स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स को और केन्द्र सरकार को कहा है कि तुम लोग खाम पैसा रखकर 'स्पेंडिंग कंसेन्ट प्लान' जिसे कहते हैं, उसको रखो। किम-किम स्टेट ने रखा है? गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के किस डिपार्टमेंट ने रखा है, इसका जवाब देना चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा है कि हरिजनों के घर में पैसा चला गया। वह खुश हो गये। यह बजट है। इसका जवाब दीजिएगा। इसमें लिखा हुआ है, कहीं नहीं गया। कहीं प्लानिंग में भी प्राविजन नहीं किया है। गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की रिपोर्ट है, सिवाय एग्रिकल्चर और इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट ने किया है प्लान में गैड्यूल्ड कास्टम के लिए गैड्यूल्ड ट्राइडज की में बात नहीं कहेंगे। लेकिन स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से हमको खबर नहीं है कि कहीं दिया है। जिस देश की जनता पांच पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं के बाद भी पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे है, उसमें उनकी क्या उर्माद की जा सकती है...

(Interruptions).

हमको कहिये, आपको इच्छा हो या सदन की इच्छा हो तो मैं तुम्हें बंद जाऊँ? हमको कोई ऐतराज नहीं है। हम कोई लैक्चर देकर सदन को खुश करना नहीं चाहते हैं। लेकिन जो कुछ हम कहते हैं उसको आप महमूम कीजिए। हरिजनों पर जुल्म है, उस पर न बोलें तो आप कहें हम किम पर बोलें?

कांग्रेस जो इतनी बड़ी चीज थी उसको हमने सत्ता से हटाया। आपको सत्ता में लाये। (Interruptions). हमारी पार्टी के लोग हैं ध्यान से सुनते हैं। हम लोग जो सरकारी बेंच पर बैठे हुए हैं उनको कद्र हमको है।

2213 RS.—9.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): You will remember that when we were distributing time, we had specifically mentioned that the Leader of the Congress Party would speak before the Finance Minister gives his reply. Therefore, we are not going to allow any disturbance from that Party. We are going to listen to our leader.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): He is speaking.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: You are a party to that decision and I was also a party to that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV¹): He is speaking.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: You are a Vice-Chairman and I am also a Vice-Chairman. We agreed that our leader would speak before the Finance Minister replies. We are not going to allow any disturbance. 14, V.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): He is speaking. He is making out his points. They are only interrupting. It is their right.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: We know our rights too. We know what to do and how to do it.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra): We respect our leader and we will not tolerate any disturbance.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: They are new-comers to the Parliament. We have been Parliamentarians here before they come.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV): He is already making his point.

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : जो सरकारी बेंच पर बैठ हुए हैं उनसे डिफरेंस हो सकते हैं लेकिन हर व्यक्ति का आदर होता है। जिस काम के लिये यहां बैठे हैं उस पर हम जरूर कहेंगे। वहां खुदा भी बैठे तो भी हम कहेंगे। यह कोई बात नहीं है कि हम कुछ नहीं कहेंगे। किस लिये हम यहां पर आए हैं। हम गरीब समाज से आते हैं। गरीब समाज की बात को हम समझते हैं भले ही चौधरी साहब की फीलिंग न हो, आडवाणी साहब की फीलिंग न हो लेकिन हम को कैसे नहीं होगी।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव): आप अपनी बात कहिये।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : बात पर ही बात उठती है। आप लोग उठ कर जो बात कह देंगे या मिनिस्टर साहब उठ कर कह देंगे वही बात तो हम कहेंगे नहीं। हम लोग जो बोलते हैं अपनी तरफ से बोलते हैं और गरीब जनता की भलाई के लिये बोलते हैं। अगर आप हमारी बात नहीं सुनेंगे तो हम भी आपकी बात नहीं सुनेंगे। जैसा आप करते हैं वैसा हम भी करना जानते हैं।

1960-71 के बीच की रिपोर्ट है। हम आपसे कह रहे हैं कि जो हरिजन गरीब किसान था जिसके पास जमीन थी वह अब मजदूर हो गया, लैंडलेस मजदूर हो गया है। यह उनकी तरक्की हुई है। यह गवर्नमेंट की रिपोर्ट है। उनकी आर्थिक हालत पर सोचना, विचार करना क्या देश के वित्त मंत्री का काम नहीं है। आप कहेंगे कि बजट पर कहिये तो

क्या यह बजट पर नहीं बोल रहा हूं। जो जानत है इस समाज की क्या उस पर नहीं बोलूँ। अगर उस पर नहीं बोलूँ तो हम किस लिये यहां बैठे हैं। मैं उसी लिये खड़ा हुआ हूं कि इन बातों को सरकार के कानों तक पहुंचा दूं। मैं यह कहता हूं कि इन लोगों में, इस सरकार में कुछ करने का दम नहीं है। असल बात यही है कि दम टूट रहा है। जो शुरू में इनमें दम था वह अब नहीं है। यह दम जब तक चल रहा है तब तक चल रहा है। यह कब तक चलेगा, क्या होगा हम नहीं कह सकते। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि जो इन्होंने आइटम 44 दिया है उसको चौधरी साहब जाकर देखें। यह हमारी रिपोर्ट है कि किसी स्टेट में, गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की किसी मिनिस्ट्री में इस प्लान को नहीं दिया गया है जिसे स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान कहते हैं। स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान में और बजटरी प्लान में अन्तर है। प्लान में जो आउट ले होता है वह एक्जीक्यूटिव आर्डर से होता है और जो बजट में होता है वह स्टेट्सूटरी टाइप में चला जाता है। उसको पूरा राईट होना है कि वह देखे कि जिस मद के लिये पैसा रखा गया है उस पर खर्च हुआ है या नहीं। हम यह चाहते हैं कि अगर आपने नहीं देखा है, नहीं आर्डर दिया है, हो सकता है जल्दी-जल्दी में वित्त मंत्री हो गये इसलिये न देख पाये हों, देखने का मौका न मिला हो और मोटा-मोटा देख लिया हो तो आप इसको फिर देख लीजिए। हम कंस्ट्रक्टिव रजेशन दे रहे हैं। आप इसको देखिये और देख कर आर्डर दीजिए कुछ करने के लिये। मुझे विश्वास है कि जब तक स्पेशल कंपोनेंट प्लान का सेक्टर और गेट के लिये प्रोविजन नहीं होगा तब तक हरिजनों, आदिवासियों की माली हालत सुधरने वाली नहीं है।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे कांग्रेस का राज हो या जनता पार्टी का राज हो, हमें हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की भलाई के लिए ठोस योजना बनानी चाहिये। इसलिए मैं कंक्रिट मजेशन देना चाहता हूँ। आप हमारे मुद्दावां को मानिये और अगर आप हमारे मुद्दावां को नहीं मानते हैं तो खुद अपनी तरफ से कोई मुद्दाव दीजिए और यह बताइये कि इस तरीके से हम लोग हरिजनों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। पहले जो पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनी थीं उनसे हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का काफी भला हुआ, लेकिन अभी भी इस दिशा में काफी कुछ करना है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी भी जनरल स्कीमें बनती हैं उनसे इन लोगों को भी फायदा होता है। यह ठीक है कि जनरल स्कीमों से दूसरे लोगों को भी फायदा होता है, लेकिन इन लोगों का तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की भी जरूरत है। समाज में जो दूसरे लोग हैं, उनमें और हरिजनों और आदिवासियों में काफी अन्तर है। ब्राह्मण या राजपूत अगर कोई होटल खोलता है तो उससे वह राजा कमा लेता है, लेकिन कोई मेहतर या अन्य कोई हरिजन होटल खोले तो उसको लोग जान से मार देगे। जहरों को बात दूसरी है, लेकिन गांवों में और हमारे देश के देहातों में अभी भी यहा हालत है। आपने आइटम 44 में कहा है —

"Economic exploitation and social discrimination against the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes will not cease unless programmes for their development are built upon a sound economic basis."

आपने इसको यहाँ पर लिख दिया, लेकिन आप इसकी डिटेल् में नहीं गये।

"Therefore, Central Ministries and State Governments have been asked to incorporate a special

component in their Plan for 1979-80 for these categories, so that they may secure an adequate flow of benefits from the various sectoral programmes. The outlay on welfare programmes for Scheduled Castes and other backward classes will be Rs. 1171 croresⁱⁿ 1979-80."

आपने ये बातें यहाँ पर दे दी हैं। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वहीं भी आपकी इन बातों का पालन हो रहा है। मैं आपको चेलेन्ज करता हूँ कि आप एक भी स्टेट का नाम बता दीजिए जहाँ पर इस आर्डर का पूरी तरह से पालन हो रहा है। आपकी सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट की मिनिस्ट्रीज में ही इनका पालन नहीं हो रहा है। आपको किसी ने दे दिया और आपने इसको यहाँ पर पढ़ दिया। हम लोग इन बातों को धुंधले हैं। मैं आपको चुनौती देता हूँ कि एक भी जगह ऐसा नहीं है जहाँ पर इनका पूरी तरह से पालन हो रहा हो। मेरा यह मुद्दाव है कि अगर आप समाज के इन गरीब लोगों का भला करना चाहते हैं और इन लोगों को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो आपने इन लोगों के लिए जो एमाउन्ट बजट में रखा है उसका आप पूरी तरह से उपयोग में लाइये और इन लोगों की भलाई में खर्च कीजिए। अगर आप बजट के परसेन्टेज के मुताबिक खर्च करेंगे तो उसी से इन लोगों का काफी भला हो जाएगा। लेकिन मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि आप लोग मन से इस काम को करना नहीं चाहते हैं और जान-बूझकर हरिजनों और आदिवासियों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। यही कारण है कि आज हरिजन को मारा जाता है, उनकी स्त्रियों का रेप किया जाता है और उनको परेशान किया जाता है। हम लोग फील्ड में जाते हैं, इसलिए सब बातों को जानते हैं...

(Interruptions)। आज हमारे देश में इस सम्बन्ध में बड़ी भयावह स्थिति पैदा हो गई है। आप लोग यहाँ पर बैठे हुए हैं, इसलिए कुछ नहीं देखते हैं। हम लोग तो फील्ड में जाते हैं और उन लोगों की

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

दिवक्तों को देखते हैं। अगर हमारे देश में एक कास्ट दूसरी कास्ट से लड़ेगी तो फिर यह देश कैसे तरक्की कर सकता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप लोग पोलिटिकल परपज के लिए हमारे देश में एक कास्ट को दूसरी कास्ट से लड़ा रहे हैं। इस देश की इंटिग्रिटी और एकता की चिन्ता सिर्फ चौधरी चरण सिंह जा को या आडवाणी जी को नहीं है, हम लोगों को भी इसकी चिन्ता है। अगर आपकी यह नीति रही तो इस देश में हरिजनों का भला नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए मैं कहता हूँ कि आप हरिजनों की तरफ विशेष रूप से ध्यान दें। आप इस बजट को पास कर लेंगे, लेकिन इस बजट के पास करने से ही काम नहीं चलता है। मैंने यहां पर जो बातें कही हैं, उसमें मुझे बहुत डिस्टर्ब किया गया और आपने भी प्रॉटेक्शन ठीक से नहीं दिया।

श्री प्रेम मनोहर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : शास्त्री जी, हमारी तरफ से कहां डिस्टर्ब किया गया। आपकी ही तरफ से डिस्टर्ब किया गया है।

श्री रामेश्वर सिंह (उत्तर प्रदेश) : अगर हम कुछ कहते तो यही कहते कि आपने 30 साल से क्या किया ?

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : कृपया आप शांत रहिये।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : हम तो उसको भी मानते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री श्याम लाल यादव) : शास्त्री जी आप अपनी बात कहें इसमें न जायें।

श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री : कांग्रेसी राज्य में ठीक है कि गलतियां हुई थीं। फिर भी मैं कहता हूँ कि यदि आप बात कीजियेगा तो कांग्रेसी राज्य में यदि कुछ गलतियां भी हुईं पर फिर भी वह इससे फार बेटर था, जो आज जनता

राज में है। मैं यह कहना नहीं चाहता था, हम इस बात को लाना नहीं चाहते थे क्योंकि हमारा दल बिखर गया है, टूट गया है। पुरानी कांग्रेस की याद दिलाते हैं तो यह गर्दन टेढ़ा फार बेटर थी उसने डवलपमेंट का काम किया। एक प्वाइंट है और उसके बाद मैं बैठ जाऊंगा। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर की यह बजट स्पीच है।
आइटम 38 में है कि :

"Government does not have to stress in this House the importance of irrigation for agricultural development. The outlay on major, medium and minor irrigation projects including flood control, for 1979-80 will be Rs. 1488 crores compared to Rs. 1401 crores in 1978-79. Most of this outlay will be in the budget of State Governments. The target for the creation of additional irrigation potential in 1979-80 has been fixed at 3.2 million hectares as against a target of 2.3 million hectares in 1978-79. 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 provision of Rs. 10 crores is being made. The Plan provision for the minor irrigation programme will be supplemented with resources available from the Agricultural Refinance and Development Corporation. The financial support made available to the Agricultural Refinanced and Development Corporation from the Central budget has been increased from Rs. 133 crores in 1978-79 to Rs. 159 crores . . ." and so on and so forth.

इसमें क्या है जो आप यह कहते हैं। जहां तक हमारी जानकारी है जो सबसिडी अभी तक दी जाती थी वह पम्पिंग सेट पर माइनर इरिगेशन में वह मारजीनल फार्मर्स