

aucus or an extra-Constitutional authority of the old type. When you find such things happening, you find that the Kamani come and they use Hinduja connected with some relative of a Minister in order to get back the Kamani Engineering concern.

Here is, Sir, all the material. All this material is available to Mr. George Fernandes, the Minister of Industry and * have got copies of the material which has been supplied to him. I should like to know Mr. George Fernandes what step he is taking in this matter. This is what I would like to know from the Government. Why are they sleeping over it? I cannot understand it. They should come and give an assurance and the Kamani Engineering concern should be taken over. Previously, Sir, the Birlas wanted to take over the Kamani. Now, the Kamani are trying to take over after the corporation has got going. A few months before, the things were not bad. Now you hear the same type of allegations, same type of nepotism, favouritism, lobbying, meeting people, getting companies' control, having business connections and all these things and these things are not only appearing in the newspapers or the journals, they are coming to us again. Sir, may I make a suggestion? Can't those who are in high officials have a change and ask their sons and sons-in-law, daughters and daughters-in-law to keep out of the harm's way? Sir, let it be known that some of the houses in Delhi are out of bounds for the noted sons and sons-in-law. We can make that. Why can't the sons live elsewhere? We have not lived with our parents; Mr. Piloo Mody has not lived with his parents very much and he is still Mr. Piloo Mody. What is all this? This is despicable, this is harrowing spectacle of juxtaposition of father and son, father-in-law and son-in-law and in between businessmen intermingling and getting away with public exchequer. So, we want to put a stop to it. May I appeal to our senior Ministers, whether he is the pillar of the Janata Party according to Mr.

Vajpayee—others may not think—for the sake of the nation, ask your near and dear ones not to be worried about the public affairs; remain a little aloof till the tenure of their office. Sir, let them live far away from Delhi. Do not form a lobby here or a caucus. They should be asked to go away otherwise I will demand that Parliament should consider this matter and have a legislation with a view to saving the nation from these invasions, invasions of these spoiled careerist ambitious children of the Ministers because when they come, then the Kamani come, the Birlas come, the Goenkas come, the Dalmias come, the Jains come and the whole gang comes. We want to put a stop to it. 2 00p.MSir, all these facts have appeared in the Business India, a magazine of the Corporate World, in its latest issue, 24th April-7th May. There is the whole story of the Kamani scandal in it. I do hope my friends will go into these things and put a stop to the Kamani affair I would ask Mr. H. M. Patel and the Prime Minister not to meet any of the Kamani and not to allow these Kamani to approach through their near and dear ones, through Hinduja or other favoured business concerns.

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही
अब दवाई वजे तक के लिए स्थगित की जाती
है ।

The House then adjourned for lunch at one minute past two of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-five minutes past two of the clock. Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

The Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1918

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain

[Shri H. M. Patel] sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 197E-79, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Bill provides for withdrawal out of the Consolidated Fund of India of the amounts required to meet the expenditure for the year 1978-79 charged on the Fund, as well as the Grants voted by the Lok Sabha. The amount provided in the Bill is inclusive of the sums already authorised in -the Appropriation (Vote on Account) -Act, 1978.

The Budget documents for the current year contain full details of expenditure provisions coming within the scope of the Bill. Briefly, while the Bill provides for gross disbursements of Rs. 36,534 crores, the net provision after setting off recoveries and transactions in the nature of accounting adjustments in for expenditure of Rs. 18,417 crores. Of this, developmental expenditure will be Rs. 11,037 crores, constituting 60 per cent of the total. Non-Plan expenditure has been kept to the minimum by pruning in essential items with a view to achieving the utmost economy. Rs. 7,281 crores have been provided in the Budget for Central Plan and for assistance to States and Union territories for their Plans. The provision for Plan expenditure constitutes 40 per cent of the total; as compared to the previous year, there is an increase of Rs. 1,491 crores or a 26 per cent step up. The inescapable commitments on on-going schemes have been duly provided for. For assistance to States and Union territories for their Plans Rs. 2,761 crores have been provided as compared to Rs. 1,812 crores last year. The step up of 52 per cent in Central assistance to States and Union territories Plans reflects a reorientation of our Plan priorities in favour of agriculture, irrigation, power and rural development all of which occupy predominant positions in States' Plans.

Various aspects of the Budget have already been discussed in the House

in the course of the general discussion. I would not, therefore, take more time of the House in enumerating the details of the Budget provisions but shall try to deal with the points that may be made by the hon. Members in the course of the discussion.

The question was proposed.

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति महोदय, अभी कल जनता पार्टी ने अपनी स्थापना का पहला वर्ष पूरा किया और उसकी वर्षगांठ मनाई। यह एक संयोग ही है कि आज आने वाले एक वर्ष और बंते हुए एक वर्ष में जनता पार्टी द्वारा किए गए कार्यों का मूल्यांकन हो रहा है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मूल्यांकन अधूरा नहीं हो सकता। जिनदगो में उत्थान आता है तो हर क्षेत्र में आता है तथा जब पतन आता है तो फिर चौतफा आता है। अभी पिछले साल अमरीका के टाइम मैगजीन ने लिखा कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार आने के बाद से जिनदगो में गणतन्त्रक गिरावट आई। यह बात 8 महीने हो गयी थी। लेकिन उस समय यह बात जिनदगी सब थी आज उसमें थोड़ी अधिक सच है। सारा भारतवर्ष एक भयानक ज्वालामें जल रहा है। कोई ग्राम और कोई शहर नहीं जहाँ आन्ति हो। कोई कस्बा नहीं जहाँ गोलों न चल रही हो। पन्तनगर, अमृतसर, वैलाडिला, आगरा ये कुछ नाम हैं, और नामों को गिनाने से कोई फायदा नहीं। लेकिन यह सत्य है कि हिन्दुस्तान इन एक वर्ष में एक साल आगे नहीं बढ़ा बल्कि चार साल पीछे चला गया। भारत वर्ष 1974 में पहुँच गया। इमरजेंसी के एक साल पहले अडवारी में जा हैडलाईस हुआ करती थी, ठीक वैसे ही हैडलाईस अब नजर आती हैं। उन दिनों जो अशांति, जो अव्यवस्था, जो अराजकता थी, लगभग आज भी वही अराजकता, वही अशांति और वही अव्यवस्था है जो पीछे भा

एक तरह की आर्थिक असुरक्षा थी, एक तरह की सामाजिक असुरक्षा थी, एक तरह की राजनीतिक अस्थिरता थी और आज भी जो कुछ हो रहा है उसके पीछे जो एक राजनीतिक अस्थिरता, एक सामाजिक और आर्थिक असुरक्षा है लेकिन फिर भी जनता पार्टी और उसकी सरकार के द्वारा यह दावा किया जा रहा है कि उनके एक साल में बहुत कुछ किया है। मैं नहीं जानता क्या किया? जनता पार्टी यह कहती है, प्रधान मंत्री से लेकर प्रदेश मंत्री यह कहता है कि उसने नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता बहाल की है। यह नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता तो बहाल होती है, क्योंकि पिछले साल इमरजेंसी मार्च में उठाई गई थी। अगर जनता पार्टी के अलावा कोई और भी सरकार आती, चाहे कांग्रेस की ही सरकार आती, तब भी नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता बहाल होती। इमरजेंसी एक मश्वूरी के तहत लगी थी और वह केवल 19 महीने की थी, 19 साल की नहीं थी। उसे खत्म होना था और नागरिकता बहाल होनी थी। इसलिए आज जनता पार्टी अपनी पोट ठोपने की स्थिति में नहीं है। वास्तविकता यह है कि उनके नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता के नाम पर अराजकता और अनिश्चितता कायम की है।

उपसभापति जी, इस एक वर्ष में क्या हुआ? इस एक वर्ष में जो कुछ हुआ उसकी मिसाल हिन्दुस्तान के इन 30 सालों में ही नहीं तीन हजार सालों के इतिहास में नहीं है। कभी ऐसा नहीं हुआ कि कुछ जातियों ने संगठित हो कर दूसरी जातियों का दमन किया हो। लेकिन ऐसा हुआ। उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार जैसे क्षेत्रों में ऐसा ही रहा है। यह कोई आकस्मिक नहीं हो रहा है संगठित रूप से हो रहा है। जनता पार्टी यह चाहती रही है कि कुछ जातियों का

शोषण हो। इनका ननाज यह हो रहा है कि आज जो हरिजन वहाँ हैं वहाँ अपने को अब जितना अनुरक्षित अनुभव कर रहा है उतना उतने पहले कभी अनुभव नहीं किया। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि कांग्रेस के शासन काल में हरिजनों पर अत्याचार नहीं हुए। लेकिन उनके पास कोई संगठित गिरोह नहीं था, कोई दर्शन नहीं था। हरिजनों पर सालों से जो जुल्म, अत्याचार हो रहे थे कांग्रेस के शासन में बड़े नहीं थे। लेकिन आज हरिजनों पर और निचली जातियों पर अत्याचार के लिए एक दर्शन की भूमिका तैयार की गई है। मैं नाम नहीं लूंगा लेकिन जनता पार्टी के एक व्यक्ति जो आज विवाद का केन्द्र बन चुके हैं इन दर्शनों के रचियता है क्योंकि उनका नेतृत्व केवल इस दर्शन के चलने पर ही बना रह सकता है। जितने दिन यह फिरोमाफी यह दर्शन बंधकई क्लास के मन से खत्म हो जाएगी उसी दिन उनका नेतृत्व ढह जाएगा। इसलिए इस गम्भीर समस्या पर इस सदन को और इस सरकार को विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। यह कहना काफी नहीं कि इस पर विचार हो गया। विचार होना है और विचार होने के बाद उस पर कार्यवाही होना चाहिये। जनता पार्टी को सत्ता में बन रहने के लिए ऐसा कुछ नहीं करना चाहिये जिनसे इतिहास हमेशा उसे एक गलत सरकार के रूप में याद करे।

अब मैं आपका ध्यान आर्थिक स्थिति

[श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा]

आर्थिक दुर्बलवस्था कहना ज्यादा उचित होगा, की ओर आकर्षित करता हूँ। यह सही है कि, इमरजेंसी में ज्यादातियां हुईं। इमरजेंसी का विरोध करके जनता पार्टी ने अपने कर्तव्य का पालन किया। मैं इसके लिए दोषी नहीं मानता कि उसने ठीक किया। लेकिन इमरजेंसी में कुछ महत्वपूर्ण कार्यक्रम स्वीकार किये गए थे। कुछ ऐसे कार्यक्रम थे जो शायद सामान्यतः स्वीकार नहीं किये जाते। और ये आर्थिक कार्यक्रम थे जो 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के रूप में स्वीकार किये गये थे। इन 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रमों के अन्तर्गत विशेषरूप से ग्रामीण जनता और दबी हुई जनता के उद्धार के लिए एक सम्पूर्ण योजना बनाई गई थी। दरअसल यह योजना आज से 30 साल पहले बनाई गई होती तो हिन्दुस्तान कुछ और होता। लेकिन एक शुरुआत हुई। आम लोगों के हित के लिए कुछ कामों की शुरुआत हुई। देहातों के अन्दर बैंक खुलने लगे और बंधुआ मजदूरी प्रथा समाप्त होने लगी। इसके परिणामस्वरूप गरीबों में आत्म विश्वास पैदा होने लगा। मेरी निगाह में तो यह आत्म-विश्वास पैदा होना ही बहुत बड़ी चीज है। एक गरीब आदमी, जिनको हजारों वर्षों से कुचला गया हो, उसको अगर सरकार कुछ मदद करने लगे और उसमें आत्म-विश्वास पैदा कर दे तो यह एक बहुत बड़ी उपलब्धि होगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की कोई अन्य उपलब्धि नहीं भी है, लेकिन अगर इस कार्यक्रम ने लोगों में, विशेष कर गरीबों के अन्दर आत्म विश्वास पैदा कर दिया है तो यही सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि है और इसको धाव करने के लिए यही बात काफी है। अच्छा तो यही होता कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम को अपनाती। लेकिन चूंकि

इस कार्यक्रम का इमरजेंसी के साथ नाम जुड़ा हुआ था, इसलिए जनता पार्टी की सरकार को इससे विनूष्णा हो गई। उनको इस 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम से इतनी घृणा है कि अगर टेलीविजन और रेडियो पर 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम का नाम आ जाता है तो प्रोड्यूसर को सस्पेन्ड कर दिया जाता है। मैं नहीं समझता कि श्री एच० एम० पटेल या श्री पील मोदी और अन्य तमाम लोग जो पहले लोक सभा में बैठते थे और जिनकी परफोरमेंस को एक अखबार वाला होने के नाते मैं देखता रहता था और जो बारबार यही कहते रहते थे कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने कुछ भी ऐसा नहीं किया है जिससे आम जनता की जिन्दगी में कोई फर्क आए, वे आज क्यों चुप बैठे हुए हैं? वे लोग आज 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की भांति, चाहे वे उसको कुछ भी नाम दें, कोई कार्यक्रम क्यों नहीं अपनाते हैं? इसका मुख्य कारण यह है कि इस सरकार की नीयत साफ नहीं है। दरअसल, इनका विरोध इमरजेंसी से नहीं था। इनका विरोध 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम से था। मैं समझता हूँ कि इनका विरोध उन प्रगतिशील कार्यक्रमों और आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों से है जो सामाजिक कायाकल्प के लिए अपनाये गये थे। ये लोग प्रगतिशील आर्थिक कार्यक्रमों के विरोधी रहे हैं। आप जानते हैं कि मैं मार्क्सिस्ट नहीं हूँ, लेकिन यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कार्ल मार्क्स ने कहा है कि बुर्जुवा समाज की जो परम्पराएं समाज की उन्नति के लिए आवश्यक हों उनको स्वीकार कर लेना चाहिए। कार्ल मार्क्स ने परम्पराओं को स्वीकार किया और यह कहा कि परम्पराओं में सब कुछ बुरा नहीं है और जो बातें वैज्ञानिक सत्य हैं और विज्ञान पर आधारित हैं उनको अपनाने में कोई बुराई नहीं है। लेकिन आज की हमारी जनता पार्टी की सरकार पिछले 30 वर्षों के शासन में जो भी अच्छे काम किये गये हैं और जो भी प्रगति की गई है उसको समाप्त करने पर तुली हुई है। देश के उत्थान के लिए पिछले 30 वर्षों में जितनी भी संस्थाएं बनाई गईं उनको एक-एक

करके यह सरकार दहा देना चाहती है। वास्तविकता तो यह है कि पिछले सालों में जो सरकार हमारे देश में कायम थी वह एक आधुनिक सरकार थी। वह एक ऐसी सरकार थी जो 20वीं शताब्दी में रह रही थी और वह ऐसी सरकार थी जिसके अधिकांश मंत्री और अधिकांश नेता 20वीं शताब्दी में रह रहे थे। यह बात स्वीकार करने में मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं है। लेकिन वर्तमान सरकार में जो मंत्री हैं उनमें से बहुतों का दिमाग 19वीं और 16वीं शताब्दी का बना हुआ है और आज की जो आवश्यकताएं हैं उनको वे समझते नहीं हैं। अगर वे आधुनिक आवश्यकताओं को समझते भी हैं तो उनको स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं।

उपसभापति महोदय, आप जानते हैं कि पिछली सरकार ने बहुत कुछ अर्जन किया था और काफी मात्रा में सोना भी अर्जित किया था। लेकिन हमारे पटेल साहब उस सोने को बेच रहे हैं। यह काम किस के लिए किया जा रहा है और इससे किसको फायदा होगा, इसको ये ही लोग जानते होंगे। जिस प्रकार से एक लायक पिता अपने नालायक बेटे के लिए बहुत बड़ी सम्पत्ति छोड़ जाता है और नालायक बेटा उसको उड़ाता है, कुछ उसी तरह से यह सरकार भी पिछली सरकार द्वारा अर्जित की गई विदेशी मुद्रा को उड़ा रही है। इसका नतीजा क्या होगा, इसको यह सरकार नहीं जानती है। पांच साल के बाद यह स्थिति होगी कि रिजर्व बैंक का खजाना खाली हो जाएगा। आज ये लोग कह रहे हैं कि हमारे पास इतनी विदेशी मुद्रा है कि हम इसको कैसे खर्च करें। इनके सामने यह समस्या पैदा हो गई है। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि पांच साल बाद क्या समस्या पैदा होगी, क्या इस सरकार ने उस पर विचार किया है? श्रीमन, यह जनता पार्टी की सरकार जनता की भलाई के लिए कितनी चिन्तित है, यह इसी से सिद्ध हो जाता है कि इन्होंने बिना किसी विशेष कारण के

दिल्ली में घी की कीमत बढ़ा दी है। इस वक्त दूध की कीमत 50 पैसे प्रति लीटर बढ़ा दी गई है। क्या यह सरकार बता सकती है कि प्रति व्यक्ति आय में कितनी बढ़ोतरी हो गयी कि यह वृद्धि की गई? कौन-सी ऐसी मुसीबत खड़ी हो गई थी कि कीमत बढ़ाने की आवश्यकता पड़ी? मैं समझता हूँ कि मुसीबत यह पड़ गई थी कि श्री एच० एम० पटेल की सुपुत्री कुमारी अमृता पटेल और मदन डेरी के अध्यक्ष श्री बी० कुरियन, इन दोनों ने यह फैसला कर लिया कि दूध की कीमत बढ़ाई जानी चाहिए। आप जानते हैं कि श्री कुरियन गुजरात की अमूल प्रोडक्ट के अध्यक्ष भी हैं। वे दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम के संचालक भी हैं। और भी बहुत कुछ हैं और काफी दिनों से हैं, बहुत प्रभावशाली व्यक्ति हैं और वह मदन डेयरी के भी संचालक हैं। मदन डेयरी को चलाने का जिम्मा उन पर था। जब मदन डेयरी नहीं चली, क्योंकि मदन डेयरी का दूध जितने बूथों में मिलता था वहां बिक नहीं रहा था, तब उन्होंने फैसला किया कि दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम का ही गला घोट दिया जाय और इसके मुताबिक उन्होंने बहुत सी . . .

(Interruptions)

जी हां, अगर आप चाहें तो मैं कटिंग भी दे सकता हूँ। इसमें श्री एच० एम० पटेल की सुपुत्री कु० अमृता पटेल भी हैं। मैं यहां उनका नाम नहीं लेना चाहता था। जरा अच्छा नहीं लगता। लेकिन मैं विवश हूँ क्योंकि यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है। इसमें आगे भी गुल खिलेंगे। उन्होंने कृषि मंत्रालय पर दबाव डाला और श्री कुरियन की शर्त मनवाई गई और यह कहा गया कि दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम 50 किलोमीटर की दूरी से दूध लाने के बजाय 250 किलोमीटर से भी अधिक दूरी से दूध लाये। अब आप ही बताइए कि अगर दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम को 250 किलोमीटर की दूरी से दूध लाना पड़ता है तो क्या

[श्री श्रीकांत वर्मा]

उसमें उसे घाटा नहीं होगा और अगर घाटा होगा तो जाहिर है कि दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम के पास यह तक होगा कि वह दूध की कीमतों में वृद्धि करे।

(Interruptions)

Mr. Kurien was kicked in Bombay. So he grabbed Delhi and he is committing atrocities on the citizens of Delhi, with the connivance and help of Mr. Patel's daughter.

यह स्थिति है और इसके बाद भी यह सरकार दावा करती है कि वह बहुत साफ सुथरी है। उपसभापति महोदय, यह सरकार कितनी साफ सुथरी है इसका हवाला आज सवेरे श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने ही दिया। मैं उसे यहां दोहराऊंगा नहीं। लेकिन जिस मामले की ओर उन्होंने इशारा नहीं किया था उसकी ओर मैं इशारा करना चाहता हूँ। आज ही सवेरे मुझे एक लिखित उत्तर मिला। मैंने प्रश्न किया था कि जब प्रधान मंत्री भारतको से दिल्ली आये थे तो उनके दल के कई सदस्य तेहरान में उतरे थे। क्या टेक्नीकल हॉल्ट की वजह से उनका प्लेन तेहरान में रोका गया था? उसका उत्तर मिला कि वहाँ टेक्नीकल हॉल्ट की वजह से प्लेन रोका गया और एक व्यक्ति, एक सदस्य प्रधानमंत्री के दल का तेहरान में उतरा। वह सदस्य कौन था? इसका विवरण तो उसमें नहीं दिया गया क्योंकि लिखित उत्तर था। लेकिन इसका विवरण यह है कि वह माननीय सदस्य थे श्री कांति भाई। श्री कांति भाई वहाँ क्यों उतरे? क्या किसी ने उनको उसकी अनुमति दी थी? क्या रिजर्व बैंक से इसने लिये अनुमति ली गई थी और रिजर्व बैंक ने उनको कितनी विदेशी मुद्रा दी थी फ्रैंकफर्ट में आने बहुत से सौदे करने के लिये और मार्केटिंग करने के लिये और तेहरान में उनका कहीं किससे सम्पर्क कायम हुआ? यह सब सब प्यूस

नहीं रह गया है। सारा देश इसकी आलोचना कर रहा है और लोग उंगली उठा रहे हैं। आज सुबह जैसे श्री भूपेश गुप्त ने कहा मैं भी वहना चाहता हूँ कि इसके पहले कि बेटे-बेटियों का साम्राज्य कायम हो, अच्छा है कि आप संभल जाइये।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं नहीं सोचता कि जनता पार्टी कोई भी सबक लेगी। क्योंकि सबक लेने के लिये एक ऐसी सरकार या एक ऐसी पार्टी की जरूरत होती है जो अपने दिल में झाँककर देखे। क्या इनमें कोई भी ऐसा व्यक्ति है जो कि अपने दिल में झाँकता हो? वल्कि सारे लोग दूसरों पर लांछन लगाने में व्यस्त हैं। इस सरकार के विषय में कहा गया है कि : it is a Government of commissions and omissions जितना पैसा कमीशनों पर खर्च किया गया है उतना ही पैसा अगर दिल्ली मिल्क स्कीम पर खर्च किया गया होता तो फिर यह 50 पैसा प्रति लिटर वृद्धि करने की आवश्यकता नहीं होती। उपसभापति महोदय, वास्तविकता तो यह है कि इस सरकार की अर्थनीति ही आत्मघाती है और यह नीति इस देश के लिये आत्मघाती सिद्ध होगी। इस अर्थ नीति के रचयिता श्री एच० एम० पटेल नहीं है, जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज नहीं है, इस अर्थ नीति के रचयिता श्री चरण सिंह हैं। श्री एच० एम० पटेल और श्री जार्ज फर्नेन्डीज में जो भी कमजोरियाँ हों, लेकिन उनके बारे में यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि वे आधुनिक नहीं हैं। लेकिन इस अर्थ नीति के रचयिता हैं एक नये अर्थ शास्त्री श्री चरण सिंह। साइंस टेक्नालोजी और भारी उद्योगों पर हमारा आज तक 30 साल से इम्फेसिज रहा है, यह कि कोई भी देश भारी उद्योगों के जरिये ही आधुनिक बन सकता है और आधुनिक राष्ट्रों के समाज में अपना स्थान पा सकता है। लेकिन इस कल्पना के साथ जवाहरलाल नेहरू का नाम जुड़ा हुआ है। हर आदमी को किसी न किसी से चिढ़ है। जनत

पार्टी के एक मंत्री है जिनको इंदिरा गांधी के नाम से चिह्न है । दूसरे मंत्री को जवाहर लाल नेहरू के नाम से चिह्न है क्योंकि सारी उद्योगों के साथ साइंस और टेक्नोलॉजी के साथ जवाहर लाल नेहरू का नाम जुड़ा हुआ है । इसलिए साइंस और टेक्नोलॉजी को ही नष्ट कर देना आवश्यक है । श्री चरण सिंह ग्रामोन्मुख समाजवाद कायम करना चाहते हैं । यह समझ सकता असम्भव है कि ग्रामोन्मुख समाजवाद क्या होता है । गांधी जी ने भी कभी ऐसी कल्पना नहीं की । उन्होंने कहीं भी ग्रामोन्मुख समाजवाद शब्द का इस्तेमाल नहीं किया । उन्होंने केवल यह कहा कि एक ऐसी अर्थ-नीति, एक ऐसे समाजवाद को कायम करना है जिसमें मनुष्य अपने आप को दूसरों से छोटा न समझे । इसको बहुत स्पष्ट नहीं किया गया क्योंकि गांधी जी कोई अर्थ-शास्त्री नहीं थे । लेकिन श्री चरण सिंह एक अर्थ-शास्त्री हैं । मैं नहीं कह सकता कि वह किस तरह के अर्थ-शास्त्री हैं लेकिन पिछले दिनों कलकत्ता की एक पत्रिका सडे में पश्चिम बंगाल के एक मार्क्सवादी मंत्री श्री अशोक मित्रा ने लिखा और उस लेख का टाइटल दिया

"Charan sing*1 is a quack economist."

मैं नहीं कहता किस तरह के अर्थ-शास्त्री हैं, लेकिन जिस तरह का अर्थ-शास्त्र उन्होंने रचा है, उससे हमारी सारी आधुनिक संरचना नष्ट हो जाएगी । गरीब को इस से कोई फायदा नहीं मिलेगा, ग्रामीणों को नहीं मिलेगा केवल धनी किसानों को फायदा मिलेगा । इससे धनी किसानों का इस देश में साम्राज्य कायम होगा । उपसमाप्ति महोदय, अगर धनी किसानों का साम्राज्य कायम नहीं होना है तो जनता पार्टी की अर्थ-नीति, जिसे श्री चरण सिंह ने अपने प्रभाव से, अपनी शक्ति से और अपने रीछे खड़े हुए कुछ लोगों की ताकत से स्वीकार करा लिया है, उसे ही रद्द करना होगा । जनता पार्टी की अर्थ-नीति ही गलत है, उसकी आर्थिक कल्पना ही गलत है, उसकी

सभ्यता की कल्पना ही गलत है । अगर हम इस गलत कल्पना का समर्थन करते हैं तो इसे खुद एक गलत सरकार, एक गलत शासन के रूप में याद किया जाएगा ।

उपसमाप्ति महोदय, शिक्षा और संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में क्या हो रहा है । विश्वविद्यालय जल रहे हैं । साईं हजार साल पहले परसी-रैंड का पुस्तकालय जला था और उस समय एक भ्रादमी अपने कमरे में बैठा हुआ था और एक किताब पढ़ रहा था । उस किताब के लेखक ने उससे कहा तुम जिस किताब का पढ़ रहे हो वह किताब लाईब्रेरी में जल रही है । आज भी यही हो रहा है । आज एक परसीपैलेस नहीं है । सारे देश में जितने भी विश्वविद्यालय हैं सारे परसीपैलेस हैं, वे जल रहे हैं । उन्हें कौन जला रहा है ? जनता पार्टी का वह वर्णन जला रहा है जो वह कहता है कि इस तरह की नागरिक स्वतंत्रता हम बहाल करेंगे । वे उसको परिभाषित नहीं करते । नागरिक स्वतंत्रता एक परिभाषित चीज है, अपरिभाषित चीज नहीं है । नागरिक स्वतंत्रता ऐसी नहीं हो सकती जिसमें इलाकों को हत्या करने की छूट हो, नागरिक स्वतंत्रता ऐसी नहीं हो सकती जिसमें लोग अपने आप को असुरक्षित अनुभव करें । लेकिन डॉ० प्रताप चन्द्र चन्द्र एक मुगल सम्राट की तरह शांत है, प्रसन्न है, चहरे विश्वविद्यालयों में जो भी हो रहा है । वे क्या कर रहे हैं? गड़गड़ उखाड़ रहे हैं । एक काल-पात्र था, मुर्दा था, उसे उन्होंने उखाड़ दिया । बीच परख की गई, लेकिन उसमें कुछ नहीं मिला । उन्हें जलियावाला बाग नहीं मिला । यह कहा गया था कि उसमें केवल पिछले 30 सालों का उल्लेख होगा, लेकिन उन्हें उसमें जलियावाला बाग नहीं मिला । पुस्तकें बदलवा रहे हैं, विरुद्ध बदलवा रहे हैं क्योंकि वे मार्क्सवादियों की लिखी हुई हैं । मैं नहीं जानता कि कोई लेखक कैसे मार्क्सवादी होता है । लेखक-लेखक

[श्री श्रीकांत वर्मा]

3 P.M.

होगा या नहीं होगा, सम्पादक सम्पादक होगा या नहीं होगा, उसकी निजी विचार-धारा कुछ न कुछ जरूर होगी, कोई मार्क्सवादी होगा कोई जनसंघी होगा, लेकिन क्या केवल इसलिए ही उसकी पुस्तकें जलायी जायें? अगर हम उसकी पुस्तकें जलाते हैं, बदलते हैं, तो हम तानाशाह हैं, फासिस्ट हैं। मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है, यद्यपि इस सरकार ने ऊपरी तौर पर लोकतंत्र को कायम किया है, लेकिन उसके अन्दर फासिस्ट प्रवृत्ति में देखता हूँ जो पहले मैं देखता था। आज भी उसी तरह कुछ लोगों को मैं देखता हूँ जो आलोचना से विचलित नहीं होते हैं। उन्हें आलोचना से विचलित होना चाहिए, सोचना चाहिए कि लोग हम पर उंगलियाँ उठा रहे हैं। लेकिन आप विचलित नहीं हो रहे हैं। आप केवल एक चीज से विचलित हैं और वह यह है कि इंदिरा गांधी वापस आ रही है या आ रही होंगी। इस सदन में यह चीज बहस का विषय नहीं है, अन्यथा मैं उस पर कह सकता था। लेकिन मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि आप इंदिरा गांधी की चिंता मत कीजिए। चिंता कीजिए आर० एस० एस० की जो एक सर्प की तरह जनता पार्टी को चारों ओर से लपेट चुका है, उसको चूस रहा है और उसको खत्म कर देगा। लेकिन आपको उसकी चिंता नहीं है क्योंकि आप सत्ता में बैठे हैं। अगर सत्ता में नहीं होते तो आपको चिंता होती। तब एक केंचूआ भी आपको सर नजर आता था लेकिन आज एक सर्प भी आपको सिर्फ केंचूआ नजर आता है।

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं केवल इतना ही कूंगा और कहकर अपना वक्तव्य जिसे मैं दुःख कहता हूँ क्योंकि मैं दुःख के साथ बोल रहा हूँ, मुख के साथ नहीं, समाप्त कर दूंगा कि इतिहास में यह सरकार एक ऐसी सरकार के रूप में याद की जायेगी जो अयोग्य, अक्षम और नालायक लोगों की सरकार थी। जो दो या डोई साल से अधिक नहीं रह सकी।

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI (Assam): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am extremely grateful to you for giving me this opportunity of making my maiden speech on this Appropriation Bill. By this Bill, Rs. 36,534 crores shall be appropriated from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the purposes which have been set out in the Schedule. The Finance Minister, in his introductory speech, has said that about Rs. 11,036 crores will go for development expenditure. Noody can object if Rs. 11,036 crores go for development expenditure. In fact, we will like to vote more money for the development expenditure of this country. But, Sir, while we appropriate money for one purpose or another, we must also see that this money reaches the common people and this money is used for the betterment of the common people. After all, we will be doing a disservice to ourselves and to the nation if we merely pass Appropriation Bills without seeing correspondingly that the money is utilised for the purpose for which this money is actually voted by this Parliament. Unfortunately our experience in the last one year, has shown that not only the country has gone backward but the country today lacks any direction. Sir, Mr. Shrikant Verma has related some of his experience of the last one year. But this is not the occasion when we should have a political debate about the developments of the last one year. But the fact remains that today the academic life of this country has virtually collapsed. The fact remains that today the poor people are groaning under spiralling inflation. And instead of the prices of commodities coming down, everyday we see the prices of even essential commodities like milk being raised to the detriment of the interests of the common man. Sir, the less said about the law and order situation, the better. Uncertainty is gripping the life of the entire community. It is true that the Janata Government has restored some of the freedoms of the people on paper, but the Finance Minister will also probab-

ly realise that for the first time, after one year of Janata rule, popular legitimacy is being given to the Emergency. Last year, I myself fought election to the Lok Sabha and I saw the big upsurge of the people against the Emergency. The people wanted to express themselves against restrictions imposed during emergency. The people wanted freedom. Today common people are beginning to say that the days of the Emergency were better. What greater failure can there be on the part of the Janata Raj when within one year they have completely transformed this popular upsurge into such an atmosphere that the common people are now talking in terms of the Emergency even justifying the Emergency? I feel that the Janata Party's greatest failure is indicative from this one response of the people. However, this is not the occasion for a discussion on that aspect. We will have other opportunities for that.

The primary purpose of a discussion on the Appropriation Bill is examination of the financial aspect of it. The fact remains that in the last one year the rich became richer and the poor poorer. This is one aspect which was highlighted during the Budget discussion. So I am not discussing it at the moment. I will touch on another aspect which has been virtually neglected in most of the discussions. It is not only that the rich is getting richer and the poor getting poorer. It is the regional disparities, the vast regional disparities, growing in this country, that I want to highlight. Certain areas are getting the major share of the development projects while certain under-developed areas are getting poorer and poorer everyday. I will substantiate my point by facts and figures that I have at my disposal, and I hope the honourable Minister of Finance will enlighten the House more. Out of Rs. 11,036 crores, the money that is being appropriated under this Appropriation Bill, can the honourable Minister give us an indication of how much will go to the backward regions and how much to the comparatively developi

regions of this country? I come from a region which is extremely important, and that is the north-eastern region, which has stood by this country in many a times of peril. After all, in its most difficult days of the economy, this region provided our country, with two products which stood in the list of items as the highest foreign exchange earning products of this country, namely, jute and tea and mind you, this was at a time when this country was suffering from acute foreign exchange crisis. The first item on the list of foreign exchange earners was jute and the second item tea. At that time the total contribution from the jute and tea more than Rs. 400 crores and 90 per cent of this earning was supplied from the northeastern region. At a time when the country was suffering from an acute energy crisis this area of Assam gave almost 50 per cent of the energy to the country. Apart from Assam there are in this region, in this north-eastern region, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura, Arunachal, Mizoram and in the backward regions, I include States like Bengal and Bihar also. We have seen ourselves the tremendous contribution of Bihar and West Bengal in matters of minerals like coal, mica, so on and so forth. But let us see how and in what way development money has been spent for the purpose of developing these areas. I shall give you some statistics. If you go through these areas, if you study the problems of these areas, you will find that the important infrastructure which is so necessary for development, is absolutely missing in this region. For example, there is no communication. We do not have irrigation facilities. We suffer from lack of or shortage of power. Calcutta is everyday suffering from acute shortage of power. Load shedding has become the common experience of the people there. The people does not be surprise when the lights are not off. Rather they become surprised when the lights are on in the streets of Calcutta. Let us look at the question of irrigation. After all, in the

[Shri Dinesh Goswami] present-day

conditions development on the agricultural front is not possible without irrigation. But what do we see? We have the Agricultural Refinance Corporation for development of all these regions. The headquarters of this Refinance Corporation which was set up particularly for the benefit of the north-eastern region was located originally, God knows why, at Kanpur. All right, let it be situated at Kanpur. Let us look to the statistics that I have with me here. I have tried to collect statistics for the past few years. I hope the honourable Finance Minister will reply to the points I am going to raise. The Refinance Corporation allocated a sum of Rs- 404.75 crores for the whole country. Out of this Rs. 405.75 crores what was the contribution to the following States of the eastern region?

There are seven States in this region— Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur—and two Union Territories— Arunachal and Mizoram. Out of the total allocation of Rs. 404.75 crores the allocation for these seven States and two Union Territories was Rs. 5.74 crores which comes to 1 per cent of the total allocation. And Assam's allocation was 44 per cent. How do you expect development with such an approach. You expect that in the backward areas the credit deposit ratio will be favourable compared to the credit deposit ratio in areas which are advanced? I hope the hon. Finance Minister will agree that contrary to the general expectation the credit deposit ratio in this area is completely unfavourable compared to the other areas.

Let us come to the other components which are essential for the purposes of development. Take rural electrification. Haryana can be proud that they have achieved 100 per cent rural electrification. We are extremely glad that their success in the field rural electrification is tremendous. The country is proud of them. The

fact remains that there are other areas also which can provide granaries to serve the entire country. What is the position regarding these other areas? Compare 100 per cent rural electrification of Haryana with the total electrification in the north eastern region where it is less than 5 per cent. I will cite some figures which are staggering and I hope the House will take notice of them. I could not get up-to-date figures. I hope the hon. Finance Minister will enlighten the House with up-to-date figures. The figures available with me are these. Out of the total number of villages electrified in the country, namely 1,22,094, the number of villages electrified in Assam is 670 and the number in the entire northeastern region is 1,090. Now, compare this figure with the figure of 9,252 villages in Andhra Pradesh. In six States and one Union Territory in the north eastern region the total number of villages electrified is 1,090 whereas in Maharashtra alone, the number of villages electrified is 13,661. I am not complaining against the development of Maharashtra in this field. I want more development. But how can you expect this country to grow? How can you complain against the younger generation if they come to unfortunate conclusions if the regional imbalances are not really removed through imaginative planning?

Take the case of power. The hydro-thermal projects likely to be commissioned in the country upto 1977 from 1974 are going to produce 7,833 MW of power out of which the entire north-eastern region was allocated a mere 70 MW and Assam's share being 60 MW. Compare these figures with Gujarat's 905 MW. For the six States and one Union Territory the allocation is 70 MW whereas for Gujarat it is 905 MW and for Maharashtra 965 MW. How can you expect these areas to develop and every time you are saying that you are trying to remove regional disparities. We do not have any complaint against development of other areas. But the statistics and figures do not show that

there has been any genuine effort in this direction.

On the last Friday, the hon. Prime Minister intervened during the debate on Centre-State relations. Then he said that those States which are small do not produce leaders implying that those States which are small do not have political leverage. When the Prime Minister of a country admits that small States do not have political leverage, how can representatives coming from small States get justice from this Government? The Prime Minister went on to say that representatives of Ceylon cannot really play an effective role in the international spheres as the Indian representatives can merely because Ceylon is a small country. I never expected this statement from the hon. Prime Minister especially when the people of this neighbouring region are very sentimental when they are told about their smallness in size.

Let us now come to the other spheres. Unfortunately in the matter of incentive also, the areas which produce cash crops have been discriminatorily treated all the time. Jute has "been the first item in the list of goods earning foreign exchange for the country. This item has been the top foreign exchange earner for a pretty long time. But unfortunately we find that a very raw deal has been given to the jute growers. Every one of us knows that the big industrialists and the rich houses are out to exploit the common jute growers.

Whenever there has been a demand for an incentive price for jute, it has been frustrated on one ground or the other with the result that the jute growers, who stood by this country at the moment of crisis, are starving today and they are being exploited. I hope the honourable Minister will try to study the price rise of various commodities and study the situation. The price of rice over the years has gone up, taking 1961-62 as the base year, from Rs. 137 to 204, the price of wheat has gone up from Rs. 149 to Rs. 208, the

price of cotton has gone up from Rs. 190 to Rs. 222 —this is because of a very strong cotton lobby in the country—whereas the price of jute has gone up from Rs. 127 to Rs. 131. Look at the fate of the jute. Whereas the cotton price has gone up from Rs. 190 to Rs. 222, the wheat price has gone up from Rs. 149 to Rs. 204, the price of jute has gone up only from Rs. 127 to Rs. 131. After all, you know the rate of inflation during the last thirty years. However can you expect a grower of jute really to face any other face but starvation? This cannot be stopped unless price incentive is given. But it seems that the Government is not prepared and it is because there are many friends in this Government who belong to the rich jute houses and, Sir, whenever we have asked and whenever there has been a demand for price parity for jute it has been frustrated on one ground or another saying that there is no demand for jute because synthetics are coming up and the synthetics have completely acquired a monopoly in this. Sir, I went through the Report of a Commission during the British days regarding the jute industry. It made a very interesting reading. In the 1930's when there was a demand actually for some sort of a parity or some rational price for jute, it was said:

"Jute industry cannot grow and it cannot give more money because the present depression is due partly to the actual decline in demand from the States like the United States. Competition is experienced from paper, from cotton, from other fibres."

In 1936, the British Government turned down the demand of the jute growers on that ground that the market was facing depression and commodities like paper, etc. were coming as substitutes. In 1977, this Government is turning down the demand of the jute growers on this very ground. The whole basis is a

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artificial basis and it is because these farmers do not have a lobby of their own and they cannot make their voice heard by the Finance Minister and their voice is not such that it can reach the ears of the Government. There are many lobbies which can make their voices heard and, therefore, they are being taken care of. Now, Sir, let us also look at some of the other things like the development of petroleum industry. I am happy to note that today we have been able to explore many areas and many areas have rich potentialities of oil and other things. But, in the North-Eastern Region, which at the moment of crisis stood by the country, in the matter of petroleum products, the ONGC today is slowing down production there and when the honourable Minister was asked regarding this, he said, that he did not have the statistics and shall have to get the statistics from the concerned officers. We were asking for a refinery in that area. Now the argument advanced was that because there is not sufficient refining capacity there, ONGC had been compelled to slow down their production of petroleum there. When we ask for a refinery there, we are told that there is no scope for a refinery and when we ask for more petroleum production, the answer is that there is no refining capacity, and therefore, petroleum production has to be stepped down. The entire area is backward. I am not speaking on behalf of the North-Eastern Region alone. I hope that my friends coming from the backward regions will agree with me that there is a vicious circle growing and it is this: When you ask for an industry, you are told that there is no communication and there is no rail line worth the name and, therefore, there cannot be an industry. You ask for railway lines for connecting these areas and you will be told that because there is no industry there, this will be an unprofitable venture and they are not going

to open a railway line here. Today this vicious circle has led to the determent of backward areas. Therefore, Sir, when this House has been called upon to discuss the Appropriation Bill, we do not mind giving or granting these moneys for the development projects. But I do hope that the Finance Minister will take note of the fact that the time is ripe for the country to solve the two dichotomies that have developed in the country. One is the divergence that is growing between the rich and the poor. Number two the disparity which is growing between some developed areas and underdeveloped areas. Unless the difference between the rich and the poor in this country is minimised within a short time, unless the disparities are removed, I can very well say that the future of the country seems to be bleak. Every day we see police firings. The Congress Government has been criticised times without number on account of the emergency but I think even in the days of the emergency there was no case of police firing. Today the number of police firings probably has outnumbered even the total number for the last thirty years. Today we find that the younger generation has become frustrated. In 1969-70 and 1970-71 there was an effort to give reorientation to the political system of this country in the direction of socialism. But today we see political developments taking place not on economic or ideological considerations. Today elections are not fought on the basis of really ideological considerations. For the first time, serious caste considerations have been injected to the body politic of India. And I am speaking from my own experience during the last election that States which were totally free from caste bias, caste considerations, are now in this whirlpool which is taking this country down and down and backward and backward. Therefore, Sir, while participating in this debate I hope that the hon. Finance

Sinister will take note of some of the feelings that I have expressed in the right spirit and will take suitable steps for removing regional disparities of this country and bridge the disparities between the rich and the poor. The younger generation is already losing confidence in the entire system of Parliamentary democracy itself, because we talk of one thing and do another thing. We talk of one thing and do something else. Unless sincerity is shown by the present Government, unless the present squabbles are put an end to, the future of this country is in jeopardy. I do hope that the hon. Finance Minister will take note of the feelings of the younger generation and also of the feelings which are agitating the minds of the people at large.

I thank you once more for giving me this opportunity.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Gujarat); Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, to begin with, I would like to thank the Finance Minister for having given me this opportunity, after eleven years, to support an Appropriation Bill for the first time in my life. It is a great occasion when one gets up and says: I support something and I welcome what has been given by the people to the Government to run it more efficiently.

Sir, I also welcome the speeches that have preceded me, because I feel that at least we have managed to restore what was taken away from us during the emergency. I welcome every bit of what my hon. friend, Shri Shrikant Verma, said. He asked us to accept what was good. Unfortunately, he did not enumerate what was good, except what he called the 20-point programme, and I regret to say that I never read it and I cannot accept it. However, the fact that he asked us to accept it and to rededicate ourselves is itself a great improvement, because during the emergency we were asked to accept everything, and now we have

come round to the point that WQ may accept only the good. Another great thing which I think Shri Shrikant Verma has understood is that as a result of the happenings in March, 1977 it is now perfectly all right for him to get up and say whatever he likes not only about Mr. H. M. Patel's daughter but to say whatever he likes about the Prime Minister's son, which in the last few years was not possible in either House of Parliament, let alone outside. This again, is a welcome change. Let him say whatever he likes to say. He also said that the Ja'nata economic policy was wrong. Then he quoted some paper that comes out from Calcutta and calls one of our fellows one name and another fellow another name. I never understood what made him say that it was wrong because I can quote him statistics that in 30 years of Congress rule the standard of living in urban areas has gone up by 400 to 500 per cent whereas the standard of living in the rural areas covering (80 per cent of this country went down by 3.2 per cent. If this is not the most severe indictment of Congress economic policies during the last 30 years, I fail to understand what will make these people wake up to the fact that we have been conducting a lopsided economy for 30 years because our policies were wrong and moved in the same direction. Now, for many many years to come, we intend to divert resources from the ugly sectors in which they have been ploughed all these years and to take them back to where the people in the country live, that is, the rural areas of this country. I congratulate the Government that within one month of having taken office they raised the agricultural allotment from 20 per cent to 30 per cent. I further congratulate them for having taken it up from 30 per cent to 42 per cent in this Budget. I think in that least even my hon. friend, Prof. Ranga will have no objection.

Now I come to my dear friend Mr. Goswami. Mr. Goswami should have made his speech two years ago and he

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would have crowned himself with glory
(*Interruption*). True. Mr. Goswami has been making the same speech year after year thinking that atleast somebody will hear him now. He says that there is inflation in this country. If I may quote a few figures, during the last year of the emergency, the prices went up by 14.5 percent. I think they have gone up by 5 per cent this year. He can check that with any authority. (*In terruptions*) This is something which he can check from any authority. If the testing of these figures makes it necessary for him to go to the market, then let us not discuss any figures at all. After all, I may go to the market and have an experience which is not too good. You may go to the market and find another experience. Unless you can positively say that somebody is cheating on the figures, there is no point in disputing the fact that there has been practically no inflation this year, economically speaking. Then my friend Mr. Goswami, said that during this one year the rich are getting richer. All these thirty years, the rich are becoming poorer? Look at me and tell me if I have grown less fat or more fat.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal):
My complaint is that you are stagnating.

SHRI PILOO MODY; Then my friend referred to regional imbalances. Sir, is it possible that all these regional imbalances have been created in 14 months? It has been going on for 30 years and for 30 years these regional imbalances have been going on for which the Congress never had any policy except for a few slogans. If only Mr. Goswami had given us greater strength in those days, perhaps we could have, even in the past, compelled the Congress Government to change its policies. It was not possible to change their policies, and therefore we had to change the Government. Sir, I assure you that with the agricultural allocation that has

gone into the rural areas, the factor of regional imbalances will be corrected as fast as possible. Whether it happens in the future or not is still to be seen.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maharashtra): On a point of order, Sir- I think the hon. Member is being unfair to the Finance Minister. He is covering all the points and nothing will be left to the Finance Minister.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mr. Zakaria has never learnt that in politics one should help one's colleagues.

One last recommendation to my friend at the back and that is, he complained the jute was being treated in a stepmotherly fashion because there was no lobby. I would appreciate the manner in which he has raised that because I believe in the creation of lobbies and I, therefore, recommend to Mr. Goswami that he should create a jute lobby so that the jute growers in future do not suffer the fate of others. And, therefore, instead of wasting his time over here, perhaps, he would better devote more time to creating a jute lobby. But, Sir _____

SHRI DINESH GOSWAMI; I do not believe in creating lobbies.

SHRI PILOO MODY; He just wants to bemoan the fact that the lobby does not exist but he does not want to do anything constructive about it. I cannot help it. After all, he has been in the Congress for so many years. Can I take that away from him?

Sir, what is the main thrust? And this is what I would like to say. I am very very happy that this mis-direction of resources has finally come to an end. All these years we have been operating two economies in this country—one is what I call a 30 cent economy which was an unfortunately sophisticated economy and another is the doddering backward economy which was our agricultural economy. In the allocation of resources between these two economies, there have been vast distortions—distortions which have led to the

figures I have just quotes in the standard of living between people in the urban areas and people in the rural areas. Now, for the first time money is available in the rural areas. But, Sir, I have a certain fear which, I think, I will not be honest to vny-self if I do 'not state at the moment. When such large amounts are redirected in a particular direction, it requires at the other end a receptacle which will not only catch and accept these vaste amounts of money but also he able to use them more fruitfully. In that, Sir, it is our cherished desire that they should bring about decentralisation. In my opinion, t0 use the money wisely at the end point, decentralisation is absolutely essential. I don't think we will ever develop this country unless we are prepared to decentrajise the economy and allow people at the village level, at the tehsil level, not only to decide what they want but also to have the funds and the expertise readily available to be able to bring it about.

Sir, I have in my small way worked out a scheme of decentralisation which I would like to put before you. I feel, Sir, that a great deal of money which is pent as a result of centralised planning goes trickling out in a leaky pipeline from the treasury through the Planning Commissfijon into the Central Secretariat and down the line t0 the State Secretariats and finally by the time it arrives at the tehsil, it is a little trickle, something like Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 50,000.

And the first resolution that the panchayat passes is: Let us have a jeep. So, there goes your Rs. 25,000 for that year. And the next year, the resoluton is: Let us have a Panchayat *ghar*. There goes the amount for the next year, and no amount is spent on development. Therefore, Sir, I would very much like to see that we decentralise all the way down, not the way development, contouring, bundhing Sheikh Abdullah would like through

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State autonomy, because State autonomy means merely taking power from Delhi and taking it to the State headquarters, and they will sit in the State headquarters with this power with the same degree of possessiveness as has been going on in Delhi for the last so many years. And, therefore, I would like to see complete decentralisation. We want to take the power and take it all the way down from Delhi to the State capital, then to the district headquarters and from the district headquarters to the taluk and the block level including the gram panchayats. Sir, I know that nobody likes to give up power because power is an intoxicating thing. But unless we are prepared to do that, I don't think the rural development in this country will go on. It is my cherished dream that India should first turn into a prosperous rural community before it tui'is into a great industrial nation. In order to do that, Sir, it would be necessary to take a Joint Secretary out of the Secretariat at Delhi and send him back to the district, where he will be a special Development Officer. It is necessary, Sir, to pick a Deputy Secretary out of the Central Secretariat in Delhi and send him to the block level, where he will be a person responsible for executing and spending the moneys made available t0 him from the Centre. Sir, there are about 350 districts and you will have to turn 350 non-productive Joint Secretaries into productive members of society. Here, in Delhi, all they do is to say 'no' ten times a day to anything that is put up to them. Over there they will be responsible for bringing about the development of this country, turning them from non-productive to productive members of society. I would like to take 5,500 Deputy Secretaries out of the Secretariats at Delhi and the Various State capitals and send them down to the block level, with a bank account of say a crore of rupees, which the Finance Minister may be generous enough to give, but I am prepared to take a little less, for every block of this

[Shri Piloo Mody] country and the Deputy Secretary at the block level should thereafter be allowed to spend that in consultation with all the people within that block. Sir, if you look at a block of this country, you would see that it would cover about 50,000 voters; 25,000 men and 25,000 women. It is not difficult to find out and identify the projects which have been hanging fire for decades and decades and whose completion would bring them happiness this year, the next year and the year after.

Sir, I have visited thousands of villages in this country and I can give you a few simple examples to indicate the sort of development that is necessary. If you go to these villages, you will see that most of their demands fall into a few general categories, some want approach roads, some want schools, some want medical facilities, some want health facilities, some want mobile dispensaries, some want land development contouring, bunding, terracing, some want water conservation, some want irrigation facilities, some want afforestation, and so on. These are the common demands of the common people of our country. And, wherever they go, the answer is no money. Sir there is a village on the banks of the Mahi river. There is plenty of water in that river but not a drop in the village. What is required is an oil engine and a 150 feet of pipe. You just pump the water and the needy farmers will irrigate their fields. The cost of the project is Rs. 60,000 but the Government has no money. You go to the next village. The village tank is dry. There is a seasonal *nullah* which comes up. You divert the *nullah* through a canal into the lake. Cost of project is Rs. 1 lakh but the Government has no money. You go to the third village. It requires a bundh. Cost of project is Rs. 2½ lakhs, but the Government has no money. Go to village after village but the Government has no money for any- I thing that is worthwhile and yet we I

know, Sir. that thousands and thousands of crores of rupees are being spent here. Mr. H. M. Patel just now told us that something like Rs. 7,000 crores or 40 per cent of the budget is being spent on, what is known as administrative expenditure.

Sir, it is 'not that these people do not know how to administer but they have to be given different jobs to administer. And, when I say that I want to take all these Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries out of the Secretariats and send them into rural areas, I want to mitigate any hardships that may be caused to them. Most of them are anxious about their children and the schooling of their children. Sir, I would recommend to the Finance Minister to spend a crore of rupees or two, open Sainik schools and even give free education to their children in these schools when they are sent to rural areas so that their immediate problems will be mitigated.

Sir, this has to be done and it is only then and after the money is made available to them that they will have meetings of panchayats and sabhas like this and they will get together and some will say that we want more approach roads and some will say that we want more schools, and whatever it is, and let us have this first and let us have that later. There will be some conflict also and out of that conflict will come the understanding and out of that understanding will come the participation. And once you get participation going, you will find the creative energies of our people being utilised in the manner that you have not even imagined. This is what we have been meaning when we say that we want participation of the people in the development process, that we want participation of the people in the planning process and that we want participation of the people in taking decisions which are best for themselves. And * say this because I feel that it is only then that the people will understand the full impact of

what is democracy and what is self-government. This is what Gandhiji had in mind when he recommended panchayat raj, local self-government. This is what he wanted. But instead of giving the people local self-government, the power-greedy politicians took all the power away and all of it was brought to Delhi by Mrs. Gandhi and accumulated here, with her sitting on top of it not knowing how to dissipate and disabuse herself of that power. And, therefore, I say, Sir, that with development that has gone on, there must be decentralisation. Without decentralisation, there will be no development. It is no use saying that we have allocated Rs. 6,000 crores for this or Rs. 7,000 crores for that and this year we are spending Rs. 2,000 crores more. Unless we can get all that effort down and involve the people in that process of development. Only then they will be able to see this development. I am not saying that the scheme is perfect. There is likely to be corruption; there is likely to be some stealing. But I assure you, Sir, that whatever corruption or stealing takes place, will be less than what corruption and stealing takes place now. An identifiable Sarpanch will be living next door; the Development Officer will be living next door; the Bank Manager will also be living next door. You can always go and catch their ears. The poor villager can always approach them and if there is any difficulty, he can go to the district headquarter and catch the Development Officer, and tell them about what sort of officer he has sent to his village. You can go to the State capital. But it is too difficult to come to Delhi and catch either Mr. Patel's ears or Mr. Morarji Desai's ears. Sir, for about ten years, I tried to catch Mrs. Indira Gandhi's ears. I did not succeed. How are these poor people going to succeed in catching the ears of people who do not perform in their service? And, therefore, Sir, while supporting, accepting and acclaiming the Appropriation (No. 3)

Bill, 1978, I would strongly recommend to the Finance Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet that they should think very seriously about decentralisation. I am glad to respect that they have appointed the Asoka Mehta Committee to go into these matters and I, Sir, look forward to an opportunity of being able to give evidence before that Committee myself. I thank you for allowing me to speak.

श्री भोलू प्रसाद (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, मैं इस विनियोग बिल पर अपने विचार रखने के सिलसिले में आज जो देश की आर्थिक स्थिति है और जनता की समस्याएं हैं, उसके कुछ अहम पहलुओं पर, कुछ अहम सवालों पर अपने विचार रखूंगा। केन्द्र में जनता पार्टी की सरकार बने एक साल हो गया है और राज्यों में जनता पार्टी की सरकारें बने नहीं महीने हो गये हैं इस बीच देश का आर्थिक संकट और जनता की मुसीबतें कम होने के बजाय बढ़ती चली गईं। जनता की जो क्रय शक्ति है वह कम होने की वजह से देश की वह 60 प्रतिशत जनता जो दरिद्रता के स्तर से भी नीचे के स्तर में जीवन बिता रही है उसकी वजह से देश का औद्योगिक विकास और कृषि का विकास संकट में है। आज एक तरफ उद्योगों का उनकी क्षमता के मुताबिक उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है, पैदावार कम हो रही है और इसके अलावा जो भी पैदावार होती है, उसके लिए बाजार नहीं मिलता है। कृषि के क्षेत्र में भी ऐसा ही होता है।

[The Vice-chairman (Shri syed Nizam-ud.Din) in the Chair].

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार की नीतियों के चलते यह जो आर्थिक संकट है यह और भी तीव्रतर होता चला जा रहा है, मंहगाई बढ़ती चली जा रही है रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया की जनवरी 1978 में प्रकाशित एक बुलेटिन

[श्री भोला प्रसाद]

के अनुसार नवम्बर 1977 से जनवरी, 1978 की तिम ही में कुछ उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं को छोड़कर ज्यादातर में काफी बढ़ती हुई है। उसके बाद भी यद्यपि कोई सर्वेक्षण नहीं हुआ है लेकिन जो बाजार की स्थिति है उससे पता चलता है कि मंहगाई बढ़ती जा रही है और खास तौर से एक महीने के अंदर दिल्ली शहर में तमाम उपभोक्ता वस्तुओं की कीमत 10 से 12 प्रतिशत बढ़ी है। इसके अलावा कुछ वस्तुओं जैसे दूध आदि की कीमत तो 25 प्रतिशत या इससे भी ज्यादा बढ़ गयी है। परन्तु फिर भी यह सरकार यह दावा करती है कि मंहगाई कम हो रही है हालांकि वास्तविकता यह है कि मंहगाई बढ़ती चली जा रही है और इसके साथ ही साथ लोगों की मुसीबतें भी बढ़ती चली जा रही हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसी तरह जनता सरकार ने बेकारी की समस्या को हल करने की तरफ जो भी घोषणाएं की हैं उसके बावजूद भी उसमें कमी होने की बजाय अधिक ही अधिक होती चली जा रही है। पहले से तो लोग बेकार हैं ही लेकिन पिछले वर्ष लाखों मजदूरों को ले आफ या छंटनी करके बेकार कर दिया गया। पिछले एक साल के अंदर इसकी रपतार और भी तेज हो गयी है जैसा कि अभी लोहा खदानों में काम करने वाले एक लाख मजदूरों की छंटनी की जा रही है। इसके लिए वहां की ठेकेदार कंपनियों और विदेशी कंपनियों इन दोनों कंपनियों से साठ गांठ की जा रही है और इस प्रकार मजदूरों को निकाला जा रहा है। देश के बड़े-बड़े पूंजीपति यहां तक कि विदेशी बहु-राष्ट्रीय कंपनियों को देश में पूंजी लगाने और देश की उपज को, पैदावार को निर्यात की दशा में विकास करने के नाम पर तरह तरह की छूटें दी जा रही हैं लेकिन इसके बाद भी खद माननीय अर्थ मंत्री को कहना पड़ा है

कि पूंजीपतियों को जो कुछ भी रियायत दी गयी है, किसी भी मामले में सरकार की वित्तीय संस्थाओं से या फिर और भी दूसरे तरीकों से लेकिन उन तमाम रियायतों के देने के बाद भी पूंजीपतियों ने अपनी पूंजी देश में विकास के लिए या नये उद्योगों में लगाने के बजाय मुनाफाखोरी और स्ट्रेबाजी में लगायी है। वे पूंजी उद्योगों में नहीं लगाना चाहते हैं। लेकिन वह उद्योगों में लगाना नहीं चाहते और उसकी बजह से, जो यह उम्मीद की जाती है कि लोगों को काम मिलेगा, रोजगार खुलेगा, उसका रास्ता बंद रहता है और सिर्फ यही नहीं कि पूंजीपतियों को रियायतें दी जा रही हैं, एक तरफ पूंजीपतियों को रियायतें दी जा रही हैं और दूसरी तरफ मजदूरों की मजदूरी जाम करने की नीति अस्तिथार की जा रही है। एक भूतलिंगम कर्मिशन बनायी गई है। जब वे मजदूर पिछले वर्ष 1977-78 के बोनस की मांग करते हैं, या वे अपनी मजदूरी या तनख्वाह बढ़ाने की मांग करते हैं, तो हर बात में यह दलील दी जाती है कि जब तक यह कमेटी रिपोर्ट नहीं दे देती है हर बात की जांच करने के बाद, उसके बाद सरकार तय करेगी कि क्या किया जा सकता है या नहीं किया जा सकता है। लेकिन सरकार की असली नीति यह है कि 1976-77 का एक साल का बकाया बोनस तो मिला लेकिन 1977-78 का बोनस अभी तक मजदूरों को नहीं मिला है और रेलवे में और दूसरी बहुत सी जगहों में उनकी बोनस की मांग को ठुकराया जा रहा है। इसी तरह से कृषि के क्षेत्र में यद्यपि दावा किया जा रहा है कि पैदावार बढ़ी है, और इस साल साढ़े 12 करोड़ टन अनाज की पैदावार होने की उम्मीद है, अगर यह हो भी, उसके बाद भी स्थिति यह है कि गांवों के अंदर जो भूमि सुधार का कार्यक्रम है उसको भीतरघात कर दिया जाने के कारण, उस पर अमल नहीं होने की बजह से, और दूसरी और किसानों के ऊपर टैक्सों का बोझ, लगान का बोझ और भी बढ़ाते जाने के कारण और किसान

का अपनी उपज का जा उचित दाम मिलना चाहिए वह नहीं मिलने के कारण—चाहे वे ईश्र पैदा करने वाले किसान हों, तम्बाकू पैदा करने वाले किसान हों, चाहे वे जूट और रुई पैदा करने वाले किसान हों, उनको अपनी उपज का वाजिब दाम नहीं मिलता है, अनाज का करने वाले जो किसान हैं उनको भी अपनी उपज का लाभकारी दाम जो मिलना चाहिए वह अन्य चीजों के दाम के मुकाबले में नहीं मिल रहा है, सब तरीके से नतीजा यह है कि जो गांवों के 80-90 प्रतिशत किसान हैं उनकी हालत में सुधार नहीं हुआ है और वहां पर इस तरह से खेती की हालत संकट में है और दूसरी तरफ जो 10-15 प्रतिशत धनी किसान और पूंजीवादी जमींदार हैं जिन्हें कांग्रेस राज में भी फलने-फूलने का मौका मिला, अब इस जनता राज में तो उनको और भी शह दी जा रही है, सहूलियतें दी जा रही हैं और उनको फलने-फूलने के लिए और भी मोत्ता दिया जा रहा है। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि उन जमींदारों ने, उन धनिकों ने गांवों के गरीबों के ऊपर और भूमिहीन, हरिजन, अदिवासी और जितनी कमजोर वर्ग की गरीब जनता है उसकी जान माल और इज्जत के ऊपर आज हमला बोल दिया है और आज उनको जितने नहीं देना चाहते। उनकी इज्जत खतरे में पड़ गई है और उनकी हालत बिगड़ती चली जा रही है। उनको जो जमीनें मिली थी वह उनसे छीनी जा रही हैं। उनकी न्यूनतम मजदूरी जो तय की गई है वह नहीं दी जाती है, उनकी मजदूरी काट कर कम मजदूरी पर काम कराते हैं। जो बंधुवा मजदूर थे वे अभी भी बंधुवा मजदूर हैं; जो थोड़ा-बहुत मुक्त किये गये हैं उनसे भी बंधुवा मजदूर की तरह में जबरदस्ती काम लिया जा रहा है और यह सब जो भी हो रहा है उसमें पुलिस अधिकारी आम तौर से गांवों के अंदर जो धनी हैं, जमींदार हैं, उनकी मदद करते हैं। अभी अभी बेलछी से लेकर विश्रामपुर तक जितनी घटनायें हुईं सब जगहों में एक तरफ से जमींदारों ने, उनके लठियों ने और उनके

गुंडा ने हमले किये हैं। वहां पर पुलिस का संरक्षण उन गरीबों के बजाय जमींदारों को ही मिला है। अभी विश्रामपुर में, बिहार में जो हरिजनों के गांव जलाये गये, हरिजनों को जिन्दा जलाया गया और मारा गया वहां पर पुलिस का आर्डर फंस मौजूद था, लेकिन उसके बाद भी वह अग्निकांड होता रहा और मजदूरों को आग में जलाया जाता रहा। उनको लूटा जाता रहा और वहां की पुलिस कोई हस्तक्षेप नहीं कर सकी। वह उनको बढ़ावा ही देती रही और यह सब क्यों हुआ। जब सरकार खुद कहती है कि गांवों में जो गरीबों पर हमले हो रहे हैं यह वहां के असामाजिक तत्वों के कारण वहां पर हड़ताल है और इनका किसी दूसरी चीज से वास्ता नहीं है, तो जब इस तरह की नीति अख्तियार की जाती है और उन हमलों के लिये कहा जाता है कि वह आपसी झगड़े हैं, वह हरिजनों पर अन्यायपूर्ण जुल्म नहीं है तो नतीजा यह होता है कि हमला करने वालों को शह मिलती है। उनको बढ़ावा मिलता है और उससे दूसरे पुलिस अधिकारियों को बढ़ावा मिलता है हमलावरों की मदद करने के लिये और सरकार की इस नीति का नतीजा ही यह पंतनगर का कांड है। जैसे देश के अंदर जलयांवाला बाग का कांड हुआ था उसके साथ इसकी तुलना की जाती है। जिस तरह से 13 अप्रैल को वह कांड हुआ था उसी तरह से यह पंतनगर का कांड भी हुआ है। उसमें विस्तार में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन जितनी बातें आयी हैं वह लोगों के दिलों को दहला देने वाली बातें हैं कि किस तरह से उस विश्वविद्यालय के अंदर काम करने वाले गरीब हरिजन मजदूर जो थे उनकी इज्जत के साथ किस तरह से खिलवाड़ किया गया और किस तरह से वहां पर अंधाधुंध गोशिलयां चलायी गयीं, उनको मारा गया और उनके खून की होली खेनी गयी और वह आग में जलाये गये और फिर आज देश के अंदर यह छात्र, शिक्षक और बुद्धिजीवी समुदाय यदि अशांत हो उठा है तो उसका

[श्री भौला प्रसाद]

कारण इस सरकार की नीतियां ही हैं और उसी कारण ही उनका असंतोष तीव्रतर होता जा रहा है और उसका नतीजा हम देख रहे हैं। एक के बाद एक यूनिवर्सिटियां आज बंद हो रही हैं। चाहे वह मेडिकल स्टूडेंट्स हों या डाक्टर्स हों या दूसरे छात्र हों या शिक्षक हों सभी सड़कों पर निकलने के लिये, हड़ताल करने के लिये मजबूर हो रहे हैं और उनकी समस्याओं को हल करने के बजाय सरकार उनके खिलाफ दमन का रवैया अख्तियार कर रही है और इस तरह से यह सरकार जनता की समस्याओं को हल करने के बजाय चाहे वह उद्योगिक मजदूर हों या गांव का खतिहर मजदूर हो, गरीब किसान हो या हरिजन आदिवासी और कमजोर वर्ग के लोग हों या छात्र और शिक्षक समुदाय हो, आज उन सब के शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलन को सरकार लाठी गोली के बल पर दबाने की नीति पर चल रही है और इसी का नतीजा है कि पिछले महीनों में जीतपुर, बोकारो, कानपुर, ऋषिगंज से लेकर बेलगाडीला और पंतनगर तक की घटनायें बतलाती हैं कि किस तरह से यह सरकार गोलियों से उनको भून कर जनता के न्यायपूर्ण और शान्तिपूर्ण आन्दोलनों को खून में डुबा कर अपनी तानाशाही कायम रखना चाहती है और यह जनता की उपेक्षा करना चाहती है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज शान्ति और व्यवस्था का सवाल एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल बन गया है।

4 P.M. खुद राष्ट्रपति ने भी गहरी चिन्ता प्रकट की है। आज देश में अशान्ति और अव्यवस्था की जो स्थिति पैदा हो गई है और यह जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है, वह खुद सरकार की नीतियों की वजह से है। सिर्फ यही नहीं कि राहुजनी, खूरेजी, चोरी, डकैतियां जो बढ़ी हैं, बल्कि सरकार ने खुद जो लाठी, गोली के बल पर राज करने और गांव के अन्दर गरीबों के ऊपर यह जो जमींदारों के हमने हो रहे हैं, उसको बढ़ावा देने की नीति को

अख्तियार किया है और मजदूरों के आन्दोलन को दमन के जरिये दबाने की नीति को अख्तियार किया है, उसी कारण यह समस्या हुई है। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा है कि हम इस सवाल पर तमाम दलों से बातचीत करना चाहते हैं। यह अच्छी बात है, होनी चाहिये। लेकिन बातचीत के जरिये भी यह शान्ति और व्यवस्था का सवाल हल नहीं होगा जब तक कि सरकार खुद अपनी नीतियों को नहीं बदलती। अगर सरकार खुद गोलियों के बल पर जनता की आवाज कुचलने की नीति पर चलती रही, अगर सरकार गांवों में, हरिजनों, गरीबों के ऊपर जो जुल्म हो रहा है, उसको बन्द करने के लिये कारगर उपाय नहीं करती, जनता की न्यायपूर्ण मांगों को पूरा करने के सही कदम नहीं उठाती, तो फिर शान्ति, व्यवस्था देश में कायम नहीं होगी और यह शान्ति, व्यवस्था का सवाल और भी गहरा होता चला जायेगा।

एक तरफ यह सरकार दमन का सहारा लेती है और दूसरी तरफ जनता में फूट डालने के लिये उसको आपस में लड़ाने के लिये भी अंधेजों की तरह ऐसी नीतियां अख्तियार की जा रही हैं जिससे चलते गांवों में या शहरों में जाति के दंगे और साम्प्रदायिक दंगे हो रहे हैं। आज बिहार आरक्षण के सवाल को लेकर के सरकार ने जो नीति अख्तियार की है, उसके चलते आज गांव-गांव में दंगे हो रहे हैं। आज पूरे बिहार का जीवन, लोगों का जीवन अरक्षित हो गया है। रोज कुछ न कुछ घटनाएं होती रहती हैं और जो हुआ है, खुद सरकार ने जो नीति अख्तियार की है, खुद जनता दल के लोग जो एक तरफ तथाकथित ऊंची जाति के लोग हैं, उनको आरक्षण के खिलाफ संगठित करते हैं और दूसरी तरफ उन्हीं के लोग जो तथाकथित पिछड़ी जाति के हैं, लेकिन सही मायने में जो जमींदार हैं, भू-स्वामी हैं, जो बेलची कांड करने वाले हैं, विश्रामपुर काण्ड करने वाले हैं, पथड्डा काण्ड

करने वाले हैं, उन्हीं लोगों के नेता भू-स्वामी चाहे तथाकथित अन्धों को पिछड़ी जाति के कहते हैं, वे आरक्षण के समर्थन में गांवों में आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं और इन तरह से आज पूरा बिहार जाति दंगे में परिणत हो गया है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): Please conclude.

श्री बोला प्रताप : तो इन तरह से यह सरकार की नीति के चले देना में ऐसा हो रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में अब जनता के सामने एक ही रास्ता रह गया है कि अगर वह संगठित होकर, औद्योगिक मजदूर, गरीब किसान, खेत मजदूर, हरिजन, अविवासी, छात्र, नौजवान तनाम मेहनतकश लोग आज वह देश की जायिक समस्याओं को हल करने के लिये बेकारी, महंगाई की समस्या को हल करने के लिये, भूमि सुधार के सवाल को हल करने के लिये, जनता को चीजें उचित दाम पर मिलें, बेकारों को काम मिले। इसके लिये और सरकार के दमन के खिलाफ सरकार की जो नीतियां हैं सूचीनतियों के पत्र के और जमींदारों के पक्ष में, जनता पर बोझ लादने की, उनके खिलाफ अगर संगठित होकर खड़े होते हैं और सरकार को मजबूर करते हैं कि सरकार को तो अपनी नीतियां बदले और यदि सरकार अपनी जन-विरोधी नीतियां नहीं बदलती है, तो फिर देश के अन्दर यह जनता की एकता कायम कर एक दामपंधी, जनतादी एकता कायम कर इस सरकार को बदल करे। ही देश की समस्या को हल किया जा सकता है। वरना इस सरकार की जो नीतियां हैं, उस पर चल कर देश को विनाश के रास्ते पर ले जा रहे हैं और ले जायेंगे।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): Mr. Kader. shah.

SHRI M. KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I wanted to speak tomorrow.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): Shri Vaishampayen.

SHRI S. K. VAISHAMPAYEN (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-chairman, Sir, during the debate on the Budget proposals I did not participate and, therefore, I am expressing some of my views on the Budget proposals as well as the Appropriation Bill presented here by the Finance Minister.

Sir, this year's Budget, though it is the second of the new Government, I would call it the first because this is the first Budget which has been prepared on the basis of the thinking that the Janata Government has formulated and, therefore, this Budget reflects the thinking of the new Government. This Budget is important from another point of view. Very soon we will be having a discussion in this House on the sixth Five-Year Plan.

In the various facets of the Budget, resource mobilization occupies a very vital position and unless this resource mobilization is attended to properly, there is no possibility of undertaking developmental programmes. What we see in the country is that today taxation both at the Central level as well as the State level has reached its highest point and there is, at present at least, no possibility of more resource mobilization as such and thus we see the spectacle of the Central Government coming with a deficit Budget because it has to undertake developmental activities and also a number of State Governments coming with deficit Budgets. Therefore, now a time has come when the Government must try to find new avenues.

One such avenue, according to my opinion, was suggested by the Raj Committee which has submitted its Report in 1972. According to this Committee, agriculture today is one sector where the taxes on income accrued from that particular sector are meagre. Out of the total taxes collected on agriculture—the figure is given by the Raj Committee—

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of Rs. 136 crores, taxes on income and wealth from agriculture is only eight per cent. That is, out of the total taxes that we collect from the agricultural sector, taxes on income and wealth accrued from agriculture is only eight per cent. Therefore, the Raj Committee had suggested that there is vast scope for collecting more revenue from this particular sector and it has proposed in one of its recommendations that taxes on agricultural holdings should be brought into effect. If it is brought into effect, it will give you a revenue of Rs. 200 crores per annum. And this will add to the resources of both the States as well as the Central Government.

Dr. Boothalingam, who is the Director of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, has called this particular proposal of agricultural holding tax as sensible and sound. But he says—I quote: "Given political support, it is well within the capacity of our administration to implement it." So this is the expert view of Dr. Boothalingam, the Director of the National Council of Applied Economic Research. Therefore, this Government, if it has to follow its own development programme, must raise resources from this particular avenue, of taxing the income and wealth that has accrued from the sector of agriculture as such.

Then, Sir, there is another area where resource mobilisation is possible; and that is an area which I will call as an internal area of the Government itself. We give loans to the agriculturists for inputs through co-operative banks, nationalised banks and other banks. If you look into the loans that have accumulated and the recovery that is there, it will be found astounding. I have not got the figures for all the States, but I have got the figures for Maharashtra. In Maharashtra, the recovery of loans given to the agriculturists towards inputs in agriculture stands at Rs. 319 crores. And you will be surprised to know that these outstandings are

increasing every year. Maharashtra has registered an increase of 36 per cent over what stood as recovery in 1972. And this recovery—this is a very important point—is from well-to-do persons among the agriculturists, who can afford to give back the loans instalments. If this is the state of affairs in one State with regard to the question of recovery of loans for inputs in agriculture, what it must Toe for all the States, one can imagine. I would, therefore, suggest that the Government must keep a firm foot on any more advances to the States through different banks, till these outstanding ones have been cleared. This will bring in more revenue and sort of revolving fund for these developmental activities will be established.

Then, Sir, the Budget emphasises three objectives. As I said, the first objective of the economic policy of the Janata Government is agricultural development. They want to give more emphasis on that. Therefore, they have more outlays for irrigation and for giving inputs to the agriculturists. The second objective is rural industrialisation, about which we discussed in this House a few days back. And the third objective is to give employment to any person who is able to work. Various measures have been proposed in that direction, but it is my firm view that if these objectives are to succeed, land reforms and distribution of surplus land is one such measure which should be attended to. With regard to the importance of this measure. I need not take the time of the House. The World Bank in its study report has supported this measure. The report goes on to say—and I quote: "Land reform is another major factor in improving the life of poor in the rural areas." So the World Bank is giving so much importance to land reforms. They say that having land reforms and giving land to those who have no land, making them stand on their own legs, producing from that particular land, will help the rural poor. Mr. Raj, an economist, an

expert, has said in one of the conferences that in the given conditions of our country possessing even a small piece of land is important". It is a security against unemployment in the rural areas. So, if the objective of the present Government is to see that agricultural development takes place, rural industrialisation is there and employment is given in the rural areas, then this is one of the measures to which enough attention has to be given. In the past as you know, there have been certain steps which have been taken. They need to be consolidated now.

As a result of the various steps that were taken previously, we find that 35.85 lakh hectares have been declared as surplus, but the implementation which should follow after this is very low. The land has been declared surplus to the tune of 35.85 lakh hectares in the whole country, but the implementation being slow what we find is that the land which has been taken possession of by the Government is half of it that is, 19.32 lakh hectares and that the land that has been actually distributed is only 11.74 lakh hectares, that is, only one-third. During the last five to six years the implementation has been so slow that only one-third of the land that has been declared surplus has been distributed to the landless. I think, this situation should change and the Government must immediately apply its misd. It must also urge upon the State Governments to see that whatever land that has been declared surplus should be taken possession of and distributed forthwith to the needy and the landless. That will help attainment of the sole objective of the Government that is there in the Budget proposals as such. But, to my knowledge, there are attempts on the part of some State Governments to reverse this particular process. I have information about the Gujarat Government. The Gujarat Government wants to raise the ceiling which is already there and as a result of which the raised ceiling would be applied

to the land declared surplus. I think, this should not be allowed by the Central Government, if at all it wants its objective to be fulfilled.

Now I will turn to a very vital subject, a very vital subject of my own interest also, which has been referred to by my hon. friend, Shri Goswami. What is going to be the strategy and the policy for developing the under-developed areas of the country? Today, Sir, we have according to the statistics given by the Planning Commission, 60 per cent of the areas of our whole country and 55 per cent of the population of the people living in our country in the under-developed areas. They may be in the tribal areas; they may be in the hill areas; they may be in areas like the eastern U.P., Bundel-khand and Marathwada; they may be in the chronically drought prone areas. Altogether we have 60 per cent of the areas which is underdeveloped and 55 per cent of the people living in this particular area. So, the question of developing these under-developed areas needs serious attention. There should not be any ridicule about the backwardness of the people as such. I felt when a Member referred to, in a manner which he should not have done, the backwardness of the people and the backwardness of certain areas.

It is almost one year back, Sir, that I had moved in this House a Private Member's Resolution on this very subject and demanded appointment of a committee to go into the whole problem in its entirety. Unfortunately, the discussions on that resolution were inconclusive. Since then I have made this subject a subject of my own interest. I am not only reading a lot of material given by the Planning Commission, the Estimates Committee, the States Committees and other Committees, but I am making field visits also. I have recently visited the most backward tribal areas in the

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Chandrapur District. What I saw there is really heart-rending. I saw my own countrymen living in subhuman conditions. Therefore, I am more than convinced that the line on which the Planning Commission has been working up till now, should not be diluted for anything; there should not be dilution of the line that the Planning Commission has taken for the development of the backward areas in the country: on the other hand, these concepts which have been evolved and the strategies that have been pursued up till now should be further enlarged and strengthened. And if this is not done, I do not know what is going to happen to the fate of the people who are living in these under-developed areas. But what I find from the thinking of the Government on development is that the approaches that the new Government has are approaches of diffusion—making everything general. Where are the backward areas? What is backwardness? All are backward areas. This is an approach of diffusion. I am afraid that if this is going to be the approach of the new Government an approach of diffusion then the concepts of underdeveloped areas, giving them a certain weightage in their development and bringing them on par with the other developed regions through the method of accelerated development, may be relegated to the background. I am afraid this will happen. Therefore, it is time to point out that this should not be done, and it should be seen by the Government that they continue the line and direction the Planning Commission has set for itself up to now.

Lastly, I would like to say something about the field of education. The Ministry of Education is thinking of making some changes in the educational pattern. Up to now we

have been told that the pattern of 10-2-3 will be there. Though at present I am not very much associated with the field of education, still I keep reading about it. I was associated with it some years ago. This 10-2-3 pattern was evolved after a great deal of exercise. And it is just being implemented. Now I hear that there is talk of having a new pattern—8-4-3 or something like that. I will not go into the merits of either 10-2-3 or 8-4-3. But constant changes have been there in the pattern. Therefore, I plead with the Education Minister that he should not now think of constant changes. Let there be consolidation of what ever we have. It may be right, it may be wrong. Let us learn from that. If we have gone wrong, we will learn later. But let us now consolidate what we have decided upon. So my plea with the Education Minister would be that he should not make constant changes in the system of education or in the syllabus or in any other thing which has been agreed upon. Secondly, so far as the field of education is concerned, there are many big problems. Let the Ministry of Education apply itself to those problems. According to my information, according to whatever information I could get, today 65 million children of school-going age are still out of school. There is no arrangement made for opening of schools for these 65 million children. Then even in the case of the other children, the problem of drop-out is a serious one and it is threatening the very system of education. Sixty per cent of the students leave the school before completing even the 4th standard. I will not go into all these detailed figures as to how many children enter the 1st standard and how many leave at the time of the matriculation examination. The statistics given by the Central Institute of Research and Training are very revealing. They show that if 100 children enter the school

at the 1st standard, only 11 reach the matriculation standard. This is due to drop-outs. There are various reasons, various causes, economic causes, causes of poverty, reasons of school hours—where we do not have a flexible system of timings—reasons the syllabus itself and then the incentive that is necessary so far as teaching is concerned. It is due to all these factors that about 60 per cent of our students drop out. It is a waste. These are problems to which we must now apply ourselves and we should see that this wastage in the field of education is removed and our children get good education, to make them really worthy of this nation, instead of making constant changes in the pattern, syllabus and so on. This is my plea to the Education Minister. Thank you.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu):
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I extend my hearty thanks to you for giving me this opportunity to take part in the deliberations of this august House. In close pursuit of it I would like to appeal to you and the honourable Members of this House to be lenient and liberal with me because this happens to be my maiden speech so that this occasion shall be made a red-letter day in my life. On this occasion I thank my revered leader, Dr. Karunanidhi, and the DMK party to which I have the honour to belong, for having sent me here, to enter the portals of the House when our glorious leader Aringar Anna decorated and upheld the glowing traditions of this House.

At the outset let me bring to the attention of the Government a matter of public importance. In my native district of Tirunalveli in Tamil Nadu an unknown fever is causing a heavy damage to human lives, particularly children. It is a new kind of epidemic and it is temporarily called bain fever, because the doctors are not able to diagnose it. Many

children have died of this virus, and this virus is migrating to the neighbouring districts. I am afraid if this is not checked, it might spread to the other parts of the State and also the country. I would suggest that the Government of India should confer with the Government of Tamil Nadu and see what immediate steps should be taken to put an end to this menace which is devouring precious lives of the children, the future generations of the country.

While presenting this year's Budget our honourable Finance Minister has stated like this;

"Honourable Members will be pleased to note that the wholesale price index today is lower than the level inherited by us from the previous Government."

If am not to be accused of creating a price psychosis, let me point out that this is not true. According to the official figures the wholesale price index on 21st January, 1978 was 2.3 per cent above the previous year's level. This 2.3 per cent increase may look marginal, but it has burdened the common man in sensitive areas— the toiling worker in the factory, the peasant labouring in the fields, and the average man in the street. This year's Budget has made a provision of Rs. 456 crores for subsidy payable to the Food Corporation of India. That is, on food alone we are giving a subsidy of Rs. 456 crores. Let us see how this subsidy is utilized. For a quintal of what the subsidy given is Rs. 23.39 p. whereas for a quintal of rice the subsidy given is Rs. 0.04 p. I do not know why rice and the paddy growers, should be discriminated against and I do not know the reason for this step-motherly treatment. This kind of discrimination does not stop with this alone. While fixing the price of levy sugar, the interests of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka Zones have

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been completely neglected. In a federal country like ours this type of preferential treatment to some and step-motherly treatment to others will create tensions. So, it is the foremost duty of the Government at the Centre to be a centre of justice, not to be a lopsided Centre.

I went through the Report of the Ministry of Finance and I was shocked to find the zeal and speed with which Hindi is being introduced in the administration. I would like to bring to the attention of this House what I find on page 170 of the report on the Department of Expenditure.

"The entire work of six sections of the Department is being done in Hindi in Devnagari script and about 60 officers at various levels of administration are transacting their work relating to these sections through the medium of Hindi."

But they have not specified what those six sections are that are transacting their business only in Hindi. Our honourable Prime Minister and others have repeatedly assured that Hindi will not be imposed on us. But what does this mean here? Does it not mean imposition? Does it not place the non-Hindi knowing people at a disadvantage position against the people of Hindi-speaking north India? Does it not amount to injustice?

Let us see the position of the Bureau of Public Enterprises. About 45 files have been identified as wholly Hindi noting and drafting files and some officers have started writing routine notes in Hindi on files. I think the present Janata Government, which has restored freedom and democracy, has forgotten to restore bilingualism or has given the go-by to bilingualism.

I can give another illustration. The situation in the public sector undertakings is described on page 213 of this report. "There are two magazines published by the Bureau of Public Enterprises, namely, LOK UDYOG (monthly) and NEW RECORD (fortnightly). LOK UDYOG contains technical articles on the working and problems of public enterprises. To begin with, Hindi rendering of the editorial was introduced in the magazine." Because it contains technical articles and it is difficult to translate these into Hindi and so they want to put the stamps at linguistic arrogance by publishing the Hindi editorial.

What is the situation in the public sector undertakings? It is all Hindi posts. "Keeping in view the progressive increase in the use of Hindi, the strength of Hindi typists is proposed to be augmented and more indents for Hindi typewriters are being placed. To keep pace with the increase in Hindi typing work, additional Hindi typists are being posted in Hindi II section of the CBEC as a first step towards creating a separate Hindi typing pool. Consequent to the increase in the translation work, the existing staff strength has been reviewed and a proposal for augmentation thereof is separately under consideration."

This may be an elevating situation for the Hindi speaking people. But it is a very humiliating situation for the non-Hindi speaking people. The Prime Minister said that within ten years the unemployment problem will be solved. In this way, I think you can solve the unemployment problem of the Hindi educated people even earlier. But it is a humiliating situation for us.

I want to bring to the attention of this House another matter. A South Indian has written in The Statesman about the situation in New Delhi. He says, it is difficult to get telegraph forms, money order forms or income-tax return forms except in Hindi. Electricity and home tax bills are

received in Hindi in New Delhi. Sir, New Delhi, is the federal Centre and therefore it should be common to all citizens. But one sees only Hindi chauvinism here and unless this is stopped, I am afraid it will do great damage to the unity and integrity of the nation.

Let us have a look at the public sector banks and see how they or the Reserve Bank of India function. The sign boards, counter boards, name plates and the badges for the staff have been bilingualised. Forms, especially agricultural loans forms and other standard forms of public use have been printed in bilingual forms.

Sir, in a remote village in a corner of India in Tamil Nadu, a public sector bank carries a board in Hindi and English and another notice is displayed also alongside, to the effect: "We entertain forms filled in Hindi." They seem to think that right from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin everybody knows Hindi and wants to transact work in Hindi alone.

No. That is not going to be the case. If you think so, I am afraid, you are living in a fools paradise. I will go further and say that you are going to awaken the sleeping tiger and that is a dangerous situation. If you impose Hindi like this, the integration of this country would be in jeopardy. Our Prime Minister is very keen to link the Ganges and the Cauvery rivers. I wholeheartedly welcome that measure. But there is something much more important than that at this moment and it is to achieve a harmonious linking of the minds and hearts of the people living in the plains of the Ganges and the Cauvery. You cannot achieve this harmonious linking of hearts as long as you continue to impose Hindi on the other people. Sir, the attitude of the Central Government, whether ruled by the Congress or by the Janata, towards this burning problem which has been hanging fire over the last three decades, is not only astonishing, but also alarming. This menacing development has posed

a great and immediate threat to the

unity of the country and to the integration of this country. I would assert that it is only by putting an end to this domination and imposition of Hindi you can avert balkanisation, and you can reinforce the unity of the country and you can achieve real integration of the great nation. But it seems that the rulers of this country seem to close their eyes to the realities of the situation.

Sir, our honourable Finance Minister has said that the Constitution will not be amended to create a new type of financial relationship between the Centre and the States. Sir, it is very unfortunate that the honourable Prime Minister also said so the other day, while intervening in the debate on the demand for a dialogue on Centre-State relations. There was a time when only the DMK was raising the autonomy issue. Our party President, Mr. Karunanidhi, convened a conference on State autonomy in 1970 itself and if I remember right, the mover of that resolution also participated in that meeting. But now, Sir, we are hearing such voices from West Bengal, from Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, etc. and irrespective of their party affiliations, many Chief Ministers are clamouring for State autonomy. Why, Sir? Like socialism, it has become a slogan for many political parties. It has become a slogan of many Chief Ministers and, above all, it has become a slogan of the people. Let us have faith in the people and let us take it as a challenge and let us embark upon this now experiment. If the aspirations of the people are not fulfilled, I am afraid, Sir, you would be treading on dangerous grounds. If we close our eyes to the realities of the situation and to the compulsions of time, we would be behaving like the ostrich, burying our heads beneath the sands of imaginary fears. Let us not fail to see the writing on the wall. Here, Sir, I would like to repeat what no less a person than the honourable President of this nation, Shri Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, has stated on the subject:

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

"India is a big country. If you try to centralise everything from Delhi, it is not possible for long. It can only lead to a break-up of the federal structure. But it must be a little more flexible. Otherwise^ in the coming ten to twenty years, we won't be here; 'danger is bound to overtake us."

Sir, the godfather of the Janata Party, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, has also said the same thing and is visualising the same fate for this nation. So, let us discuss it; let us consider it. After all, we have experimented with this semi-unitary set-up for the last thirty years or so. But what have we achieved? The States have become nonentities. Unsatisfactory devolution of powers has created an ill-fed economy and rural indebtedness has increased and the indebtedness of the States to the Centre has become a permanent phenomenon. So, why not we make the Constitution really federal in character and wait for the result in the years or so?

Before I conclude, Sir, may I remind you of one of the greatest characters in English literature, Casabianca. Casabianca though a boy, he held to his post with such great determination that even to this day the world bows in reverence. With the same courage and conviction, we hundreds of ranks and files of the D.M.K. Party, have vowed to dedicate ourselves, to sacrifice all that we have, to fulfill the behest of our beloved leader, Mr. Karunanidhi, to oppose this kind of Hindi imperialism to attain State autonomy and serve our motherland.

Thank you sir.

श्री सुलतन सिंह (हरियाणा) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जैसा कि मेरे लायक दोस्त ने कहा था कि कल जनता पार्टी ने अपनी सालगिरह मनायी और इन एक साल के अन्दर जो जो काम जनता पार्टी ने किये उन का मूल्यांकन करने की कोशिश की, उप-

सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस एक साल के अन्दर जिस तरह का शासन हम ने देखा, शायद हिन्दोस्तान में उसको देखते हुए अंग्रेजों की पुरानी याद इस जनता पार्टी ने ताजा कर दी। जनता पार्टी ने अपने एलेक्शन मैनीफेस्टो में कहा था कि हमारी पालिसी ग्रामोत्थान की पालिसी होगी। एग्रीकल्चर बेस्ड पालिसी होगी, लेकिन जनता पार्टी ने सब से पहले जो अटैक किया वह एग्रीकल्चर इकोनामी पर ही किया। हिन्दुस्तान के किसान को जनता पार्टी ने जिस तरह से उजाड़ने की कोशिश की, तब्राह करने की कोशिश की उस की मिसाल आज हिन्दुस्तान के सामने है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे लायक दोस्त मिनिस्टर साहब बैठे हैं। वह पिछले साल का हिसाब निकालें कि पिछले साल दिसम्बर में, जनवरी में, फरवरी में, मार्च में देश में गन्ने का क्या भाव था और इस साल गन्ने का क्या भाव है। पिछले साल सारे देश में केशरों पर गन्ना 16 और 17 रुपये क्विंटल बिकता था और इस साल चार, पांच रुपये क्विंटल से ज्यादा कोई गन्ना नहीं खरीदना चाहता। मुझे एकरेज याद नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कितने लाख एकड़ जमीन पर गन्ना होता है। मुझे यह भी याद नहीं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कितने लाख क्विंटल गन्ना होता है, लेकिन भेटा हिसाब मैं बता सकता हूँ कि अगर वह पिछले साल के भाव का और इस साल के भाव का सर्वे कराये तो जनता सरकार ने अरबों रुपये का नुकसान किसान का खाली गन्ने की कीमत में किया है। उस के बाद काटन है। पिछले साल काटन का क्या भाव था। 500 या 550 रुपये में काटन बिकती थी और इस साल 250 या 275 रुपये के ऊपर काटन नहीं बिकी और जो बिकी उस का पैसा भी नहीं मिला। काटन कारपोरेशन की तरफ से जो काटन खरीदी गयी उस में लाखों रुपया, करोड़ों रुपया किसानों का बाकी है और प्राइवेट जो वीविंग मिल्स हैं उन की तरफ करोड़ों रुपये बाकी हैं। शुगर मिलों की तरफ किसानों के करोड़ों रुपये बाकी हैं गन्ने के।

आप काटन का हिसाब लगायें कि हिन्दुस्तान में कितने एकड़ जमीन पर काटन होती है और कितनी गांठ काटन पैदा होती है तो अरबों रुपयों का नुकसान हिन्दुस्तान के किसान का केवल काटन में हुआ। उस के बाद तम्बाकू है। तम्बाकू का भाव पिछले साल के मुकाबले में 100 फीसदी डायन गया। लेकिन मेरी समझ में बात नहीं आई। इस जनता पार्टी को इकनामिक पालिसी बड़ी अजीब ढंग की है। 85 करोड़ रुपया इस देश में ड्यूटी देता था शूगर मिलों का मालिक और 17 करोड़ रुपया आता था क्रगर से, जो छोटे-छोटे गांवों में लगे हैं। 85 करोड़ रुपया शूगर मिलों का माफ कर दिया और जो गांव में क्रगरज हैं, उनका एक पैसा माफ नहीं किया। इसके साथ-साथ यह भी पालिसी इस जनता सरकार की है कि रा-मैटीरियल सस्ता हो जाए और बाई-प्राइवट महंगी की जाए, यानि चमड़ा सस्ता और जूता महंगा। गन्ना 4 रुपये विक्रि गया है और चीनी का 15 रुपये दाम बढ़ा है क्योंकि चीनी कारखाने में बनती है और यह सरकार कारखाने के बल-सूते पर चलती है। कारखाने को हर चीज को कोमत बढ़ा, काटन का दाम नहीं बढ़ा है, लेकिन काटन यार्न का दाम ऊपर हो गया 5 प्रतिशत। मिल के अन्दर धागा बनता है, उसका दाम पांच प्रतिशत सरकार ने बढ़ाया है और कपास का सस्ता हुआ। वह धागा कपास से ही तो बनता होगा, वह चीनी गन्ने से ही तो बनती होगी, गन्ना सस्ता, चीनी महंगी, काटन सस्ती, धागा महंगा। क्योंकि वह कारखाने से बन कर आता है और फिर बार-बार यह सरकार दावा करती है कि हम अष्टाचार बन्द करेंगे।

85 करोड़ रुपये अपने शूगर मिलों का माफ किया, चार-पांच रुपये आप उसको गन्ना दिलवा रहे हैं और 15 रुपये बोरो उसकी चीनी का दाम बढ़ा दिया है। यह अष्टाचार नहीं तो क्या है। मैं खुला चार्ज लगाता हूँ सरकार के ऊपर कि इस सरकार ने शूगर

मिलों से पैसा खाय़ा है। रा-मैटीरियल सस्ता और बाई-प्राइवट महंगी, यह बात समझ में नहीं आने वाली है। इस सरकार ने काटन यार्न का दाम बढ़ाने पर धागा मिलों से पैसा खाय़ा है। इसके अलावा यह सरकार कहती थी, मोरारजी भाई कहते हैं कि दस साल के अन्दर देश से बेरोजगारी खत्म कर दी जायगी।

मैं कहता हूँ कि मुझे प्राइम मिनिस्टर बनाओ, मैं सी साल के अन्दर हर आदमी को सोने का मकान बनवा दूंगा। अब यह बात अजीब है। हम दस साल की बात नहीं करते। आप यूँ बताएं कि पिछले साल कितने आदमी बेरोजगार थे, आपके पास तो महकमा है, एम्प्लायमेंट एक्सचेंजस हैं, नाम हैं कि इतने करोड़ बेरोजगार थे पिछले साल और उनमें से कितने प्रतिशत को रोजगार दे पाये हैं। अगर मैं गलती नहीं करता तो एक मिलियन बेरोजगार बढ़ गये हैं पिछले साल के मुकाबले। और रोजगार का क्या तरीका तलाश किया है। यह कहते हैं कि हम तो एम्प्लायमेंट दूसरे तरीकों से देंगे। अब वह तरीका कौन सा है कि यदि टयूबवैल के लिये एक आदमी काम करता है, तो चरसा चलाने से चार आदमियों को काम मिलेगा। अजीब बात है। जो देश में साइन्स और टेकनालोजी डिवैलप हुई है, जो देश में विज्ञान की प्रगति से प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है, यह रोजगार देंगे, कहते हैं कि हम तो गांवों में छोटे-छोटे कुटीर उद्योग खोलेंगे। एक कुटीर उद्योग तो गन्ने की क्रशिंग का खोला था लोगों ने और लाखों रुपये के नीचे आ गये हैं। खाण्डसारी के यूनिटस में भी घाटा है। जो लोग भट्टे वाले हैं, उनको कोयला ब्लैक में लेना पड़ता है। कोई भट्टे वाला ऐसा नहीं है जिसको कोयले पर दो-दो सी रुपया ब्लैक न देना पड़ता हो।

[श्री सुलगन सिंह]

वह घाटे में जा रहे हैं। गांवों के अन्दर आप देखें जो भूमि रखता है, गाय रखता है इनकी मिल्क स्कीम को दूध देता है वह तो घाटे में जा रहा है और यहां 60 पैसे दूध का दाम बढ़ रहा है। एक तरफ कंज्यूमर को मार रहे हैं, दूसरी तरफ प्रोड्यूसर को मार रहे हैं क्योंकि इनकी नीति गलत है।

इसके अलावा उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सरकार ने एक साल के अन्दर जो काम किया उससे यदि याद न दिलाऊं तो अच्छा है, वरना रोंगटे खड़े हो जाते हैं। जलियांवाला बाग का किस्सा आज तक लोग याद करते हैं। वह हमारे देश का इतिहास बन गया। लेकिन जलियांवाला बाग के अन्दर तो लोग अंग्रेजों से आजादी मांगते थे, वह आजादी देना नहीं चाहते थे। एक संघर्ष था एक इंपायर को हटाने का, एक संघर्ष था एक साम्राज्य को हटाने का। लेकिन पंतनगर के हरिजन बेचारे गरीब वह कौन सा आपका शासन छीन रहे थे? क्या वह प्रधान मंत्री की कुर्सी छीनना चाहते थे? क्या वह ओपड़ी वाले गृह मंत्री की कुर्सी छीनना चाहते थे? क्या वह गरीब इंसान वाइस चांसलर की कुर्सी छीनना चाहते थे। पायलों की तरह उठे और अंधाधुंध गोलियां चलाना शुरू कर दिया और उन लोगों को जंगल में जाकर गन्ने के खेतों में जला दिया। कल की बात है आगरा के अन्दर गरीब हरिजन प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे, जलूस निकाल रहे थे। यह कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है। वह तो खुद मानते और कहते थे कि हम लोकतंत्र के रक्षक हैं और इस लोकतंत्र के रक्षकों ने हरिजनों के ऊपर बेतहाशा गोलियां चलाईं। सैकड़ों लोग अस्पताल में पड़े हैं, बाजारों में लोगों पड़ी हैं। ईमानदारी से बताओ सरकार वालो क्या वह गरीब आपके प्रधान मंत्री का पद छीनना चाहते थे? क्या वह आपकी कोई कुर्सी छीनना चाहते थे? क्या वह कोई आग लगाने जा रहे थे। क्या जलम उन्होंने कर रखा था कि गोलियों से

भून दिया और मैं कहता हूं कि यह कोई ऐक्सीडेंटल बात नहीं थी। जिन जिन जगहों में हरिजनों को मारा जा रहा है वह ऐक्सीडेंटल बात नहीं है, यह जनता पार्टी के अन्दर की राजनीति है। कुछ लोग जनता पार्टी में ऐसे हैं जो समझते हैं कि हरिजन पर गोली चलाओ तो या जगजीवन राम कुर्सी छोड़कर भाग जायेंगे या इनके नीचे से हरिजन निकल जायेंगे। एक कैल्कुलेटेड मूव इस देश के अन्दर चल रहा है। इसको ये लोग कहते थे। इनके मैनिफेस्टो में था कि हम लेबर के लिए काम करेंगे। आज जगह जगह कानपुर के अन्दर देखो, दूसरी जगह देखो घड़ाघड़ मजदूरों पे गोलियां चलती हैं। बाजार में गोलियां चलती हैं। बायलरों के अन्दर मजदूरों को फेंका जाता है। आज विद्यार्थियों को देखो। मैं रोहतक से आता हूं। मेडिकल कालेज के अन्दर जो डाक्टर हैं बाहर से गुन्डे बुलाकर उनको लाठियों से पिटाया जाता है। वह डाक्टर विद्यार्थी जखमी पड़े हुए हैं। मेडिकल स्टूडेंट्स को मारा जाता है, पीटा जाता है और कोई उनकी सुनने वाला नहीं है। विद्यार्थियों पर ही इस सरकार ने गोलियां नहीं चलाईं, मजदूरों पर इस सरकार ने गोलियां चलाईं, किसानों के घरों को इस सरकार ने नहीं छोड़ा। आज उसके घर और गन्ने के खेत जल रहे हैं और इनकी सरकार आराम से बैठी है। मैं कहता हूं कि इस सरकार ने आज इस देश की वह हालत कर दी कि रोम जल रहा है और नीरो मदिना पी रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान जल रहा है और ये आराम से बैठे हुए मंत्रियों के पद की मौज मना रहे हैं। अकेले हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री ने हिन्दुस्तान के भविष्य को ठोकर मारी है सिक्किम के ऊपर बयान देकर। सिक्किम में क्या था। वहां चुनाव हुए। ऐसम्बली बनी और उस ऐसम्बली ने इतिफाक से एक प्रस्ताव पास किया कि हम हिन्दुस्तान का भाग बनना चाहते हैं। (Time bell rings) थोड़ा और बोलंगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री संयद निज मुब्दीन) :
आपका नाम भी नहीं था।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : तोतू साहब नहीं थे इसलिये खड़ा हो गया। तोतू साहब कल बोल लेंगे। यह तो हमारी पार्टी की बात है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक बार नहीं अनेकों बार इस सरकार ने लोगों के ऊपर जुल्म करने की कोशिश की। इसके अलावा एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने केवल विद्यार्थियों को ही नहीं मारा, किसानों को ही नहीं मारा, मजदूरों को ही नहीं मारा बल्कि इस सरकार ने निरकारियों और सिक्खों के झगड़े कराने की भी कोशिश की, इस सरकार ने शिया और सुन्नी के झगड़े कराने की कोशिश की। इस सरकार ने जगह-जगह जात-पात के झगड़े कराने की कोशिश की और जगह-जगह फिरकापरस्ती बढ़ाने की कोशिश की।

मैं सिक्किम की बात कह रहा था। सिक्किम के लोग हंसते-हंसते हिन्दुस्तान में शामिल हुए और प्रधान मंत्री ने कह दिया कि सिक्किम का मिलना हिन्दुस्तान में ठीक नहीं। सिक्किम का डेलिगेशन हिन्दुस्तान में आया हुआ था उनको खुश करने के लिये यह सब किया गया। लेकिन इसका असर क्या होगा इसका अंदाजा नहीं लगाया गया। अब कश्मीर का मामला आया है। कश्मीर के अंदर फौज भी गई है। उसका एक हिस्सा ओकुपाई कर रखा है पाकिस्तान ने। कल को वह हमारे हाथ में आ जाता है तो कोई यह कहने लगे कि कश्मीर का हिन्दुस्तान में मिलना ठीक नहीं तो बताइये प्रधान मंत्री किस तरह से उसका जवाब देंगे। किस तरह से कश्मीर की रक्षा कर सकेंगे।

इसके अलावा इस सरकार ने जुडिशियरी का मान भी घटाया है। जजों को पकड़ कर बैठा दिया। शाह कमीशन बना दिया। मैं कहता हूँ कि इसने जुडिशियरी को इतना डाउन किया है शायद दुनिया के इतिहास में ऐसा कहीं नहीं मिलेगा। कमीशन का एक

जज अपने गवाहियों की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकता। यह सरकार गुंडों को ट्रक में पकड़ कर लाती है इस कमीशन के सामने। कोई गवाह पेश होता है तो नारे लगाये जाते हैं, कुर्तियां बजाई जाती हैं, पत्थर बरसाये जाते हैं।

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Orissa): By you.

SHRI SULTAN SINGH: By the Janata Party because you are in power. You are responsible for everything. We are not in power. We are not responsible for everything.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: By you.

SHRI SULTAN SINGH: It's you who are misleading the people. It is your Government which is misleading the people.

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं कह रहा था कि नारे लगाये जाते हैं। पत्थर बरसाये जाते हैं। गवाहों पर कुर्तियां फेंकी जाती हैं। इन्होंने कमीशन को इतना घटिया किस्म का बना दिया है कि इससे जुडिशियरी का अपमान होता है। जिस इंसान के खिलाफ पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों ने लिख कर दिया कि यह करस्ट है, यह ईमानदार नहीं है, उसी को इन्होंने यहां लाकर रख दिया। आज जो जनता पार्टी में बैठे हैं उन्होंने इस कमीशन को एक माइक्रोफोन बना कर रख दिया। इसका एक खेल बनाया हुआ है। हर वक्त इसका प्रचार रेडियो के अंदर होता रहता है। मैं समझता हूँ इससे ज्यादा जुडिशियरी का अपमान और कोई नहीं कर सकता। जुडिशियरी को माइक्रोफोन बनाकर यह जनता पार्टी प्रचार कर रही है। मैं समझता हूँ इससे ज्यादा घटिया बात कोई नहीं हो सकती। आप जिस तरह से जजों को अपने प्रचार के लिये लाते हैं इससे जुडिशियरी का अपमान घटा है। वही नहीं एक कमीशन बैठा था हरियाणा के अंदर—कपूर कमीशन। उसने रिवासा की इक्वायरी की थी। टर्मस् आफ रेफरेंस में नहीं लिखा था लेकिन उस जज से यह लिखवाया गया कि बंसी लाल का बेटा

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

बार कौंसिल का चेयरमैन बना। अपने बाप की पोजिशन का इस्तेमाल करके वह बार कौंसिल का चेयरमैन बना। उसका बाप डिफेंस मिनिस्टर था इस कारण वह इतनी एज में बार कौंसिल का चेयरमैन बन सका वरना इस एज में वह नहीं बन सकता था। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज बंसी लाल डिफेंस मिनिस्टर नहीं हैं।

5 P.M.

Shri G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I want to raise a point of order. Sir, when Mr. Sultan Singh belonged to the ruling party, and when I had the occasion to condemn the Government for introduction of emergency, he was the person, the hon. Member sitting here and saying that whatever his Government did, was good. How does he criticise this Government now? Same Mr. Sultan Singh is now criticising the Janata Government. (*Interruption*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): "Please take your seat.

You have made your point.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI (Maharashtra): I want to know from Mr. Sultan Singh—he is my

श्री सुलतान सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी कई मायनों में मैं इमरजेन्सी को ठीक मानता हूँ। हमने इमरजेन्सी लागू करके इस देश को जलने से बचा लिया। हमने इमरजेन्सी लागू करके इस देश में प्रोडक्शन बढ़ाई। हमने इमरजेन्सी लागू करके इस देश में यूनिवर्सिटियों को ठीक किया। आज इस देश में यूनिवर्सिटियां जल रही हैं, बाजार जल रहे हैं।

colleague— can understand Mr. Sultan Singh's views on emergency and on the law and order situation; we also in this country have noticed that after the advent of the Janata Government, lawlessness has increased and no other proof is requir-

ed; we know that. But I would request Mr. Sultan Singh to not to denigrate the judiciary. Sir, in his speech, he is denigrating the judiciary. That is noa of our job... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SULTAN SINGH: I am not denigrating; the Janata Government is denigrating the judiciary.

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Sir, judiciary is a gift to this country under "the Constitution and no Member of Parliament, or even the Government, should denigrate the judiciary. What happens in the Shah Commission etc., is the problem between the accused and the Shah Commission. Whether that quarrel was started by the Janata Party goondas or by the Indira Congress goondas, that also I do not know but those who-creat disorder are goondas. But the judiciary must be upheld in this country and for that purpose I would request every Member here not to denigrate the Shah Commission. Shah Commission will give its judgement and then we shall pass our own comments.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANA: Please expunge that part. I am thankful to Mr. Kulkarni for having said it but he should not use the words: Janata Party goondas or the Congress Party goondas. Those words must be expunged. As a very responsible Member of Parliament, you cannot say....

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: I said that whether the Janata Party goondas have given some provocation to the Commission or whether it was by Indira Congress goondas, I am not concerned but my point is that judiciary must be upheld and respected. To say that "Shah Commission natak hai" is a strategy to create lawlessness and confusion in this country. We, responsible Members of Parliament must always condemn it.

श्री सुलतान सिंह : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि श्री कुलकर्णी जी ने मेरी बात की ताईद की है

यह जनता पार्टी की सरकार हमारे देश में जुडीशियरी के स्टेटस को नीचा कर रही है। यही बात मैं कह रहा था। यह सरकार जुडीशियरी को अपने प्रचार माध्यमों का साधन बनाना चाहती है। उसने जुडीशियरी को प्रोपेगण्डा मीडियम बना दिया। ये लोग जुडीशियरी का अपमान करते हैं। यह सरकार जुडीशियरी के माध्यम से अपना प्रचार करना चाहती है। आप जानते हैं कि जुडीशियरी डेमोक्रेसी का एक पिलर होती है। अगर उसका पोलिटिकल परपज के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जाएगा तो जुडीशियरी चीप हो जाएगी।

You are using the judiciary for your propaganda purpose and you are denigrating the judiciary.

मैं इस विचारधारा को अपोज करता हूँ और यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जुडीशियरी शांत बनी रहे और उसका सम्मान बना रहे। जनता पार्टी की सरकार उसको चीप बना रही है, उसको सस्ता बना रही है। जो जुडीशियरी अपने विटनेस को नहीं बचा सके उस जुडीशियरी के सामने लोग कैसे आ सकेंगे। जो जुडीशियरी अपने विटनेस की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकती उसके सामने लोग कैसे जाएंगे? यही बात मैं बोल रहा था। आखिर में मैं सिर्फ यह प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आप लोगों ने किसान की कभर तोड़ी, मजदूरों की कभर तोड़ी। अपने लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण के सपनों को मिट्टी में मिला दिया जो कि टोटल रेवोल्यूशन की बात करते थे। आपका रेवोल्यूशन गोलियों से आ रहा है। आप मजदूरों को भून रहे हैं, हरिजनों पर गोलियाँ चला रहे हैं। इससे ज्यादा बुरा आप क्या कर सकते हैं। जनता पार्टी आज जो यह कर रही है इस की वजह है कि उनका अपना धर ठीक नहीं है, उनको हालत ठीक नहीं है। जनता पार्टी कभी एक दल बनकर चल नहीं सकती। उसके अन्दर अजीब अजीब किस्म के लोग हैं। कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो सोचते हैं कि हमारे पास आर्गनाइज्ड फोर्म है, हमारे पास सेमी-मिलिट्री आर्गनाइजेशन

है, तो इसलिये जब ला आफ जंगल आयेगा तो हम देश भर पर कब्जा करेंगे। कुछ लोग सोचते हैं कि आर्मी के अन्दर हमारे लोग हैं, इसलिए जब ला आफ जंगल आयेगा तो हम ही देश पर कब्जा करेंगे। इसलिये माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी मार्फत मंत्री महोदय से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि मूलक सबसे प्यारी चीज है, देश से बड़ी कोई चीज नहीं है, इसलिये यदि देश को तबाह करोगे, गोलियाँ चलाकर गरीबों को मारोगे तो देश आप को कभी माफ नहीं करेगा। हमको भी आपकी तरह से घमंड था कि देश के लोग हमें माफ कर देंगे। परन्तु देश के लोगों ने हमें माफ नहीं किया। इसलिये वह आपको भी माफ करने वाले नहीं हैं। यही एक बात है जिस पर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। धन्यवाद।

SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI: Sir, I would like to make one sub-mission. Mr. Sultan Singh spoke about the military junta of the Janata Government. But at least the watches should move in one direction. One is showing 4.30, the other is showing 4.45 and the third one is showing 5.10.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): At least the watch by which I am guided is correct.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): This is not due to the Government.

श्री गुशदेव गुप्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, वर्तमान विनियोग विधेयक से यह पता नहीं चलता है कि सरकार देश में काले धन को समाप्त करने के लिए क्या कदम उठा रही है। काला धन हमारे समाज में समानान्तर मुद्रा की भाँति चल रहा है, जिससे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था विगड़ती जा रही है। जनता शासन की नीतियों के परिणाम-स्वरूप गरीब अधिक गरीब होते जा रहे हैं और अमीर अधिक अमीर हो रहे हैं। महंगाई की विभीषिका

[श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त]

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Arvind Ganesh Kulkarni in the Chair)]

अपनी चरमनीमा पर पहुँच रही है। शासन प्रयास के बावजूद मूल्य स्तर को नियंत्रित करने में असमर्थ रहा है। इसका एक ही उदाहरण मैं देना चाहूँगा। दिल्ली प्लैंक स्कीम द्वारा जो दूध की कीमत में वृद्धि की गई है, उसने जो दूध की आधे लिटर की बोतल की कीमत 65 पैसे से बढ़ाकर 90 पैसे कर दी है, वह वृद्धि लगभग 40 प्रतिशत होती है। यह मूल्य वृद्धि जो आज से लगे हुई है, मैं तो यह कहूँगा कि दिल्ली की 40 लाख जनता को शासन की प्रथम वर्गगाठ पें, जो कि कल मनाई गई है, जनता शासन द्वारा तोहफा दिया गया है। दिल्ली में दिल्ली परिवहन की बसों का किराया भी बढ़ाया जा रहा है। यह भी बहुत जल्द सामने आने वाला है। दिल्ली के निवासियों के लिये यह दूसरा तोहफा होगा जनता शासन का। सरकार ने यह आश्वासन दिया था कि बजट प्रस्तावों के कारण केवल 7 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि होगी परन्तु गत दो मासों में विभिन्न सामान्य उपभोग की वस्तुओं के मूल्यों में 3 प्रतिशत से लेकर 12 प्रतिशत तक की वृद्धि हो चुकी है। बजट में 1050 करोड़ के घाटे से मूल्य वृद्धि को प्रोत्साहन मिल रहा है। अपने आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण में सरकार ने धनी किसानों पर कर लगाने का संकेत दिया था परन्तु बजट में इस प्रकार की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की गई। पता नहीं क्यों? मान्यवर, काले धन को समाप्त करने के लिये जनता शासन को सौ रुपये के नोटों का विमुद्रीकरण करना चाहिए क्योंकि बड़ी मुद्रा के नोटों का विमुद्रीकरण जो किया गया था उससे आभासीतः उपलब्धि नहीं प्राप्त हो सकी। दूसरा काम जो देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को आगे ले जाने में कारगर होगा वह यह है कि जिन बैंक ऑर्डर बैंक्स का डिपोजिट 31 दिसम्बर, 1977 को 100 करोड़ रुपये से ऊपर था, उनका राष्ट्रीयकरण किया जाय। ये बैंक

हैं आंध्र बैंक लिमिटेड, डिपोजिट 288 करोड़, रुपया। कारपोरेशन बैंक लिमिटेड 126, न्यू बैंक ऑफ इंडिया लिमिटेड 258, ओरिएंटल बैंक ऑफ कामर्स लिमिटेड, 117, पंजाब एंड सिंध बैंक लिमिटेड, 262, विजय बैंक लिमिटेड-247। इन बैंकों का राष्ट्रीयकरण करने से सबसे बड़ा लाभ यह होगा कि इस पंजी को ग्रामीण विकास कार्य में सुनियोजित ढंग से लगाया जा सकेगा और उससे ग्रामों की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को सुधारने में समुचित उपलब्धि होगी। सूचना एवं प्रसारण मंत्री ने अपने विभिन्न वक्तव्यों में छोटे और मझने समाचारपत्रों के बाबत भी कहा है। 31 अगस्त को उन्होंने नई दिल्ली में कहा था —

Advertisement policy to help small newspapers. Addressing the National Council of Advertising Agencies here, he said;

"The Government advertisement policy envisaged help to small and medium papers. This policy should not be restricted to Government agencies only, but should be followed by private advertisers also."

किन्तु मान्यवर मंत्री जी के इस बहने को लगभग 6 मास हो चुके हैं। गवर्नमेंट की एडवर्टाइजमेंट पालिसी क्या है, यह भी अभी तक स्पष्ट नहीं हो सका 25 सितम्बर को माननीय मंत्री जी ने इसी संदर्भ में भोपाल में कहा था :

Referring to the grant of Government advertisements, Mr. Advani, said;

"The Government would soon come out with detailed guidelines on this issue."

लेकिन वे गाइड लाइन्स क्या हैं, किस प्राधार पर समाचारपत्रों को एडवर्टाइजमेंट दिए जा रहे हैं, उनके रेट फिक्स करने का क्या आधार है, रेट स्ट्रक्चर पालिसी क्या है, गवर्नमेंट अभी तक इस बारे में चुप है और अपनी-अपनी ढपली और अपना-अपना राग वहाँ पर छलापा जा रहा है। छोटे समाचारपत्रों के बारे में जो मंत्री जी ने कहा और जिसके बारे

में अभी लघु और मध्यम समाचारपत्रों का सम्मेलन दिल्ली में हुआ था; उसने जो रेप्रेजेंटेशन किया उसको देखते हुये यह आवश्यक है कि अगर शासन उनके लिए कुछ करना चाहता है तो उसे उसी भांति नीति अपनानी होगी जैसे कि लघु उद्योगों के बारे में शासन ने अपनाई है। लघु समाचारपत्रों को यदि शासन भली प्रकार से सहयोग करता है तो उसे चाहिये कि वह उनको न्यूजप्रिंट मशीनरी तथा विज्ञापन दरों में थियेष्ट सुविधा दे और यह देखे कि वह अननेसेसरी कम्पीटीशन जो बड़े अखबारों के साथ करना पड़ता है उससे वे बच सकें। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि पेज प्राइस शेड्यूल जो आज से लगभग 10 साल पहले जब डा० केसकर मंत्री थे लाया गया था कार्यान्वित नहीं हो सका था उसे कार्यान्वित किया जाए। लघु समाचार पत्र संघ विज्ञापनों का जो बजट केन्द्रीय शासन के अन्तर्गत रहता है उसमें 20 प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन की मांग की है। यह 20 प्रतिशत रिजर्वेशन करके छोटे समाचारपत्रों को दिया जाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि उनकी इस मांग में थियेष्ट बल है और शासन को उसे स्वीकार करना चाहिये। एक अन्य कठिनाई समाचारपत्रों के उद्योग में यह आती है कि हमारे देश में जहाँ बड़ी से बड़ी चीज बनने लगी है वहाँ पर न्यूजप्रिंट बनाने में शैथिल्य है। न्यूजप्रिंट बनाने के लिए केवल एक कारखाना है—नेपा मिल्स—और वह भी इतना घटिया किस्म का न्यूजप्रिंट बनाता है, इतना खराब बनाता है, न तो इस पर छपाई अच्छी होती है और न ही पढ़ने को मन करता है। और उसके साथ ही मूल्य भी उसका इतना अधिक है कि जब उनके मन में आता है तो मूल्य बढ़ा देते हैं और तर्क उनका यह रहता है कि आयातित कागज और न्यूजप्रिंट की तुलना

में उनका मूल्य 100 रुपए से 50 रुपए कम है। अतः मान्यवर मैं आपके माध्यम से मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहूंगा कि आयातित कागज हमारी मजबूरी है। माल जिस रेट से बल्ड मार्केट में मिलता है हम ले जाते हैं लेकिन जो कागज हमारे यहाँ बनता है या बन सकता है उसको बनाने के लिए शासन इतना शिथिल क्यों है। उस और ध्यान देकर अच्छा कागज क्यों नहीं बनाते है और उसकी कैपैसिटी दूसरे कारखाने खोलकर क्यों नहीं बढ़ाते है ?

एक अन्य बात मैं इस संघ में समाचार पत्र उद्योग के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी इसी बजट प्रपोजल में शासन ने विज्ञापन पर व्यय की जाने वाली धनराशि पर टैक्स लगा दिया है। इसका अखबारों की अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर बड़ा कुप्रभाव पड़ा है। इस पर बड़ी देशव्यापी प्रतिक्रिया हुई है। समाचार पत्र व्यवसाय में कार्यरत विभिन्न संस्थान इंडियन एण्ड ईस्टन न्यूजपेपर सोसायटी, एडवर्टाइजर एसोसिएशन आफ इंडिया एवं अन्य समाचार पत्र संगठन इन सबमें काम करने वालों और इन संस्थानों ने इसका घोर विरोध किया है। इससे होने वाली कठिनाइयों पर उन्होंने आंकड़े प्रस्तुत किये हैं। वमुश्किल तमाम लोक सभा में मंत्री जी ने अभी कुछ दिन पहले यह घोषणा की कि 15000 तक की सरकुलेशन वाले जो अखबार हैं उनको जो विज्ञापन दिया जाएगा उस पर कोई टैक्स नहीं लगाया जाएगा। किन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि इस मामले में छोटे, मझोले अथवा बड़े के बीच में भेदभाव करना कोई न्याय नहीं है। क्योंकि अभी अपने देश में समाचार पत्र उद्योग जिस स्थिति में है उसमें काफी गुंजाइश आगे बढ़ने की है और जब वह आगे बढ़ेगा तभी वह विदेशों की तुलना में अपनी उपादेयता सिद्ध कर सकेगा। टैक्स लगाने

[श्री गुरुदेव गुप्त]

का कुप्रभाव इतना है मान्यवर, मैं थोड़े से आंकड़े इस बारे में देता हूँ कि एकस-टेंट आफ कट इन ए० पी० एस० पी० एक्सपेंडीचर इस प्रकार है : सोप डिस्ट्रिक्ट पर 15 प्रतिशत, टाइलेटरी एण्ड वेटरिनरी प्रोडक्ट्स पर 18 प्रतिशत, इन्फ्रानिस्स पर 21 प्रतिशत, पेंट्स पर 23 प्रतिशत, प्लास्टिक प्रोडक्ट्स पर 20 प्रतिशत, टैक्सटाइल्स पर 22 प्रतिशत, इंजीनियरिंग गुड्स पर 14 प्रतिशत, फूड एण्ड बीवरेजेस पर 10 प्रतिशत टाइलेटरीज पर 25 प्रतिशत, फार्मेस्यूटिकल्स पर 25 प्रतिशत, कन्टेनर्स पर 24 प्रतिशत तो मान्यवर इतना विज्ञापन बजट देश के एडवर्टाइजर्स द्वारा कट कर दिये गये जाने पर जो समाचार पत्रों पर प्रभाव पड़ेगा उससे उनकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था पर गम्भीर परिणाम की कल्पना सहज ही की जा सकती है और इसलिए मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से मांग करूँगा कि वह उस पर पुनर्विचार करें और इस टैक्स को कम्प्लीटली वापस लें।

एक अन्य बात मैं जिस पर प्रकाश डालना चाहूँगा, मान्यवर, वह है देश में कानून की स्थिति। कानून और व्यवस्था देश में बहुत बिगड़ती जा रही है इस प्रकार की घटनाओं से अबबारों के कालभ रंगे रहते हैं। जनता पर, चाहे वह छात्र हो, मजदूर हो या किसान हों गोली चलाने की विभिन्न घटनाएँ आये दिन घट रही हैं। कैसा लोकतंत्र है यह, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि जहाँ अपनी ही सरकार अपने ही छात्रों पर, अपने ही लोगों पर गोली चलाकर उनकी बात को सुनने की बजाये उनकी कठोरता से, क्रूरता से कुचलती है, उनकी आवाज को कुचलती है।

उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार और मध्य प्रदेश जो देश की कुल जनसंख्या के पाँचवें भाग के

बराबर हैं वहाँ लोग पुलिस फायरिंग की घटनाओं से बुरी तरह आतंकित हैं। उत्तर प्रदेश में जनता शासन के एक वर्ष के दौरान जितनी बार पुलिस द्वारा गोली चलाई गयी और जितने लोग उसमें मारे गये अथवा घायल किये गये उसने शायद कांग्रेस के 30 वर्ष के शासन में भी नहीं हुए होंगे। पंतनगर की लोमहर्षक घटना किसी का भी दिल दहलाने के लिए काफी है, जहाँ पुलिस की ज्यादतियों से बचने के लिए निर्राह नागरिकों को गन्ने के खेतों में शरण लेनी पड़ी और वहाँ पर जब पुलिस को मालूम हुआ कि वे गन्ने के खेतों में छिपे हुए हैं, तो पुलिस ने गन्ने के खेत में आग लगा दी और जब वे गन्ने के खेत से झुलम कर बाहर निकले तो उन को गोली से भून दिया गया और उनकी लाश को नदी में प्रवाहित कर दिया गया। ऐसी सरकार अगर अपने आप को जनता सरकार कहती है, और जनता की प्रतिनिधि होने का दावा करती है, तो मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि यह सरकार कितने दिनों तक चल सकेगी और कितने दिन में लोग इससे मुक्ति प्राप्त कर सकेंगे। मान्यवर, यह एक बड़ी दुःखद और अर्मानक घटना है। कोई भी शासन हो उसे गौर करना चाहिए और ऐसी घटनाएं कभी नहीं हों, उनकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं हो, इस पर यथेष्ट प्रयास करना चाहिए। उत्तर प्रदेश में, मैं कहूँ दोष किस का है? छात्रों का है क्या? या दोष वहाँ के नागरिकों का है? इन दोनों में से किसी का भी मान्यवर, वहाँ पर दोष नहीं है। दोष वहाँ पर है जनता शासन के जो मुख्य मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं, रामनरेण यादव। रामनरेण यादव स्वभाव में भले ही सहज हों, ईमानदार भी हों—यह भी मैं नहीं कहता कि वे ईमानदार नहीं हैं, ईमानदार भी हैं—किंतु उन्हें प्रशासनिक अनुभव जो है वह शून्य के बराबर है। और बिना प्रशासनिक अनुभव हुए मान्यवर, चाहे कोई कितने ही बड़े आदमी का विश्वास-पात्र बन कर रहे, वह काम नहीं कर सकता। वही स्थिति आज उन के साथ लागू है कि वहाँ

पर जो मुख्य मंत्री यहाँ की कृपा की बदौलत जो कार्य कर रहे हैं, उन्हें कठिनाई आ रही है और कठिनाइयों का निराकरण, जो पुलिस के मन आता है उस तरीके से वह करती है।

दूसरी बात मान्यवर, मैं मध्य प्रदेश के बारे में कहूँगा। मध्य प्रदेश में बस्तर में भी गोली काण्ड हुआ ! वहाँ पर श्रमिकों को पुलिस की गोलियों से भून दिया गया। यह एक पुस्तक है—घायल बस्तर—जो उसी घटना पर प्रकाशित की गई है और इस पुस्तक का लेखक कोई कांग्रेसी नहीं है। वे हैं श्री लाडली मोहन निगम जो इस सदन के सम्माननीय सदस्य हैं और जो बड़ौदा डाएनामाइट काण्ड से संबंधित रहे हैं और जिन्होंने अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन देश सेवा में लगाया है ; उन्होंने जो अपने उद्गार इस पुस्तक में प्रगट किए हैं इतने दुःखद हैं कि किसी भी आदमी को मर्माहत कर दें। उस में से एक-दो वाक्य आपकी जानकारी के लिए देना चाहूँगा :

“लौह अयस्क की सैंकड़ों मीलों तक फैली पर्वत श्रृंखला बैलाडीला और दिल्ली राजहरा को जोड़ती है अब तक बैलाडीला और दिल्ली राजहरा का रिश्ता हरियाली और फीलाद की बांधों का रहा है, लेकिन इधर एक नया रिश्ता कायम हुआ है—रिसते हुए जख्मों और खून के सैलाब का।

रक्त की एक धारा जून, 1977 में दिल्ली राजहरा के धरापुत्रों पर हुए गोलीबार से बही श्री और अब 5 अप्रैल, 1978 को बैलाडीला के निहत्थे मजदूरों पर हुए गोली चालन से बही रक्त धारा ने दर्द का नया रिश्ता जोड़ा है।”

तो मान्यवर, यह हालत है मध्य प्रदेश की और उत्तर प्रदेश की। उसके बाद आता है बिहार। बिहार में तो लगता है कि कोई शासन चल ही नहीं रहा है। कैसा मुख्य मंत्री है वहाँ का जिस की मभा में बम फेंके जाते हैं। बिहार के कई शहरों में गोलियाँ चल रही हैं, बमफेंके जा रहे हैं।

तो यह तो खुल्लमखुल्ला एनार्की का प्रतिरूप है। मान्यवर, अगर इस तरीके की घटनाएं घटती रहेंगी तो मैं आपके माध्यम से सम्माननीय मंत्री जी से यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि वह दिन दूर नहीं है जब इस देश की भूमि पर भी एनार्की होगी और यहाँ पर गली-गली में खून-खराबे होंगे और तब यह शासन कुछ चाहते हुए भी, न कर पाए। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि समय रहते जनता शासन चेतने और अपनी कथनी और करनी में अंतर न लाए और देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए कारगर साबित हो।

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY; Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, a debate on the Appropriation Bill always stands out to toe a convenient tool to vent every conceivable grievance, be it imaginary or be it real. I would therefore like to confine my remarks to some of the aspects of the Appropriation Bill itself. But before I do so, I would crave your indulgence to bring to the notice of the House some of the unusual features which we have had in the course of this debate.

Sir, repeated references have been made to the emerging violence, to happenings in Pantnagar, firing in Agra and elsewhere. Sir, in all humility I should say, we always resent police excesses wherever they occur, but if (a separate debate takes place I can prove to the hilt that behind every act of police excesses, there are the unseen hands of *agents provocateur*, inspired by a frustrated party who do not even feel abashed to stage demonstrations in the courts of law and before the Shah Commission. Here you find the mask of violence. Who is inciting the violence? Who are the *agents provocateur*? Sir, they are still in our midst today, and like the proverbial Bourbons, neither do they forget history nor do they learn from history. They are trying to justify the Emergency today and they are trying to make out a case for the reign of terror which they had imposed and perpetrated on this country. Let

[Shri Surendra Mohanty]

them take the warning from me that this kind of tricks won't play any more on the Indian populace. Not that we are all angels; we have also our clay feet. But, Sir, let not any hon. Member utilize this forum to justify the Emergency. The Emergency is a traumatic experience which the country must forget and such of us who really feel for democracy must see that we do not ever incite violence to attract police action and police excesses.

Sir, having said so, which of course was quite unwarranted in the context. I would come to some of the aspects of the Appropriation Bill. My friend, Mr. Sultan Singh shed quite some crocodile tears for the rural masses. It should be rightly so. For long thirty years they had ruled this country. But for the first time credit must go to the Finance Minister of this Janata Government that 40 per cent of the total budgetary allocation is being earmarked for the rural masses. In all fairness I would ask: What, with all their protestations for the rural masses for the upliftment of the rural people, the Congress Government had done so far in all its Plans and Budgets? Therefore, Sir, instead of running down the Janata Government at least the Congress Party must have the grace to concede this much that in this Budget as much as 40 per cent has been allocated for the rural sector. But having said that, I must also warn the Government that unless the machinery for utilization is geared up and the courage of inefficiency and corruption are removed, this significant effort of the Janata Government will flounder on futility and frustration.

Sir, we know that 40 per cent of the money which has been allotted to the rural sector will be utilized not by the Finance Ministry itself but several Ministries will be involved in it and also the State Governments. So, unless there is a monitoring cell to see that these huge sums which are

allocated for the rural sector are properly utilized, it will be an exercise in futility. Similarly, a significant allocation is being made for the upliftment of the agriculturists. But unless land reforms and consolidation of holdings are expedited and speedily implemented, only the rich peasants will get benefit out of this allocation and the poor peasants, the landless, will have nothing to gain. In this context, I would like to emphasise the immediate need for streamlining the administrative machinery. Why do I say so? I can cite one instance. Now I understand a large shortfall in the Plan expenditure in 1977-78 has emerged, with the result that the estimated deficit of Rs. 975 crores may now turn out to be less than Rs. 200 crores. Now the House may recall that, while announcing the Budget on February 28, the Finance Minister had indicated that there has been a shortfall of Rs. 230 crores; but the figure is now reported to be considerably higher. This means that the targets which the Government had set have not been adhered to. The projected sums have been surrendered and the targets remain unattained. Therefore, my humble submission is that the Finance Ministry must lose no time in organising a cell to see that this expenditure which Parliament is sanctioning, be it for the rural sector, be it for the agricultural sector or any other factor, is properly utilised and the targets are attained.

Sir, now I will come to the duty on electricity. It is heartening to note that the Finance Minister has reduced the rate of levy on Excise duty on electricity. But I do not understand on what authority the Government of India is going to impose a levy on electricity, which is a State subject. How will it be distributed? The principle must be spelt out. Unless the principle is spelt out, misgivings will arise and it will be an apple of discord. But what is more concerning is that the Electricity Boards have made a total loss of Rs. 165 crores during the last year alone. Sir, you will

appreciate that the State Electricity Boards today are operating more or less as monopolistic concerns. They have a seller's market. But the State Electricity Boards having incurred a heavy loss of Rs. 165 crores in the course of one year is a very disturbing matter and it deserves close scrutiny. Instead of avoiding these losses, negative expenditure and the stinking corruption that is prevalent in the State Electricity Boards, the proposed levy on power is something which I find difficult to understand. Moreover, the Excise duty on coal and electricity, by increasing the cost of inputs, will enhance the cost of production and will hit the consumer hard. Therefore, Sir, even at this late hour, I will beg of the Finance Minister to reconsider this proposition about the Excise levy on coal and electricity. Sir, I would come to two other burning issues—the accumulation of foreign exchange and the sale of gold.

Sir, the Finance Minister had indicated that the deficit would be reduced by drawing from the foreign exchange reserves, but the experience showed that the foreign exchange of Rs. 800 crores which was expected to be utilised, could not be utilised, and that was added to the deficit of Rs. 957 crores. Sir, utilisation of the foreign exchange resources seems to be very bleak because the country had today attained a great amount of self-sufficiency in capital goods, and no scope may immediately be available for utilising all our accumulated foreign exchange reserves. Therefore, Sir, in this context, the Government should spell out clearly how it is going to utilise the foreign exchange reserves, unless they are going to fritter them away by importing pulses, edible oils or such other commodities. The foreign exchange reserves are a valuable heritage, and we must see that they are properly utilised, but I do not find as yet any considered thinking on the subject. I hope, the Hon. Finance Minister will do well to enlighten us as to how he is going to utilise the foreign exchange reserves.

Sir, about gold, I do not see any harm in importing gold for manufacturing jewellery for which there is a great demand particularly in the Middle-East and other markets. But, Sir, if we import gold and benefit a few tycoons at the cost of the real goldsmiths, the artisans, then certainly it will be a proposition which will deserve reconsideration. Sir, I come from Cuttack whose filigree works are famous all over the world. I can tell you from my own experience that while the filigree workers are starving and languishing, only a few tycoons are flourishing at their cost, and what I would like to say is that if gold would be imported, steps would have to be taken to see that the imported gold goes to the small workers, the small operators, the small men, the artisans and those who really manufacture jewellery, and not to the tycoons who make jewellery a big business. I understand, the jewellers and the goldsmiths from all over India had approached the Minister of State for Finance to simplify the procedure of issuing of gold to them, and I am sure that he would pay some attention to it. Sir, today we have got Rs. 188 crores worth of gold in the Reserve Bank as a currency reserve. Besides, we have 70 tonnes of gold worth about Rs. 500 crores. Sir, now the Government has a proposal to sell it away. Personally, I do not think that selling away of this gold worth Rs. 500 crores is going to minimise the chances of smuggling in any way. The disparity between the indigenous gold price and the international price is between 30 and 33 per cent. Sir, even then, the international price will be lower, and there will be much inducement to smuggle gold into this country where its price will be still higher. Therefore if this gold is to be sold away at all, then it must be seen that a certain minimum limit is fixed beyond which gold should not be sold to any individual person or any individual artisan or any individual trader; otherwise, this gold will go to enrich these tycoons to whom I have made a reference earlier. Sir, there is another

[Shri Surendra Mohanty] matter, and with that I end. References have been made to regional disparities. Sir, in spite of all our talks, in spite of all our Plans, we find that the rich States have become richer and the poor States have become poorer, it is simply because of the fact that the poor States, the underdeveloped States, the undeveloped States, cannot find the maching resources to attract Central assistance. Sir, much has been said about the infrastructure. Sir, infrastructure means what? As the Industrial Minister used to say, water is more available in Nasik than in Bombay, yet the industrialists will plead that the infrastructure is there in Bombay and it is not available in Nasik. In the case of Orissa, all the raw materials are available in Orissa, but they are processed outside. As far as my State is concerned, we are still having that colonial economy: the raw materials are taken away and the finished goods • come to us, and our people do not get any employment. Naturally the rich States who have had the advantage of industrialisation earlier, get richer whereas we get poorer. Therefore, there must be some fiscal policy, some fiscal instrument evolved by the Finance Ministry by which the rich States, of course, develop but the States which are lagging behind do not languish away.

Sir, it gives me great pleasure to support the Appropriation Bill and I think the hon. Minister for having given me this chance at least to support a Bill for the first time in my life.

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAM-
CHANDRA MHAISEKAR (Maharashtra) :
Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, with your kind permission I offer my observations on the Appropriation Bill under discussion in the House today.

Sir, I had *in toto* supported the Budget when it was discussed in this House because I had clearly pointed out some of the salient features, particularly the basic approach that it had

towards agriculture, concentrating on certain aspects of agriculture which had been neglected so far, particularly because 75 per cent of our population lives in villages where near about 45 per cent of the population is below the poverty-line. That apart, I had clearly said that there were two very good cushions: one was the foreign exchange earnings and the second was the gross national produce which, in spite of all adverse conditions, continued to grow at the rate of 5 per cent, which was even appreciated at a conference held recently in Bangkok. But at that time I had also said that there were certain negative trends in our economy which had to be taken care of. Sir, with this particular observation, I go to the Appropriation Bill that we are discussing today.

The hon. Member, Mr. Pилоo Mody, criticised the discourse that was going on in this House among certain Members who came from backward areas. I still want to harp upon that particular theme just to lay emphasis. Sir, we have been laying emphasis on the accelerated growth of backward areas in this country for the last 25 years. I know, I am associated with the Marathwada Vikas Parishad and the Marathwada Janata Vikas Parishad, both non-official bodies devoted completely to the cause of development of the Marthwada region, consisting of five districts in Maharashtra which are economically undeveloped. Therefore, I know what are the pains and pangs of those who have been striving for the last 20 to 25 years to see that they get justice. Therefore, we feel that there is need to lay emphasis on a certain factor if you think that there has to be a dent in our policy so that effective direction is given to the policy. From this point of view I would again make a mention as to what is to be done about the economically underdeveloped areas of this country. In the Budget discussion I had pointed out why there was a very particular thing, the yawning gap. In the last year's fiscal policy

statement the honourable Finance Minister made a special reference to the yawning gap between the developed part and the underdeveloped part of this country stressing the need for giving a specific direction in order to reduce this yawning gap. *But* this year's fiscal policy statement of the honourable Finance Minister does not contain any reference to the underdeveloped areas. I do not know why this omission is there. We feel that the planning process of a country has to be responsive to the needs and has to have relevance to the area to which the planning process is being applied. Therefore, for the accelerated growth of underdeveloped areas, certain specific steps will have to be taken by the Central Government and the State Governments. Keeping this particular point in view we have been insisting that there has to be a special planning cell created in the Planning Commission and a special cell created in the Finance Ministry. This is the demand on which I and my colleagues have been insisting. In fact, six months ago I wrote to the honourable Prime Minister insisting on the creation of a special cell in the Planning Commission. I also wrote to the honourable Finance Minister enquiring whether certain references could be made to the Finance Commission to find if the States were prepared to spend specific amounts for the accelerated growth of the underdeveloped areas within those particular States. I was told that under the statutory provisions there could not be any reference to the Finance Commission. But then there is a provision for reference to the Government servants of the backward areas. It is really a pity that in a structure which we call democratic, where we have a constitutional provision that the underprivileged should get the attention of each and everybody responsible for administration and execution in this country, we do not find a provision for making a reference to the Finance Commission about the underdeveloped areas. Anyway I am happy that the honourable Prime Minister has recently announced that there

would be a special cell in the Planning Commission to look after the economically underdeveloped areas. But there has been a lot of confusion. We have been having a number of discussions and deliberations here. We have been looking at some of the select, specified, areas like the Mil areas, tribal areas, drought-prone areas, etc., but we have not been able to pay attention to the organic development of the economically underdeveloped areas in all the States and throughout the country. Therefore, it was a very good news that we are now going to have a special cell in the Planning Commission. My own earnest desire would be that this special cell in the Planning Commission should start functioning immediately and effectively getting itself guided by three basic tenets. One would be that all its policies and actions should be guided by a time-bound accelerated growth for all the underdeveloped areas. No. 2 would be to earmark specific amounts and see that this time-bound programme is achieved. Thirdly, in every underdeveloped region or every underdeveloped area there will be an institution or corporation or body or a committee or commission, whatever it is, which should provide an umbrella protection policy to all the economic activities in these backward areas so as to see that they are not killed by the economic competition outside their purview. We have been giving this kind of umbrella protection to a number of economic activities in this country.

Now, I come to a very important aspect, namely, banks or banking in this country. We know that we have nationalised banks. Sometime back I had said in this House that in spite of the fact that we have nationalised 14 or 15 banks we have hardly been able to provide 15 per cent rural loans through these nationalised banks. This is because of a very rigid policy that is followed by the nationalised banks, not only in their procedures which are admittedly cumbersome, but also in their attitude or approach to the underprivi-

[Shri Govindrao Ramchandra Mhai-sekar]
leged and the weakest in the country. For this reason, we have been able to advance only 15 per cent of loans to the poor.

Somebody recently pointed out in the newspapers that the banks would collect Rs. 20 crores by way of fixed deposits from a certain area, but they would not advance more than Rs. 2 crores as loan for the development of that area. If somebody enquires why it is so, the argument would be that the area does not have the potentiality for assimilation and consumption of loans. This speaks sadly on the administration of banking in this country.

There is another very important example I want to mention in this House. We have a soft loan policy for small farmers and marginal farmers in this country. These farmers are looked after by the SFDA and MFDA. By 'soft loan' I mean subsidised loan where the interest is subsidised at 4 per cent by the Central Government. Our nationalised banks are the last institutions to advance these loans. They feel that it is very cumbersome to reimburse this 4 per cent interest from the Government and, therefore, they are not able to approach the farmers. Not approach, but help the farmers because approaching them is too far a thing. It can be very easily proved that all the amounts that are provided by MFDA and SFDA cannot be used within which they have been specified to be used for the simple reason that institutional finance is not available in proportion to the amount that is available for subsidy. Why? Because the banks have no perspective and are not interested in these clients. There are persons coming from the business community and trading community and big industrialists themselves. Very good. One would appreciate this. But unfortunately many of these people are mercenaries to whom banks advance money in a free manner. And after some time we find that after enjoying all

their luxuries at the cost of poor people they may declare themselves to be insolvent. Crores of rupees are given away by the banks to these people, whereas applications for loans from farmers are kept pending for months and months and ultimately rejected because there is no creditworthiness in them. But, Sir this credit-worthiness is another important factor. I would rather like our nationalised banks to give a more sympathetic consideration to this thing and just see that they help the small farmers also in this particular scheme. (*Time bell rings*). Sir, I would finish in just two minutes. Sir, I would definitely speak about certain measures of economy in our country. The first thing to which I would like to shift immediately is the economy on administrative expenditure. Since there is not much time at my disposal, I cannot give you the statistics. But I would like to tell that ours is a country which is spending the highest percentage of money on the administration. It is rather very surprising. We are getting not that co-efficient of efficiency as we should. But, unfortunately, this is the position.

Then, Sir I would speak about one more thing. We have got a number of corporations in our country. We have created them and we have made them autonomous because we thought that they would be able to work efficiently and speedily and we thought that there should be a relaxation of the audit rules and so on. But we find that in these corporations there are huge losses because in these corporations there are duplications, there is multiplication, there are many corporations for the same purpose and we can abolish a number of such corporations and we can see that this multiplication and this overlapping of duties and functions in our public sector corporations are done away with. Now, you will see that in these corporations, too much money is being spent on vehicles, too much money is being spent on

guest houses, too much money is being spent on sumtuary allowances and too much money is being spent on many other things. You will also see that there is loss of property in these corporations. In a number of corporations, Sir, you will see, particularly in the engineering corporations, goods are smuggled out and sold in the market at a throw-away price and there is a loss to the tune of many crores of rupees. In fact, I feel that the corporations in the country are a matter for reconsideration and evaluation. I would not mind if a committee of experts is appointed to go and see that half of those corporations who have an overlapping sort of functions or performance, are done away with and there is economy in expenditure on administration and these corporations.

With these words, I thank you and conclude.

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): Sir, at the outset, I would like to thank you very much for having given me some time to speak on such an important subject pertaining to Appropriation. On occasions like this, when this House discusses such issues, it would be necessary to see that some of the vital issues pertaining to the country or affecting the people are not lost sight of and if we are to lose sight of them, then, Sir, I am afraid, it would not be possible for any Government to do justice to the people of this country. While saying this, I have in my mind the backward classes. Sir, this House has discussed several times this issue. But what I have observed is that the term "backward classes", as envisaged by our founding-fathers in our Constitution, has not been understood in the proper perspective with the result that there have been several doubts, several cases and several other unjustifiable matters which have not really been able to help these backward classes. Now, Sir, the founding-fathers of our Constitution had in their mind the questions of

advancement of the backward classes. That is why Constitution speaks of these classes and it would be absolutely necessary to know what these classes are and how they are to be identified. Now, articles like 15(4), 16(4), 330, 340, 341 and 342 mainly talk of the backward classes. Now when we say "backward classes", we have to understand that these classes are not the only backward people. They are only one category and, therefore, in my opinion, and, according to the Constitution, there are mainly three categories: (1) Scheduled Castes, (2) Scheduled Tribes, and (3) other backward classes. 6 P.M.

I have gone through the Budget provisions made and what I have observed is that there is provision made about the advancement of only two categories of backward classes, that is, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The other backward classes appear to have been forgotten cleanly. And it would, therefore, be necessary for the Government to know what exactly has happened. If these other backward classes are not treated in the way the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are being treated in this country, I am afraid it would not be possible for the Government or for our society to establish what you call an egalitarian society as envisaged by the founding fathers of our Constitution.

Now, Sir, when we say backwardness, there is no definition of backwardness in our Constitution. However, it has to be made out what exactly our founding fathers meant by it. Now, article 15(4) says, for instance about special treatment of backward classes, that these, backward classes are those who are educationally and socially backward. It is a very important term. Now, when we say, educationally and socially backward", it does not mean that they are economically backward. That is a very important point. On this issue there have been several decisions of the Supreme Court who have thrown much light

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on the problem, and they have endeavoured to define what exactly is meant by the backward classes. In a case like this, if I may be permitted to refer to it, which has emanated from my own State, Karnataka, and that is a very famous State, wherein Justice Gajendragadkar had discussed this issue at some length. That is the Balaji's case. In that case, what exactly he has stated is that in deciding about Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, for instance, one has to take into consideration the criteria of untouchability and the social evil attached to it. As regards Scheduled Tribes, while specifying under article 31, what has to be taken into consideration is the criteria of living in general, habitat in general, while in the case of other backward classes there is no such criteria and it has to be found by the Government. And with this objective in view, several attempts have been made in the past too, to identify these classes. For instance, the Government of India in 1952 appointed a very famous Commission called the Backward Classes Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Kaka Kalelkar and this Commission went round the whole country and made elaborate enquiries and gave their report. But what I have observed is that this Commission lost sight of what exactly is meant by the backward classes, with the result that a large number of people in this country have come to be identified or styled as backward classes. For instance* the Commission said that even the women of India who constitute half the population of this country are to be designated as backward classes. Now, Sir, it would not be possible for any Government, whether it is the State Government or the Central Government to look after this vast number of people in a special way. The Kothari Commission about Universities has gone through this problem very thoroughly and it has rightly said that the people who could be looked after,

besides the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in a special way in accordance with the nature of the economy we have in this country, cannot exceed more than one third of the population, that is, about 33 per cent. So, within this ambit of 33 per cent, we have to find out this backwardness. When the Kaka Kalelkar report was submitted it was thoroughly examined by the Government of India and I am glad that the Government of India rejected the recommendations of the Commission. But, at the same time, it was very essential to know who these one-third of the people are. All of them are socially and economically backward. In matters of backwardness, they are very much like the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The criteria governing these other categories may be slightly different, but in matters of backwardness they are akin to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. It means that they must also be socially and educationally backward and not economically backward. But for the last several years no such attempt has been made to identify these classes with the result that what has been happening is that there has been a struggle in many States about these backward classes. This matter was left by the Government of India to the States and the States were to define the backwardness. Naturally, the States were concerned with their own economy and with their own lists and the Government of India did not interfere with them. Some of the States, for the instance Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Jammu and Kashmir, Bihar about which we are hearing a lot, Maharashtra and Gujarat, have been able to identify these classes. But this cannot be called a national list. This is very important. As this is not a national list, it has not been possible for the backward classes which have been listed in the States, to be looked after by the Government of India. This factor has been lost sight of. (*Time Bell rings*). I can speak on this if You

give me a few minutes more. What I sincerely feel is that it is absolutely essential for any Government worth its name "to identify these classes and draw up a national list. There are people like that in our country to the extent of at least 33 per cent of our population who deserve to be taken care of. If these people are identified, I am sure we will be going a long way to establish an egalitarian society where there is social justice, economic equality and political justice and so on and so forth as envisaged in the Preamble to our Constitution. So, this has been lost sight of. It is for this reason that there is no provision in the Budget about these classes. I am glad that the Janata Government has now decided to appoint a Backward Classes Commission. That is going to be the second Backward Classes Commission at the national level. (Interruptions) I think this decision was announced about 2 months ago. I do not know what is happening exactly and why there should be hesitation on the part of the Government of India to appoint this Backward Classes Commission which should consist of eminent people who know the problems and who have the interest of the whole nation at heart and not communalists. That is very important. If a man is a communalist, he will first think of his own community and see that it is included in the list. Justice Gajendragadkar has laid down a sound criterion on the basis of which any community, or caste could be identified as a backward class. Of course, we are speaking of classes and not castes. But a caste could be a backward class provided the whole caste is backward. This is what Justice Gajendragadkar had said and with which I am in full agreement. I myself belong to such a class and I know the pangs of these people. Unless the criteria that have been fixed by the Supreme Court are adopted by this Commission and a list is drawn accordingly by examining each and every claim that is likely to be made by many communities in this country, I am afraid we may not be drawing

a correct list. If we do not draw up a correct list, I am afraid it will not be possible for us to establish what you call an egalitarian society. I, therefore, urge upon the Government, by taking this opportunity, to consider the judgement of Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar in the Balaji case and send these criteria to the Backward Classes Commission to examine each and every claim and then draw up a list. When we draw up a list like that, it is to be called the 'other backward classes.' The first will be the 'Scheduled Castes', the second will be the 'Scheduled Tribes', and the third will be the 'other backward classes'. Economic backwardness is 'not envisaged by the Constitution. That is what I am trying to point out. They must be only educationally and socially backward. For instance, a high caste man may be economically very backward. But he is not socially backward and he cannot be socially backward. Our founding-fathers have spoken of only those classes which are educationally and socially backward but not economically backward classes. Otherwise, the whole country can come under (the economic backwardness. We know that 75 per cent of the population in this country is economically backward. The other day our non. Prime Minister stated that the people living below the poverty line are about 51 per cent. If they are also backward, then where are we going to stop the list? So, economic backwardness is not the criterion. It should only be educationally and socially backward. I, therefore, urge upon the Government to examine this issue if they really mean to go into this problem. I hope they do mean because they have decided to appoint a backward classes commission. In that case, they should thoroughly go into the matter and draw up a list as early as possible so that some provision could be made in the Sixth Five Year Plan. Sir, I have gone through the Draft Report on the Sixth Five Year Plan and I do not find a single-

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sentence about the advancement of these classes. I am very sorry to say that. Of course, they have made a provision for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and they propose to spend Rs. 565 crores by the year 1982-83. That is very good. More money is needed for them also. I do agree. But these 'other backward classes' who are socially and educationally backward should also be taken care of. I know that there are several of them. For instance, there are the de-notified tribes. There are "nomadic tribes, there are semi-nomadic " tribes, and there are wanderers. All these people have to be taken care of. They are our citizens. If those citizens of our country are not looked

after, can we call our nation a Nation with advanced ideology. No. We have to take care of these people also. Again I request the Government to take this factor into consideration. I am sorry I do not have much time to speak on this important subject. I have tried to make a deep study of the subject in my life. Therefore, with these few words, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I resume my seat. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI ARVIND GANESH KULKARNI): The House stands adjourned till 11. A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at sixteen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 3rd May, 1978.