

SHRI S. D. PATIL: The position is like this. According to Article 345 of the Constitution,

the Legislature of a State may by law adopted any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State,"

According to this Article a State is free, after due legislation, to adopt Hindi or any other language for the official purposes of that State. So far as the use of English is concerned, the same Article provides that,

..until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this Constitution."

Since the Bihar Government has taken the stop to authorise the use of Hindi for all official purposes, we presume that they would have done so after due legislation about the official language. This subject, however, is within the purview of the State Government. The Central Government strictly speaking does not come into picture. This has however been the policy of the Central Government that the use of the State languages should be progressively increased for the usual official purposes of the State.

SHRI N. P. CHENGALRAYA NAIDU: What will happen to the non-Hindi speaking officers who are working there?

SHRI S. D. PATIL: Government has not received any complaint from the IAS or IPS officers.

### THE APPROPRIATION (No. 3) BILL, 1978—Contd.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I thank you very much for allowing me an opportunity to participate in this discussion on the Appropriation Bill. This happens to be my maiden speech in this House, though for about 15 years I have been participating in the discussions on Appropriation Bills in the other House. I deem it a great honour to be among the speech in this House, though for time in the discussion in this House. Very many matters stem from the Bill and many charges have been trotted out in this House. During the course of this discussion we get an opportunity to ventilate our grievances and to speak out frankly. Sir, this opportunity to speak out one's mind was not there for about 18 or 19 months. Now we are having it.

We welcome every kind of criticism—criticism that the Janata Party has failed in this respect or that respect. That does not unnerve me or others on this side. We, in fact, welcome open criticism and we feel that there should be availability of communication between this House and outside. Whatever I say here goes out of the House and I feel that is a great thing.

Sir, criticism does not kill a Government. In Tamil we have a couplet in TIRUKKURAL: "Idippa rai Iliya Emara Mannan, Kednppar Ikanum Kedum". It says that a ruler who is devoid of hard critics shall destroy himself without anybody else destroying him. The Janata Party will go the same way, if they try to suppress criticism if they try to suppress dissent and then to suppress dissenters themselves. If Janata Party does not live upto the people's expectation, if Janata Party is not able to fulfil the promises given to the people, then it deserves not to be in the Government. It should be thrown out by the people and by the due process. If we have got a system where criticism is possible, where people can criticise the Government without fear and where

[Shri Era Sezhiyan] the people can change the Government without violence, then I am for such a system. Such a system is more important than this party or that party in the Government. We do not mind being thrown out. We do not want to perpetuate our rule beyond the *consent* of the people. We do not want to extend the life of the Government Or to resort to the extraordinary powers given to us by the Constitution. If we fail in the promises given to the people, then we deserve to be out. But when we are chucked out, please put something which is democratic in our place. Please do not bring back 'the traumatic days of emergency and do not bring back the days of suppression. Please see that democratic procedure is allowed to continue and flourish in this country. That should be our basic aim. If Janata Party goes out of power. I will be sorry for the Janata Party but I will be glad for the democratic system. Therefore, that should be the basic aim of all those who are assembled in this House, both on this side and that side. Today Prof. Ranga is on the other side, but some of his humble followers are on this side of the House. Our Finance Minister, for instance, happens to be one of his good friends firm in their connection, whereas the master has gone to the other side.

I do not envy the Finance Minister. He does not have a clean slate. He is having constraints. In the last twenty years we have made the finances of the country a bugbear. It is a 1 P.M. wild dream and it is very difficult from the statistics to find out the real position. This is one of the most confused Departments of the Government of India. It is a Department in which the statistics do not give the real picture that is obtaining at the moment and it is not the making of Mr. H. M. Patel or Mr. Agarwal. But it is something which has been there for decades, and it is something which has been handed down to them. If somebody takes the trouble of going

through the PAC Reports, he will find that there are very many Reports which do not pay any glowing tribute to the Finance Ministry for their art of budgeting or for their method of collecting figures. The other day there was" a tremor here, there was a condemnation, and it was about the tax arrears. What happened to that? The figure of Rs. 993 odd crores was mentioned in this House. But who was the cause for this, for this ac-cummulation of the arrears? Has this occurred just in one year? Sir, I can go even to the basic question. What are the correct figures with regard to this? Can anybody give me the figures relating to this? Only two or three days ago, a PAC Report was laid of the Table of this House about the *tax* arrears. The question was put with reference to a particular date, that is, 31st Mrch 1976, and the figure that was given was Rs. 993 crores. When a specific question was put by the Public Accounts Committee on an earlier occasion, the Finance Secretary had to admit the inaccuracy in the figures:

"The Finance Secretary in his evidence said that the figure of Rs. 993 odd crores had been referred to as gross arrears. Frankly speaking, this is a misnomer, because part of it does not constitute arrears at all."

Therefore, when you give certain figures, you yourself say that those figures are not correct. Take another case. There was a question the other day here about the number of as-sessees with over ten lakhs or twenty lakhs of arrears. It was said that despite the setting up of a Special Cell in the Board, the number of as-sessess with arrears over twenty-five lakhs was given as 238 as on 31st March, 1974 and it was mentioned as such in the audit report of 1973-74. About a year and a half later, the same Department came out saying that it was not 238, but 261. This is a simple case of finding out the number of assesseees with arrears of over

twenty-five lakhs or so. At one time it was given out as 238. But the same Department comes out saying that it was not correct and that the figure is 261. I can quote any number of such instances, because these are the things that have been given to the Department itself over the years.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think you can continue after lunch.

सदन की कार्यवाही 2 बजे तक के लिए  
स्थगित की जाती है ।

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

The House reassembled after lunch at six minutes past two of the clock

[Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

SHRI ERA SESHIAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, before lunch I was telling how unenviable the position of the Finance Minister is today. Here is a department which has undergone much distortion and much confusion. They talk of anarchy in the country. There is more anarchy in the Finance Ministry. Here is a Ministry which does not know how much it collects every year. Her? is a Ministry which does not know how much arrears are there. I can give you examples of the contradictory figures given out year after year before the Public Accounts Committee and various other committees.

This is the Audit Report for the year 1976-77 given to us two or three days ago. I refer to Revenue Receipts, Volume 11, page 137, relating to taxes on incomes, that is, corporate taxes and taxes on incomes other than corporate taxes as per the departmental books and the accounts figures. When ever the amounts are paid into the Treasury, challans are obtained and the intimations are sent to the Department. There is a total of the actual amounts collected. There is also total arrived at by the Department. At no time, these two figures tallied. For the year 1972-73, the

308 RS—6.

figure given by the Department is 1172.78 crores whereas the accounts figures are 1183.33 crores. For the year 1973-74, the figures are Rs. 1304 crores and Rs. 1372 crores respectively. In 1975-76 and 1976-77, when order was brought in this country, when no opposition was there and when everything was done according to a discipline, the best of disciplines that can be thought of by any autocrat, what was the nature of the figures? In 1975-76 the departmental figures are Rs. 2031.52 crores and the Accounts figures are Rs. 2076 crores. In 1976-77, the departmental figures are 2071.53 crores and the Accounts figures are Rs. 2178.63 crores, a difference of Rs. 107 crores between the departmental figures and the Accounts figures. Rs. 107 crores are missing in their books when they have been paid into the Treasuries and the accounts have been taken.

In this connection, I would invite the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to another thing. In 1976, the Nationalised Banks and the Scheduled Banks were also allowed to collect income-tax. I do not know how much service charge is being paid, apart from this amount that goes into the coffers of the Scheduled Banks which may be used to advance call money. Probably the collections through the bank are going to add to the difficulties and the Finance Minister should take it into account.

There is a Department which does not have full figures, does not know where it stands and what the arrears it has to collect. In the end, the arrears get accumulated. Sir, they may say that the law is very nebulous. They may say that it is a time-consuming process to get these arrears. But during the times of emergency, they had all the powers with them. They were armed with all draconian laws. Arid, in fact, some of these detention laws were introduced on the plea that they wanted to bring to book the economic offenders, anti-social elements and all that. What is the fate of these things?

[Shri Era sesbian] Again this Audit Report gives the number of cases. The number of cases of frauds and evasions found out by the Department in the case of income-tax for the year 1975-76 was 8,234. Out of 8,234 cases, only one case ended in conviction. For the year 1976-77, when the emergency was at its peak, when all the powers were there, when the MISA was there and nobody could even whisper, when all the other penalising Acts were there, in that blessed year, as many as 6,986 cases were caught for fraud and evasion. And the number of convictions carried out was 'nil'. With all your Acts and where discipline was at the highest peak, where 'talk less and work more' was adopted, out of 6,986 cases, not a single case was put for penalty. About wealth tax, I can give you the figures. In the year 1976-77, 500 cases were taken up and the number of convictions carried out was again 'nil'. In the case of gift tax cases, the conviction carried out out of 32 cases was again 'nil'.

Therefore, Sir, what is all this? It is not as if the law was not helpful. They had more than what they wanted. But out of these 6,000 and odd cases, not a single case could they bring to conviction. Sir, they are talking about arrears in this one. I do not know the policy that was adopted. Sir, the latest Public Accounts Committee's Report was placed on the Table of the House on Friday. The Chairman of this Committee was Mr. C. M. Stephen. In this Report, at page 24, they refer to two interesting cases.

One is the case of Mr. A. J. Cleveland. "This case relates to a foreign technician employed by the Hindustan Polymer Ltd, Vishakhapatnam. Recovery of arrears relates to assessment year 1973-74 has been, stayed by the Delhi High Court. In the Dossier the Commissioner remarked that the Board was requested on 14th June, 1976 to move the Delhi High Court to dispose of the writ petition early. The Income-tax Judicial Branch had been asked to take necessary action. In-

formation as to specific steps taken by the Board to enforce recovery before the party obtained the stay order was not available."

As per the Report of the Public Accounts Committee for the year 1975-76 the Government have issued specific orders to vacate the stay order against a foreign technician for the payment of arrears of tax. No action was taken, and now, they say, 'nothing is available with the Department.'

The other case is about a major mica mining organisation of Nagpur area. There it is stated;

The liability of the assessee is Rs. 2.97 crores. The ITO reported that the assessee had no assets. The Zonal Committee had considered a partial write off of Rs. 2 crores."

Sir, Rs. 2 crores have been written off. I would like to know: Under what circumstances, Rs. 2 crores have been written off? It is not a small amount. Out of Rs. 2.97 crores, Rs. 2 crores have been written off. There is one more sad thing about it. It has been brought out during the evidence taken by the Committee that the Income-tax Office itself was being housed in a building owned by that tax-arrear man. There were tax arrears of about Rs. 2.97 crores. The Income-tax Office was housed in that building. They have been paying rent very regularly. And in the end, out of Rs. 2.97 crores, Rs. 2 crores have been written off. In this case arrears have been accumulating from 1953-54 onwards. I do not know when this was written off.

During the time of the emergency, whenever there was an audit objection and whenever clarification were sought, files were not provided by the Finance Ministry or\* the plea that these were policy matters. I will give you a typical example. This is in the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General for 1976-77. It has been stated at page 35 of the Report.

The facts of one such case are like this: The founder of an ashram applied on 1-7-1976 at the height of emergency, for *ad hoc* exemption from payment of customs duty on the import of an aircraft which is said to have been donated to the ashram by a aircraft corporation of a foreign country. The value of the aircraft and accessories is rupees four and a half lakhs. By an *ad hoc* exemption order dated the 29th July 1976, under section 25 of the Customs Act exemption was granted. Therefore, Sir, the founder of an ashram, a man who wanted to cut himself away from the mundane world, applies for exemption from duty for the import of an aircraft of a foreign country, which is said to have been donated, but which, later on, it is found is not a donation or a gift, gets the exemption. The peculiar thing is that they have given the exemption and the Audit notes here: In response to the Audit demand in October 1976 asking for the files leading to the issue of the order, the Ministry of Finance stated: "It will not be possible for the Department to send the file as it is a policy file". I want to know what the policy involved in this. I want to know whether to get exemption from the payment of duty for the import of an aircraft, one should be the founder of ashram, whether one should be a *sanyasi* or a brahmachari, if not in practice, at least in name. What is the policy involved? I would like the Finance Minister to tell this House what the policy involved was. Why was the file refused to the Audit Department? Then how the Parliament is to know. Then how the Public is to know?

In 1973, the Central Excise Act was amended, especially section 4 of the Central Excise Act, which has very many implications. When this Act was amended, the rules should have been framed under this Act so that these could be implemented. For two years, Mr. Deputy Chairman, the files were not framed. I bring a large with all the responsibility at

my command—at that time I was about to leave the Public Accounts Committee—and I say that there was a deliberate delay on the part of the Ministry, if not the Ministers also for not framing the rules by which process this Government has lost Rs. 18 crores, if not about Rs. 20 crores. For two years dilly-dallying was going on and they did not frame the rules.

I would like the hon. Minister to tell this House, and through this House, the outside public, how many refunds of excise duty were given during the crucial period of 1-1-1977 to 19-3-1977. Tell us in how many cases refunds of excise duty were given without going through the adopted procedure. If you want, I can give you two cases. One is the I.T.C., the world known Imperial Tobacco Company, now the Indian Tobacco Company, and its subsidiaries which got as much as one crore of rupees by way of refund of excise duty. What was the procedure adopted? What was the policy? If it is a policy that cannot be given to others, at least to this House it should be known. What was the policy involved? The Tatas were given more than a crore and a half of rupees by the same emergency process. I would like to know under what "policy" these things have been done. In the end, I will give him one suggestion for the reduction in the arrears of income-tax. I would suggest two processes. Under sections 520 and 221, we are charging 12 per cent interest on these arrears and it is irrespective of the period of delay and irrespective of the amount involved. Even for Rs. 5,000, it is 12 per cent interest and for Rs. 50 lacs also it is the same 12 per cent interest. For one year's delay, it is the same rate of 12 per cent and for 10 years' delay, it is the same rate. It is a simple interest. There may be other penalties involved but those are at the discretion of the Department. That is not mandatory. What I would now

[Shri Era seshian] escalate it. If the amount of arrear is not paid within one year, you charge 12 per cent; after a certain period, you charge 18 per cent and thereafter 24 per cent. This may look odd to you but in the States of Assam and Bihar, if there are arrears of sales tax, first they charge 6 per cent; then they make it 12 per cent and if it goes on beyond two years, the rate goes up to 24 per cent. Why are these big tycoons not paying their tax arrears? They will gladly pay 12 per cent interest because if they invest that money in the ordinary market, they get 16 per cent and 18 per cent interest. So, I suggest that the rate of interest should be escalated.

Secondly, Sir, I think these two Departments should be separated, that is, the assessment Department and collection Department. Now they are having both these functions under one Department. In the U.K., as soon as the assessment is over, it is sent to another Department to the office of the Auditor General of Internal Revenue Collections. It is the duty of the other man to collect the demand. But here in India, we have got all these functions under one Department. I know, sometime ago, there was functional bifurcation but it was all under the same Commissioner and, therefore, it did not work. The objective was laudable but the implementation was a failure. Therefore, I would attribute the failure not to the system but to its implementation. Separate cadre should be created; separate Department should take charge of this function so that as soon as the demands are raised and the assessment is over, the collection part should be taken over by the other Department.

One more point I would touch upon, and that is about the Comptroller and Auditor General. We do not have the full-fledged function of the Comptroller and Auditor General. Previously, he was looking after the accounts and now the accounts have been taken over by the respective Minis-

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Which is wrong. That was during the emergency.

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: That was by an Act of Parliament. So, the accounts were taken over by the respective Ministries. All right. The name is 'Comptroller' but he is not controlling the flow of funds. In the U.K., Comptroller and Auditor General is an officer of Parliament. Here it is QO+ so. He does not control the flow of funds. I would, therefore, suggest to the Finance Minister and to the Government that the Comptroller and Auditor General should be empowered to control—as the name implies—the flow of funds so that we have a watchdog for the Parliament to control the appropriations, the demands voted by this House and the other House and he is answerable to Parliament. Now what happens is, the Secretaries simply at the end of the year will come and say that this is the excess or that is the shortfall. Why should there be this anomaly? That means, you do not have control over the flow of funds. You should have Comptroller and Auditor General who really controls it and is answerable to Parliament; he should really control the flow of funds out of the Consolidated Funds and even out of the contingency fund, the funds that have been voted or created by Parliament. We want that there should be an officer of Parliament who should be held responsible.

Sir, with these words, I support the measures taken by the appropriation made for this year with the hope that all the accumulated sins of the past the whole Augean stables, will be cleansed by the present Minister. He has got a very rich experience not only in the Ministry but also in Parliament and the Committees. With this background, I hope, the day will come soon when the Finance Minister will be answerable with correct facts and correct figures and not imaginative figures or guess work and the estimate will come before the House I thank you.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, may I make a submission? On what grounds, the entire primary gold of over three tonnes has been handed over to the Maharani of Jaipur? Under what procedure, has this been done? Secondly, how is that the sterling tea companies have not paid income-tax to the tune of Rs. 60 crores and how is it that Mr. Patel is sitting idle over this?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can table a separate question on this.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (DR. RAM KRIPAL SINHA): When you are participating in the debate, you can say whatever you want to say.

SHRI KALYAN ROY: I want to tell you about the sins of the present. I agree with the sins of the past. But what about the sins of the present?

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this Appropriation Bill which has come before the House is towards authorising the payment of a sum of Rs. 365533,70,33,000 for defraying the several charges which will come in the course of payment during the financial year 1978-79. The purposes in respect of this authorisation have been spelt out in the Budget which will be implemented during the coming year.

While speaking on the Appropriation Bill, hon. Members from the Treasury Benches have pointed out one thing. They said that they appreciate criticism but based of democracy. But Sir, I would like to ask them one thing. When you expect that democratic procedures should be in full swing, it is necessary that the right of the people to speak and agitate in a peaceful way should also be guaranteed by the Government. But what has been happening during the last few months? What has happened in Baidila? The workers, who were going to be retrenched, agitated against it. But when they were

sleeping, they were fired at by the police. Is it a democratic Government? Then, what is happening in Agra?

SHRI KALYAN ROY: It was a mass slaughter.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU: It was a mass slaughter. When they were sleeping, they were fired at. I do not think there is any parallel to this incident in independent India. What is happening in Agra? When the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Harijans...

SHRI KALYAN ROY: Sir, on a point of order. The hon. Minister is sleeping. Is it proper for him to sleep in the House?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please speak loudly.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR SAHU: Sir, it has been pointed out by many hon. Members how, in Agra, when the Harijans and others were going in a procession, they were fired at. There is no use saying that we are living in a democratic country, if we are not allowed to agitate, if we are not allowed to agitate in a peaceful way in regard to our grievances. There is no use saying that we are living in a democratic country if the workers are fired at simply because they were protesting against their impending retrenchment.

Sir, the country cannot survive without a vision Mahatma Gandhi gave us the vision of non-violence and this enabled us to free ourselves from the foreign yoke. I very much respect Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan. He gave the country a vision, for which the people voted the Janata Party to power. But what is happening today? This vision has been completely eroded. The workers have been denied of their rights and they are being retrenched. Now, we are discussing about this appropriation. Before I go into the details, I would like to submit one thing. When we

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu] are authorising the payment of this sum, is it not essential that we should discuss the various priorities? The first question I would like to ask is this. This appropriation is in respect of the expenditure incurred by the various Government Departments. But what do we see? The projects which are expected to be completed within one year or so, take years and years more for completion. In the meanwhile, the costs increase and the expenditure soars high up and the poor taxpayers have to bear the burden. Sir, when the hon. Finance Minister piloted this Appropriation he has very rightly said that 40 per cent of the Plan expenditure is in favour of agriculture, rural development. But I would like to submit that while it is proper that we should give priority to agriculture and rural development, we should not also ignore some other important points. We see the economic condition of the country when we read the report of the Deposit Insurance Corporation which has been circulated to the hon. Members. On page 2 of the report, it has been stated that there has been a shortfall in agricultural production in 1976-77 season due to unfavourable weather conditions, from a record level of 120.8 million tonnes in 1975-76 to 111.6 million tonnes in 1976-77. Sir, what is the crux of the problem? We want rural development. We want that the poor people should get more benefits. We want that they should get more employment opportunities. But what is happening today is just the opposite. On page 7 it is said;

"Although commercial banks have made commendable progress in bringing about rapid extension of banking facilities to rural and semi-urban centres, much still remained to be done, especially in view of the measures relating to liquidation of rural indebtedness which created a void, in the rural credit structure." Again on page 6 they have pointed out:

"The credit-deposit ratio declined

to 69.3 per cent at the end of December 1977 from 75.2 per cent at the end of December 1976."

So, Sir, whatever may be our pious wishes, you have to see in real sense how much the poorer sections have benefited. I would like to have a moratorium on the already overpressing "Burden of loans of the poorer peasants and the land reform laws are actually implemented without which the poor will remain poor. Why are the people suffering? Why is the poor peasant becoming poorer today? It is because we have not implemented the land reforms. Whoever may be at fault, but we are again at the cross-road when we do not know what steps are we taking to implement the land reforms. We know the cases where rich landlords are snatching the land or the waste land which has been given to the poor peasants under the present Janata regime. With this structure how could you improve the lot of the poor peasants?

Again in the industrial sector also we see the same thing is happening. Just two days back there was a report in the 'Economic Times' that due to phenomenal strikes and lock outs we have almost lost 2 million work days and the production has gone down to Rs. 500 crores in a year. Sir, these are very important matters. If we have to improve the economic condition of the country, we must take steps to achieve the targets of the projects that we have taken in hand in time. We should create the necessary conditions of development of the poor section.

Then, Sir, we must say that the Finance Minister has rightly given importance to investment. He has given certain concessions to see that industrialisation takes place in the new rural areas. In the industrial policy enunciated by Government, it is said that they will not give emphasis on concentration of industries in the more developed areas of the country. It is very good, but the very



fundamental question is whether the investment which the hon. Finance Minister wants to boost up will go for the low priority sector like luxury goods production or whether it will be used for high priority items, like cement and other things which we need so urgently. There has been shortage of cement in the country. Its price has gone up. The effect of the rising prices has been felt by everybody. The price of pulses is going up—It was reported that the pulses would be imported. Is it the policy of this Government to import pulses for a long time. Some of the Departments are thinking to bring coal from outside. I would like to know, what will happen to our coalmines and the labourers? Why not the Energy and Coal Ministry is planning for new washing and 'benefication Plants to have better coal to feed the Steel Plants. The example of Bailadila is a pointer to" that. The position of iron in the whole international market is very much in a recession. So many mines will be closed. Thousands of workers will be retrenched. Now what is our programme for them? These are the fundamental things which we should consider, which are before the Government for which the Janata Government is playing a deaf ear.

Now I would like to tell another important aspect. A few months back the West Bengal Finance Minister called a Conference. One of the Central Cabinet Ministers also attended this Conference. During the discussion in this Conference the bone of contention was like this. It was argued as to why these States which produced the basic materials like coal which produces energy and makes the locomotives run—now of course, there is electricity and diesel in some cases—hut coal is the source of creating energy—should suffer. Why are the States like Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal in the eastern zone which are producing coal, iron ore and other things, suffer today in the contry? These areas have been contributing

to the development of the country by providing the basic raw material. So, will there not be specific programmes for their development? Now when an international recession has come in, the iron export position is not so good, will not the Government do something to see that these people who are employed in those areas are given certain other opportunities of employment? If we did not create other opportunities of employment for those who have contributed in the past, who have suffered in the past, then that would mean that we would be creating more and more gaps between the rich regions and the poorer regions. Then, coming to the other point, Sir, regarding levy on coal and electricity, there should have been more concessions given by the Finance Minister.

Sir, now there is a national debate on the question of financial relations between the Centre and the States. In the past, these matters were within the realm of the States. States used to charge levy on coal and electricity and that was a great source of State revenues. Now this levy on coaj and energy is going to be levied by the Central Government. So that will restrict the scope of the State Governments to further augment their resources. Is this not a question which the Seventh Finance Commission should go into? Whatever the Finance Minister may feel that it is not going to have an impact on the prices, the heavy electricity-consuming industries like aluminium are definitely going to be affected. This levy is going to increase the cost structure of production of aluminium. If there is agitation in the States, they have no way out. It will greatly affect the lower strata of the people of our country. Who are the biggest consumers of energy? The Railways, the public sector undertakings like the iron and steel plants.

Ultimately, it will rise their cost of production and they will try to throw the burden upon the consumer—the people of this country and as a

[Shri Santosh Kumar Sahu]

result of which there will be a chain reaction in the price structure of other commodities too. Ultimately, the common purchaser has to suffer. The other levies which have been proposed will have some effect upon the price structure. We know already that for the last 12 months or so, the prices are rising. Of course, we are always told in Parliament that the trend of price rise, percentage-wise, is not higher. But in the case of pulses, it is very much higher. Cement is not available in many parts of the country. So the construction work in the private sector has come to a stop. I know from personal knowledge that the labourers who were engaged by private persons in construction works are sitting idle. So we are creating more problems in the country in this way.

In our country, manpower is the greatest source of strength. In our planning and fiscal policies, it is necessary that we must encourage industries which will employ more persons. It is very good that we are trying to develop rural industrial estates. But there are some fundamental questions. Previously also, there was an attempt to develop industrial estates. But what had happened? In the rural areas, there is lack of expertise, there is lack of managerial experience and there are financial difficulties. Of course, with the IDB and other commercial banks coming to help in a big way the financial difficulties may not arise. But the greatest difficulty will be about marketing. If the hon. Minister wants that there should be more saving in the countryside, the marketing has to be organised. That will create new demands. So there must be more thinking and more planning in this process so that the rural industries can be linked up with the established industries and there is an assured steady market. In the backward regions this has not happened.

Coming to the irrigation sector, you have to give priority to areas which

suffer chronically from floods. Not only these areas produce less but whatever they produce, is being washed away when the flood comes. I can give you the example of Subra-narekha. This river flows across the boarder Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa and every year the peasants suffer due to floods. Two years back, the Orissa Government made agreement with the Bihar Government and they agreed to construct a reservoir. Now, unfortunately, one year has passed since the formation of the Janata Government in Orissa, but it has not tried to pursue the matter with the West Bengal Government. I think the Central Government should take it up as a Central project so that it will not only save a lot of people from the ravages of floods but will also create irrigation in new and backward areas where people suffer the most for the vagaries of nature. I will just quote another example. That will show how things are being confused with regard to the educational programme. This time we have said that we are giving the last priority to higher education. In this regard, I am giving you the example of my State, i.e. Orissa. There were discussions with the Planning Commission and whatever they have fixed as the ceiling for higher education is less than 5 per cent increase from the last year's allocation. Sir, is it practical? I am telling you about the State where the percentage of higher education is 4 per cent, as against the all-India average of 8 per cent. If only a 5 per cent increase is there, then alone can the tempo of the last year in higher education be maintained at par with the last year. But this year it has been reduced. The people here in Delhi go by figures. They do not look into the practical side.

Then I come to another subject. Nature has given us some benefits. Some areas are more fertile than the others; some areas are full of natural resources like mines and forests. If we want to have a balanced growth

of the economy and we want all the regions to grow, then we must provide for more irrigation whenever it is possible with first priority. We must also see how the other neglected areas having six mineral resources could be improved by setting up industries so that the entire country can grow. Ultimately, it has to be socio-economic planning. By the time the next Budget is presented, there must be evaluation of the programmes which are now envisaged to find out what has actually been achieved by the administration in the field.

Before I conclude, I must say that the poorer sections of people, the Adivasis, the Harijans and the like, should have a sense of security. Those people who toil hard and produce in the field or in the factory must feel happy. If their mind is troubled, no country can make a progress. We must seriously think of the national integration and must not impose a language on somebody as it has happened in Bihar. A sense of security can only lead to our cherished economic goal.

It is high time that every Ministry under the Government coordinated its activities with those of the other Ministries. They must not think themselves independent of each other. Otherwise, it will mean as the administration running in different ways and will bring disaster.

We pray that democracy should survive in the country. But with these types of activities, when the labourers feel insecure, when the Harijans, the minorities and the Adivasis feel insecure, there is no hope. I think we should all combine together to have a healthy democratic life where everybody should respect each other and not try to harass others. Everybody's rights must be safely protected by the authorities, without which nothing can happen in this country.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am glad our hon. friend Mr. Mody was trying to tell us yesterday how rural reconstruction can be achieved by bringing about some transformation in the alignment of forces in the Civil Services at the Centre and also at the State level. It can be done that way to some extent, but that alone is not enough. In villages, as we all know, there are factions based upon castes, long-standing feuds and then alignment of various castes into different warring groups. As if this is not enough, the political parties also begin to play their mischief. It is to avoid this that quite a good number of us, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, and recently by Jayaprakash Narayan, wanted to keep our party politics out of villages and village panchayats. But, unfortunately, we have found only recently that Mr. Sen of West Bengal has had to resign from the Janata Party because the Janata Party was insisting upon introducing party politics into the village affairs. Now, unless the Janata Party makes up its mind to keep themselves out of the village politics, the panchayat politics and the zilla politics and thus give an incentive for the other parties including the Congress and the Communist to keep away from these institutions and their elections, it would not be possible for us to prevent political as well as administrative corruption from playing its mischief in the development of our rural economy.

I am glad, at long last, we are now in for the highest possible priority for the rural areas, the rural industries, the rural employment and the rural people in their need so far as planning is concerned to the extent that the Janata Party would be really keen on implementing it. I hope that they are very keen about implementing their professions, and I would like them to try and give effect to their professions by starting their work first from the agricultural workers.

Every one knows, Sir, that the worst exploited people, the least look-

[Shri N. G. Ranga]

ed after people and the most neglected people are the agricultural workers. They form one-third of the total working population in the rural areas. Two-thirds are those who own lands or cultivate other people's lands and who carry on agriculture as self-employed people. The self-employed people are also exploited, but they are not as much exploited as the agricultural workers. On paper we have had a legislation for the minimum wages, but in actual practice it is a dead letter at the State level and at the district level also. These are the people who suffer from the worst possible under-nourishment; nutritional diseases are the most prevalent among these people. Why are they so much exploited? It is not so much because the self-employed peasants are exploiting them—there is a certain element of exploitation there also—but the greatest degree of exploitation and suppression weighs down from the traders, the merchants, the manufacturers and the urban population including everybody from the topmost to the poorest.

As Mr. Piloo Mody said yesterday quite rightly that the planned economy of these areas has benefited the urban people; most of the rural people did not get their share at all, not even one-third, one-fourth or one-fifth, and, naturally, the agricultural workers did not get anything, not even a taste of it. Therefore, I would like my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, to begin to advise his people to see that the agricultural prices are fixed at such a level as would lead to a living wage at least for the time when the agricultural workers are employed and then a living wage also or what you call 'income' for the self-employed peasants. At present the agricultural prices are not based on these criteria at all.

You have got the Agricultural Prices Commission which is manned by the non-agricultural people to a major extent. There is scope and need

for ensuring proper representation, bigger representation, for the agriculturists and the agricultural workers as well as self-employed peasants on the Agricultural Prices Commission.

Then, in fixing the prices, Sir, today, the greatest consideration is being given to the consumers, most of whom happen to be those living in the towns. The towns are so very important for the Government—the Government of today, the Government of the past also and possibly the Government of the future. Who knows? Therefore, this Government has got to make up its mind, in order to implement its own professions, whether it would fix the prices of the agricultural commodities at a level which is not in the interest of the industrial workers and the people living in the towns but primarily in the interests of agricultural workers, then of the self-employed people and then of the rural people. If they are willing to do this, then on this basis they can begin to fix the salaries and allowances of the urban people. As things are today, there is plenty of scope for the upper middle class people to pay much higher prices for agricultural products without asking for any increase in their salaries and allowances. The same is the case with the middle groups of employees also in the urban areas. But today they are very powerful in politics and that is why the Government is not willing to raise the prices of agricultural products. On the other hand, what are they doing? They want to inspire the agriculturists to produce more and more crops, ever new crops. At one time we were dependent on cotton imports to the tune of Rs. 100 crores. Then they asked the agriculturists to go in for cotton production. They produced it. No sooner did they produce it than the Government began to bring down the prices by importing cotton as well as new materials, by subsidising their purchase in order to keep down our own peasants. And when they keep down the peasants, naturally the agricultural workers are

also suppressed. The same thing is happening on the jute front. On the sugarcane front, the same thing has happened.

Yesterday my hon. friend from the DMK was able to show how even in regard to rice, discrimination is being made. Not being satisfied with these things, the Government will somehow or other satisfy itself by favouring one group of agriculturists as against another group of agriculturists and that way keep their ranks divided so that they can have their own free way. And that is why, as he was able to show, the wheat producers are being helped a little more, not ' enough, but a little more than the rice producers, and the rice producers are given a go-by. This policy has got to be given up r/y the Government.

Then, they have to make up their mind as to what their attitude is in regard to the self-employed sector. There is already what is known as the self-employed sector. They think that they are trying to create a self-employed sector by encouraging some engineers, some doctors, some machinists, some technicians to have their own small enterprises and that way make Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 500 per month as net income. But these are only a few thousands. There has been a self-employed sector in our country, and more than 100 million people are employed in that sector. They are all self employed peasants and artisans. More and more agricultural workers, when they are granted small holdings here and there, become self-employed peasants. Is it not the duty of the Government to try to look after these people, help, this particular sector so that it would relieve them of the trouble of having to find employment and various other things which they are now finding for industrial workers? When they are self-employed, they are not dependent upon the Government for employment. Then there is no question of strikes or lockouts or any of the unrest caused by the industrial labour.

But these people need protection. What kind of protection, the different types of protection—that has got to be studied. Till now from this angle, the agricultural problem, the peasants' problem has not been approached with a sufficient sense of seriousness by the Government either at the Centre or at the State level. Therefore, I would like my hon. friend to try to begin to ask his own brains-trust, whatever brains trust they have in the Finance Ministry as well as in the Planning Commission, to reorient their plans from the point of view of the self-employed people as to how they can be helped and how they can be strengthened.

Sir, when the banks were nationalised—and only 14 of them were nationalised—we were hoping that agriculturists would be given the highest possible priority in the distribution of their credit. But what do we find? In reply to Question No. 152 put in this House during this Session the following figures were given for February 1978. Large and medium industries were able to get Rs. 5880 crores of credit; the small scale industries got Rs. 1642 crores, and the whole of the agricultural sector could get only Rs. 1561 crores. How then would you expect agriculture to make its both ends meet, when only this much credit is forthcoming from the banks? When there is such terrible discrimination being shown against agriculture even after nationalising these banks, you can easily imagine how much more trouble agriculture must have had before nationalisation when all these banks never cared to look at agriculturists at all. Then the banks were not lending money, naturally the agriculturists were obliged to turn to cooperatives. And the cooperatives were told that the Reserve Bank would advance money at 3 per cent or 4 per cent interest. But in actual practice the interest rate comes to 15 per cent, 16 per cent or sometimes 17 per cent. The large industries can possibly make a profit even after having paid for their capital interest

[Shri N. G. Ranga]

at the rate of 17 per cent. So they do not mind the interest rate. But the story is different with the agriculturists. First of all, the credit to cooperatives does not touch more than 20 per cent of the capital needs of the self-employed peasants, not to speak of the other people. The other 80 per cent of the capital needed by the self-employed peasants has to come from private moneylenders who charge not less than 24 per cent, some times 36 per cent and even 48 per cent. Therefore, no wonder our agriculture lags behind all the time. Our friends there were complaining that costs of cultivation are high in agriculture. Are labour costs high in agriculture? They say the cost of production in agriculture is very high. But why is it so? And why would it not be so when the credit is made so costly for agriculturists? Therefore, something has got to be done now for agriculturists. A suggestion was made by one of our friends that several other banks have got to be nationalised. Yes, they should be nationalised. But that is not enough. So much more capital has got to be driven into agriculture through cooperatives. Even that would not be enough. The Government must be prepared to place at the disposal of agriculture not less than or at least as much credit as is being offered now to both types of industries, viz. the small scale industry and the large scale industry; that is, it comes to Rs. 7522 crores—about five times as much as what is being supplied now to agriculture. Is my honourable friend prepared to meet the challenge and the needs of agriculture? I would like such a re-orientation thinking to be made from the Centre downward.

Then there is a lopsided importance being given to industrial labour. How many workers are employed in the State or the public sector? They themselves say, 13 millions; or, maybe, about 14 millions. In the private

industrial sector the number is 6 millions or so. But in agriculture? In agriculture there are 144 millions. There are 144 million agriculturists. They have to be protected. Somebody there was saying there are kulaks among agriculturists. Yes: but who are kulaks? Those people who exploit others may be termed as kulaks. But can you call kulaks these people who are just able to make an economic living, or who are earning just Rs. 500 a month? Are they to be termed kulaks? Are they not just like the small entrepreneurs and better entrepreneurs than these other entrepreneurs because these agriculturists need not have to exploit anybody; on the contrary they employ themselves most of the time and their family members also in agriculture. Now, should not these people be given special protection by the Government? What protection are you giving them at present? You have the crop insurance, contemplated to be organised on a national scale. Should it not be developed in at least one-fourth or one-fifth of the area, to start with? Is any protection being organised on a national scale against natural calamities with the help, if possible, of international agencies also? Is it not necessary? Is not cattle insurance needed? Do we not need fire insurance? Do we not need old age insurance? At least have insurance against accidents in the field of agriculture. Is any of these things being planned for? Without planning for any of these things, how can you make any progress in agriculture? I consider all these things as a kind of infrastructure. This infrastructure is not being provided; as if the neglect is not enough, production of fertiliser is not being developed as much as it ought to be. At one time, there was an offer to set up a small factory at every district headquarters to produce fertiliser or insecticide or fungicide. For any of these things we do need a factory like that. They wanted to organise it at the district level and that would bring about decentralisation in industry. I agree

with the idea, But when are they going to organise it? They should develop it right from agricultural process and agricultural inputs and see to it that their prices are kept down as much as possible. On the other hand, all the urban presses—daily press and weekly press—are clamouring for more taxes to be placed on agricultural masses and they say that money is going down to the rural areas and it has to be taken out and therefore they want the Finance Minister to use his brain trust in order to find ways and means to sponge it. Wherefrom are they going to sponge it?

Only a few drops of blood are there in the peasants. Only the outer fringe of the peasantry is able to send their boys and girls to schools and colleges. They are a pitiful lot and it is not even three or five per cent of the whole peasantry. And some of my friends who call themselves leftists are after their blood. The masses of agriculturists are poor. Are they not being taxed now? I thought I was going to congratulate my hon. friend for go many things. But I certainly could not congratulate him for continuing his last year's experiment, namely, the bidi tax. That is the only thing which the poor man in the villages can enjoy. I do not know who advised him to make this experiment and in what moment of his life he accepted that advice. He made that bad opening. And this year he is raising it. Coming to drink tax, I am sure they are not going to do it in spite of what the Prime Minister has said because the States would not be able to forego the huge loss. If we go on sponging on peasants and agriculturists such new requests then the turn of other workers will follow suit. Then there will be some new taxes, long before they are able to make any kind of effort for economic recovery. This kind of destruction and denudation of agricultural economy will only lead to higher and higher tax burden to the agriculturists and rural people. I raise my voice in protest against this new move

from the urban presses and urban bosses.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; This debate has to conclude today and the hon. Finance Minister will have to start his reply by about 5.30 or so. Keeping that in view, if hon. Members will take less time, more Members will be able to participate. This is my request.

SHRI M KADERSHAH (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, this will be my first comment on the general economic picture during the Janata Government's rule. I will confine myself to some of the observations relating to boost our economy on healthy lines without resorting to higher and higher doses of taxation.

All these years, Sir, we have been neglecting this approach and we have not taken proper steps to put our economy on the correct lines. To my mind, it seems that if the Government is not concentrating on the overall situation of our economic development, then inflation is bound to increase and, as we have seen, Sir, prices do not stabilize at all and they have a rising tendency. The Government has suffered a crisis of indecision in respect of our economy as a whole and in spite of his being in office for more than a year, the Finance Minister has failed to deliver the goods. The emphasis is on carrying on to somehow and not on taking concrete and constructive measure together with a complete and comprehensive plan of action to achieve the objectives. The rationale behind the taxation, the deficit financing and the unscientific consideration of priorities have brought about the present dismal picture of our finances. The official figures and statistics compiled on illusory things do not reflect the realities. The gap between the two sections of the population, namely the haves and the have-nots, has aggravated the position. In the guise of the slogan of uplifting the weaker sections of the society, the Government measures

[Shri M. Kadershah]

have led to the exploitation of these people to the maximum. This exploitation leads to frustration and disturbances which, in the official terminology, are classified as law and order problems. The economic backwardness of a large number of our people is the main cause for social conflicts. The have-nots resort to all possible means even to get two meals a day and when they fail in their attempt, complications arise. I would like to know from the honourable Finance Minister how much time he is devoting to go into this deep-rooted socioeconomic problem of our society while formulating his Budget proposals or whether he is simply leaving the matter to the officials who are naturally not in constant touch with this class of population. They come from the higher strata of society and they do not have the practical experience of poverty or hunger. Basically, our people who are in charge of budgeting are lacking in this thinking and the Finance Minister himself, who is a member of the former Indian Civil Service, is bound to be ignorant of our problems. So, this is the one defect in our taxation methodology.

The second point that I would like to bring to the notice of the Finance Minister which, I am sure, he is well aware of, is the question of administrative costs. Of late, there has been a tendency to issue orders and circulars to the various Government Departments to cut down the expenditure on the establishment and many figures are also given in this connection. But, looking at these figures critically, one will come to the inevitable conclusion that they are misleading figures only. In the name of economy in the administration, higher posts are created without any scientific assessment. Persons are retained and given extensions not because they are indispensable, but because they are perfect in manoeuvring and are perfect in taking care of their personal interests and in taking advantage of the situation. Has the Government given any thought to this that

the attitude of the Government affects the morale of our young people who are either in employment and awaiting their promotion or who are out of employment and looking for an opportunity to enter the service? Sir, I hope that the honourable Finance Minister will give a serious consideration to this aspect and see that no person, howsoever big or small he may be, will have an opportunity to use the Government as a tool for his personal ends.

Now, Sir, I come to the most pertinent question. Our Gross National Product is sixty-nine thousand crores and agriculture contributes about fifty per cent of our GNP. The annual credit requirement of the agriculturists is about three thousand crores. At the moment they are provided only 5 per cent of their total credit requirement. This is what the Agricultural Credit Survey of India has pointed out. Sir, the Reserve Bank brings out a report on currency and finance. The 1976-77 report was presented only in March 1978. This is a very useful report which should be placed without such inordinate delay. According to the 1976-77 report, 1500 crores of rupees of financial assistance from the banks have gone to big private sector industries. On the one hand, the Janata Government swears by rural development. I need not say that rural development is impossible without adequate resources. The rural banks set up by the former Government have been made inactive. The public sector banks are very hesitant in lending loans to small agriculturists. Naturally, the agriculturists look to the money-lenders for their credit requirements.

Here I would like to refer to the contradiction in Janata Government's policy. Agriculture is the primary industry which does not get the required financial assistance. In these circumstances, how will the industrial centres in the districts help in industrialising the rural areas when the primary industry of agriculture is being neglected?



The World Bank assists certain projects in the States. The assistance given by the World Bank is not given in full by the Centre to these projects. Previously they used to distribute only 30 per cent and retain 70 per cent of this assistance. After repeated pleas made by the States, now the Centre gives 70 per cent of such money and retains 30 cent. I do not know what for this 30 per cent is retained. Why should not the entire money be given to these projects? I am unable to appreciate the tendency of brokerage on the part of the Centre in distributing the World Bank loan.

In 1978-79 Budget, Rs. 500 crores have been allotted for the dairy industry. I would like to point out here that the white revolution has been confined to mainly Northern States. The dairy industry in the South is in woeful stage of neglect. I would like to suggest that major portion of this allocation must be spent in the South.

Sethu Samudram project is the long-cherished dream of the people of Tamil Nadu. I request that some thought must be given for initiating preliminary steps for implementing this project.

While the avenues for raising resources by the States are getting shrunk year after year, the Centre is expanding its area of raising resources. The latest, e.g. is the levy of 2 paise per kwtt. at the time of electricity generation. The Central Government is blaming the Karnataka Government for the maximum levy on electricity. Now perhaps the Central Government has decided to appropriate a portion of the electricity of the States. As our hon. Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, who has dedicated himself to the upliftment of the poor agriculturists and down trodden has demanded the repeal of this electricity levy, I would like to stress that the Centre should withdraw, this electricity levy. If the situation among the farmers gets worsened, then the responsibility will lie squarely on the shoulders of

the Central Government. Sir, many of my friends here have pointed out about the Centre-State relations. It is high time that they have this dialogue. If Mrs. Gandhi had held discussions with the Opposition leaders, India's history would have been entirely different today. But, Sir, it is very unfortunate that the Government is unwilling to do that. It is high time that the Government should hold discussion on Centre-State relations, because the Central Government has begun to encroach upon the various fields from which State Governments are tapping their resources.

Since the Energy Minister happens to hail from Tamil Nadu, I would like to inform the House that for want of coal stock, the thermal stations in Tamil Nadu are on the verge of closure. The hon. Minister should exert himself in getting immediately minimum stocks of coal for the thermal stations of Tamil Nadu. Here I would like to warn the Centre for levying increased duty on coal which will in turn increase the cost of generation of electricity. If you add to this the 2 paise levy for one K. Watt naturally the States will be compelled to increase their charges. I would like to say that the approach of monkey-justice being followed by the Centre should be stopped. In the name of just distribution of the cake between the two contestants, the monkey ate away the full cake. Similarly, the Central Government, in the name of finding resources for more electricity projects in the States, should not appropriate the revenue from such a levy for spreading its stranglehold.

Finally, I would like to say about the tapping of unconventional resources. No systematic study has been made by the Finance Department to explore the possibilities and the feasibility of earning through unconventional methods. Many advanced countries in the world which have stabilised their economy and boosted their resources, have not depended only on the fixed spheres of taxation. They have tried to raise their re-

[Shri M. Kadershah] venues not by taxation alone, but by exploring their natural resources appropriately for the benefit of their own people and also for others. Sir, the regions which are rich in natural resources are poor in economy and many regions which are poor in their natural resources are very rich in their economy. Why this imbalance between abundant resources and poor state of economy? The answer is simple. No one—no one means the bureaucrat—who goes through the drill of budget, goes by his own ideas and thoughts. He goes merely by precedents of past budgets. Our hon. Finance Minister naturally does not have time to apply his mind. I would not say it about his capacity, but I would certainly emphasise his intention. The taxation fever is on always on the items only commonly used. I would suggest that to increase your resources why don't you depend upon the resources which Nature has given to you, e.g. forests, minerals, water and hills? Nature has not given these things to many countries. But we are so incompetent that during the last 30 years and one, we have not been able to utilise a fraction of this Nature's gift to us. I would therefore, earnestly request the hon. Minister that he should keep in mind the importance of increasing the nation's wealth by exploiting our natural resources. With these words, I conclude.

**श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन (उत्तर प्रदेश) :**

उपनिर्वापति महोदय, मैं वित्त मंत्री को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि उन्होंने अर्थ-व्यवस्था की नब्ज को पहचान लिया है। उन्होंने अर्थ-व्यवस्था को प्रगति देने के लिए दो तीन बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए हैं। यहाँ पर ग्रामीण विकास का जिक्र आया। मैं इस सदन को याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष के बजट में भी और इस वर्ष के बजट में भी ग्राम विकास को बहुत महत्व दिया गया है। फर्टिलाइज़र पर जो एक्साइज़ ड्यूटी लगती थी उसको कम किया गया है। पावर टिलेज पर एक्साइज़ ड्यूटी को कम किया

गया है। इसी प्रकार ग्रामीण विकास के लिए पीने के पानी की व्यवस्था करने के लिए सरकार ने बहुत ज्यादा रुपया दिया। पिछले वर्ष ही 40 करोड़ रुपये इस काम के लिये दिया गया। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहूँगा न केवल केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बल्कि राज्य सरकारों ने भी इस संबंध में कई महत्वपूर्ण कदम उठाए हैं। केवल उत्तर प्रदेश सरकार को ही लें तो पिछले वर्ष के बजट में 15 करोड़ रुपया और इस बजट में 25 करोड़ ग्रामीण विकास के लिए रुपया दिया है। विहार को सरकार ने, राजस्थान की सरकार ने और विभिन्न सरकारों ने ग्रामीण विकास को बहुत महत्व दिया है और उसकी तरफ वे बढ़ रहे हैं। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहूँगा न केवल ग्रामीण विकास की तरफ हमारी सरकार कदम उठा रही है बल्कि कुटीर उद्योगों और लघु उद्योगों को भी महत्व दिया जा रहा है। उनको प्राथमिकता दी जा रही है, प्रोत्साहन दिया जा रहा है। सदन को यह मालूम होगा कि हिन्दुस्तान में 24,000 ऐसे छोटे उद्योग हैं जिन पर किसी भी प्रकार का टैक्स नहीं है। सदन को यह भी मालूम होगा कि ऐसे और भी उद्योगों में टैक्स में एग्जेंप्शन दी गई है। ऐसे जो भी उद्योग जिनकी 5 लाख तक टर्न ओवर होती है उनको कोई टैक्स नहीं देना होता अब इसको बढ़ा कर 15 लाख कर दिया गया है कि इतनी टर्न ओवर वालों को भी 5 लाख तक भी कोई टैक्स नहीं है। इस प्रकार आप यह देखेंगे कि हमने यह दो बड़े काम किए हैं।

तीसरा काम जिसकी तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहूँगा वह यह है कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने अन्तर्पोषण की तरफ ध्यान दिया है।

राजस्थान की सरकार ने यह फैसला किया कि हम हर गांव में जो सबसे ज्यादा गरीब पांच परिवार होंगे उनको एक साल में भूदान देंगे और रोजगार भी देंगे। यह बात हर साल होगी। इस वर्ष 1,26,000

ऐसे परिवारों की सूची बनायी है और इनके लिए उपरोक्त सब चीजों का इंतजाम किया जा रहा है। अंत्योदय का महत्व इसलिए भी ज्यादा है जैसा कि रंगा साहब ने कहा कि हमारे देश में खेत मजदूरों की हालत खराब है। 60 से 68 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं। इसके बारे में बहम तो हो सकती है लेकिन यह चीज सब मानते हैं कि हमारे देश की एक बड़ी जनसंख्या ऐसी है जो गरीबी रेखा के नीचे है, 25 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे हैं जो डेस्टीट्यूशन रेखा के नीचे हैं। वास्तव में हम लोगों को आपसे जो व्यवस्था मिली, हमारे वित्त मंत्री साहब को जो अर्थ व्यवस्था मिली, मैं आलोचना नहीं कर रहा हूँ कबल एक सच्ची तस्वीर पेश करने के लिए कह रहा हूँ कि मन् 1955 में जब दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना लागू हुई तो यह कहा गया कि 50 लाख लोग बेकार हैं, तीसरी योजना जब लागू हुई तो बेकारों की संख्या 50 लाख से बढ़ कर 90 लाख हो गयी और तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के खत्म होने तक यह तादाद बढ़कर डेढ़ करोड़ हो गयी। गोया 10 साल में तिगुनी होकर अर्थात् 50 लाख से डेढ़ करोड़ हो गयी। अब जब हम छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाने वाले हैं तो हमारे यहां बेरोजगारी कम से कम साढ़े तीन करोड़ से ज्यादा है। गोया यह उस समय से सात गुना ज्यादा है। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि आबादी के कारण ऐसा हो गया है तो मैं आपको वादा दिलाना चाहूंगा कि इस अवसर पर उपसभापति महोदय, कि इस पूरे जमाने में आबादी डेढ़ गुना ज्यादा बढ़ी है, लेकिन बेरोजगारी सात गुना ज्यादा हो गयी है।

एक दूसरी बात की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह बात यह है कि हमने भूमि सुधार के बड़े-बड़े नवश बनाये, बड़े-बड़े वायदे किये लेकिन 1952 में जो 7 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे थे जिनके पास जमीन नहीं थी हालांकि वे खेती का काम करते थे और यह भी सही है कि उनके अलावा 52 प्रतिशत लोग ऐसे थे जिनके पास एक एकड़

से कम धरती थी लेकिन आज हमारे यहां क्या हालत है। 1961 की जो जनगणना हुई, जो सेंसस हुआ उसमें यह कहा गया कि ऐसे लोग जो खेती का काम करते हैं लेकिन जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है उनकी तादाद 16.9 प्रतिशत है परन्तु 1971 के सेंसस में कहा गया कि ऐसे लोगों की तादाद जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है लेकिन खेती का काम करते हैं बढ़ कर 25.4 प्रतिशत हो गयी है। इसका मतलब यह है कि डेढ़ गुना ज्यादा तादाद बढ़ गयी है। आज मेरा ख्याल यह है कि यह प्रतिशत 30 से ज्यादा होगा। अतः मैं आपका ध्यान इस बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहूंगा कि पिछले 15 वर्षों में खेतिहर मजदूरों की संख्या, प्रतिशत के लिहाज से करीब-करीब दुगुनी हो गयी है और आम तौर पर यह समझा जाता है कि इस बीच में पांच करोड़ परिवार ऐसे रहे होंगे जो पहले खेती का काम करते थे आज भी करते हैं, लेकिन पहले उनके पास जमीन थी जबकि आज नहीं है।

इस प्रकार हमारे सामने जो अर्थ व्यवस्था है उसमें एक तरफ साढ़े तीन करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं जो बेरोजगार हैं और दूसरी तरफ 6-8 करोड़ लोग ऐसे हैं जो खेती का काम करते हैं लेकिन जिनके पास जमीन नहीं है। इस देश में 35-40 फीसदी लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके पास रोजगार नहीं है जमीन नहीं है या जो बड़ी मुश्किल से जीते हैं। ऐसे देश में मैं नहीं कह सकता कि हमारे सामने इन्कलाब है, एक क्रान्ति होने वाली है लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कह सकता हूँ कि ऐसे देश में अगर हम देश के विकास के लिए एक रास्ता नहीं अपनाते हैं तो तोड़-फोड़ और अराजकता पैदा होगी, तनाव पैदा होगा। अतः यह जरूरी है कि पूरे देश में, न केवल सरकारी पार्टी के लोग बल्कि विरोधी पक्ष के लोग भी इस बात का फैसला करें कि हममें अपने औद्योगिक विकास की दिशा को बदलना है या नहीं बदलना है। मान लीजिए हम अपने औद्योगिक विकास को जो कि पिछले 20 साल से या

[श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन]

30 साल से जिस दिशा में चल रहा है उसी दिशा में रखते हैं तो नतीजा क्या होता है ? यह बात मैं स्वागत योग्य मानता हूँ कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को बहाया गया है, बड़े-बड़े उद्योग धंधे बनाये गये हैं खासकर जिनका संबंध विसिक इंडस्ट्री से है, लेकिन इस संबंध में मैं यह भी याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले 30 वर्ष में इन उद्योग धंधों के कारण हम इस देश में केवल 55 लाख रोजगार पैदा कर पाये हैं। आज हर साल 50 लाख लोग रोजगार की मंडी में आते हैं। इन 30 सालों में हम एक प्रकार की टेक्नालाजी से केवल 55 लाख लोगों को रोजगार दे पाये हैं, परन्तु हमको हर साल 50 लाख रोजगार पैदा करने हैं और अगर इतने पैदा करने हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि पुराना तरीका नहीं चल सकता है और हमको फँसला करना पड़ेगा कि आज नया तरीका क्या हो ? ओ० ई० सी० डी० का नाम हम सब लोगों ने सुना है। उनकी यह रिपोर्ट है कि अगर हम लाज स्केल इंडस्ट्री के आधार पर इस देश का विकास करना चाहें, आज ही विकास करना चाहें और 50 लाख लोगों को नए रोजगार देना चाहें तो हम को अपने आर्थिक विकास को 3½ फी सदी औसत की दर से 18 फी सदी करना पड़ेगा और अगर हम अगले 5 साल के अंदर यह योजना बनाएं और उस रास्ते से हमको उन 3½ करोड़ लोगों को भी रोजगार देना है, तो वह आर्थिक विकास की दर 18 फी सदी से भी ज्यादा बढ़ानी पड़ेगी। मेरे ख्याल से वह 32 प्रतिशत हो जाएगी। मैं आप से कहना चाहूँगा कि यह बात असंभव है, कल्पनातीत है कि किसी देश की आर्थिक दर 3½ फी सदी से 5 साल के अंदर 32 फी सदी हो जायगी। इसलिए हमारे सामने दो रास्ते हैं, उपसमापति महोदय—या तो हम पुराने तरीके पर चल कर अगले 5 साल के अंदर ऐसा कर दें कि अगले 5 साल के अंदर जो हमारे सामने बेरोजगारों का इतना बड़ा हुजूम हो कि इस

देश में रहने वाले सात लोगों में से एक आदमी बेरोजगार हो— और उस हालत में न इस देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था चल सकती है, न लोकतंत्र हो सकता है, न इस देश की राष्ट्रीय एकता बरकरार रख सकते हैं—इसलिए मैं कहना चाहूँगा इस सवाल को इस देश का एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न बनाना चाहिए कि हमारी आर्थिक विकास की दिशा क्या होगी ? मैं रंगा जी से या भोला पासवान जी से या भूपेण गुप्त जी से या और भी जो सदन के माननीय सदस्य हैं उन से यह कहना चाहूँगा कि इस सवाल पर बहुत गंभीरता से पूरे देश को बहस करनी होगी। मैं बहुत विनम्रता से उनके सामने यह बात भी रखना चाहूँगा कि जनता पार्टी ने—गलत कहिए, ठीक कहिए, एक जुरंत की है, एक दिलेरी की है—उसने एक नया रास्ता पेश किया है, उसने एक नक्शा पेश किया है जिस को कहा जा सकता कि वह पोस्ट इंडस्ट्रियल सोसाइटी का एक आल्टरनेटिव है और वह पोस्ट इंडस्ट्रियल सोसाइटी का आल्टरनेटिव इस मानी में है कि जहाँ डेवलपिंग कंट्रीज हैं उनमें जब तक आप खेती को प्राथमिकता नहीं देते हैं, जब तक आप छोटे और कुटीर उद्योग धंधों को प्रोत्साहन नहीं देते हैं, उन कुटीर उद्योगों को एग्योरेंस नहीं देते हैं, उनको गारण्टी नहीं देते हैं कि उनका विकास हो रहा है और होगा, तब तक मेरे ख्याल में बेरोजगारी की समस्या को हल नहीं किया जा सकता है। डाक्टर पी० एस० लोकनाथन की एक स्टडी है, वह यह कहते हैं कि अगर 100 करोड़ रु० आप कृषि पर खर्च करेंगे तो आप को 50 लाख जाइस मिल जाएंगी। मैं चाहूँगा इन सब बातों पर बहस हो और इस ख्याल से बहस नहीं हो कि जनता पार्टी ने कहाँ तक किया है, इस सवाल पर बहस नहीं हो कि पिछले 30 सालों में क्या हुआ, बल्कि इस ख्याल से हो कि अगले दस या पांच साल में इस देश के अंदर क्या करना चाहते हैं।

यहाँ हरिजनों पर अत्याचार की बात होती है। मैं समझता हूँ, इस संबंध में आंकड़े देने से कोई फायदा नहीं है कि पहले कितने ज्यादा अत्याचार होते थे और आज कितने ज्यादा अत्याचार होते हैं? किस को दुख नहीं होता कि आगरा में कितना बड़ा विस्फोट हुआ है; किस को दुःख नहीं होता कि बेलछी में इतना बड़ा विस्फोट हुआ है; किस को दुःख नहीं होता है कि पुरवा 8 पस पुर पूर्णिमा जिला 1969 में कुछ लोगों ने 32 हरिजनों के घर जला दिए; किस को दुःख नहीं होता है तंजाऊर में जो खून खराबी हुई उससे? कौन इस बात को भूल सकता है बनारस में जो कुछ हुआ। वह उतना ही दर्दनाक है जैसा मुरादाबाद जिले में संभल में हुआ या जितना भिवांडी में 1970 में हुआ था, रांची में 1969 में हुआ था, राऊरकेला में 1964 में हुआ था। मगर मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि आपने बहुत ज्यादा किया या हम कम कर रहे हैं या हम बहुत ज्यादा काम कर रहे हैं और आप बहुत कम कर रहे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा, हरिजनों को सुरक्षा देने का सवाल, अप्रमंख्यों को सुरक्षा देने का सवाल, इस देश के कानून को बचा कर रखने का सवाल किसी भी एक पक्ष का सवाल नहीं है, क्योंकि अगर एक आदमी की भी जान जाती हो, तो वह पूरे देश का सवाल है; क्योंकि वह पूरे देश का नागरिक है। वह जनता पार्टी का सदस्य है यह बात नहीं, यह कांग्रेस पार्टी का सदस्य है यह बात नहीं। इसलिए मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ, अगर इतने खतरे, इतने तनाव बढ़ते हैं तो आखिर उसका कारण क्या है? कारण यह है कि 30 वर्षों से हम लोग सेक्युलरिज्म की दुहाई देते रहें हैं, लेकिन सेक्युलरिज्म की दुहाई देने के बावजूद भी कोई ऐसा वर्ष नहीं जहाँ मुसलमानों पर अत्याचार नहीं होते। हम गांधी जी के नाम की दुहाई देते हैं, अन्तर्बिलिटी के खिलाफ भाषण करते हैं, सेक्युलरिज्म की बात करते हैं, लेकिन आज भी वही हालत हमारे देश में है जो 1947 में थी, 1955 में थी।

मैं चाहूंगा कि इस को बदलने के लिए हम फैसला करें और अगर इस को बदलने

आप से कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर इस देश में भूमि सुधार नहीं होता है, हम सब ऐतान करते हैं कि भूमि सुधार होना चाहिए और हम उन के मन में आकांक्षा दिला देते हैं जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है कि उन को हम जमीन देंगे और 30 साल तक हम जमीन नहीं दिला सके तो मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि इस देश में तनाव और बढ़ेगा, जिस के पास जमीन है वह कहेगा मुझ को खतरा है, मैं यह जमीन नहीं छोड़ूंगा और सरकार उस को जमीन छोड़ने के लिए मजबूर भी नहीं कर सकी है और जिस के पास जमीन नहीं है उस के मन में एक आशा का दीपक जगा दिया और जब वह आशा का दीपक एक दम विलकुल वीरान हो जायगा तो उस के मन में तकलीफ होगी और इस प्रकार से एक तनाव बढ़ेगा। मैं आप से दरखास्त करूंगा कि इन सब सवालों को ऐसे न लिया जाय कि जहाँ भी तनाव पैदा हो वहाँ कोई न कोई पार्टी चली जाय, चाहे जनता पार्टी हो या कोई और दूसरी पार्टी, और कहे कि उस को इस तनाव को उकसाना है और वह इसके लिये कोशिश करे।

क्योंकि जब भी आप कोई सामाजिक या आर्थिक प्रगति करेंगे तो उस से कुछ लोग नाराज होंगे ही। इसलिये कि ऐसा होने पर उन के हितों पर आघात पहुंचता है। जनता पार्टी कहती है कि आज हम को विकेंद्रीकरण करना है तो मैं मानता हूँ कि इस से नौकरशाही के कुछ तत्व नाराज होंगे। जनता पार्टी कहती है कि लघु उद्योगों को बढ़ाना है तो जो पंजीपति हैं, जो बड़े उद्योगों के मालिक हैं वह उस से नाराज होंगे—कुछ कम नाराज होंगे, कुछ ज्यादा नाराज होंगे। लेकिन अगर आप को देश की आर्थिक और सामाजिक प्रगति करनी है तो ऐसा करने पर कुछ तनाव बढ़ेगा और अगर हम इस प्रकार का तनाव बढ़ाने से डरते हैं तो निश्चय ही हम सामाजिक और आर्थिक प्रगति की ओर नहीं जा सकते। हम देश में कोई सामाजिक परिवर्तन नहीं

[ श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन ]

होना कि अगर आज सर्जन और अवर्ण में झगड़े हैं, अगर आज पिछड़ी और ऊंची जाति में झगड़े हैं, अगर आज हिन्दू और मुसलमानों में झगड़े हैं, तो क्या उन झगड़ों को हम इस प्रकार से इस्तेमाल करेंगे कि उन से हमारी ताकत बढ़े चाहे उस से देश की ताकत घटती हो या देश के लोकतन्त्र पर खतरा आता हो या उन को इस तरह से हल करेंगे कि उन से देश की ताकत बढ़े भले ही हमारी ताकत बढ़े या नहीं।

These tensions should not be used as levers to be operated but as lags to be filled up.

यह सवाल हमारे सामने है और इस लिये मैं सदन में और इस के माध्यम से हर एक राजनीतिक दल के नेता और कार्यकर्ता के सामने यह सवाल रखना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हमको इस देश को बनाना है तो उस के लिये जनता पार्टी ने एक रास्ता दिया है। आप बैठ कर बहस कर सकते हैं कि आखिर इस रास्ते को आप पूरा कैसे करेंगे। रंगा जी ने जो हवाल उठाये और दूसरे माननीय सदस्यों ने जो सवाल उठाये, वह इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के सवाल हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार गलतियाँ कर सकती है। हमारे एक दोस्त ने कहा कि एक साल हो जाने के बावजूद भी सरकार ने यह काम नहीं किया, वह काम नहीं किया। मैं बहुत अदब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक साल का समय कोई ज्यादा नहीं होता। एक साल बहुत ज्यादा बक्त नहीं होता और मैं अपने दोस्त कादिर शाह साहब से भी कहूँगा कि हमारे वित्त मन्त्री जी व्योरोक्रेट थे या नहीं यह सवाल नहीं है। हमारे सी० डी० देशमुख साहब भी व्योरोक्रेट थे, हमारे मोरार जी भाई भी व्योरोक्रेट थे। इस देश ने अच्छे से अच्छे वित्त मन्त्री पैदा किये हैं और मैं मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश के वर्तमान वित्त मन्त्री देश के सबसे अच्छे वित्त मन्त्रियों में से हैं और वित्त मन्त्री जी

ने व्योरोक्रेसी छोड़ने के बाद दस, बारह साल पार्लियामेंट का काम किया है। यह एक पोलिटिकल पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी रहे और मैं बहुत नम्रतापूर्वक कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस आधार पर किसी वित्त मन्त्री का फैसला नहीं करना चाहिए कि वह व्योरोक्रेट था या नहीं था।

लेकिन मैं वित्त मन्त्री जी का ध्यान इस बात की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आखिर क्या कारण कि कपास, गन्ना आदि जो कौश क्राप्स हैं उन के दाम कम हुए हैं। यह कहा जा सकता है कि पिछले 30 साल की नीति गलत थी। 1974-75 में जब दाम कम हो रहे थे तब भी कौश क्राप्स के दाम ज्यादा कम हो रहे थे। यह कहा जा सकता है कि 1975-76 में जब दाम बढ़ रहे थे तो और चीजों के दाम ज्यादा बढ़ रहे थे लेकिन एग्रीकल्चरल प्रोडक्ट्स के दाम कम बढ़ रहे थे। यह सम्भव हो सकता है, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहूँगा कि जब तक आप दो बातें नहीं करेंगे तब तक ऐसी समस्याओं का निदान नहीं हो सकता। पहली बात तो यह कि प्राइसेज को मूवमेंट को ले कर आप कुछ व्यवस्था करें। जो चीजें पैदा होती हैं, उत्पादित होती हैं उन की पैदावार जितनी होती है उस में से कितना एक्सपोर्ट करना है, कितना रखना है, उस में से कितना कन्ज्युम हो सकता है इस सब का जायजा लेने के लिये एक क्मोडिटीज मैनेजमेंट बोर्ड की व्यवस्था आप को करनी चाहिए जो बता सके कि कितनी पैदावार किसी चीज की होगी और जो किसानों को भी बता सके कि किस चीज की उन को कितनी पैदावार करनी है और उस पैदावार के मुताबिक ही जो चीजों के दामों का फैसला कर सके। आप यह भी फैसला करें कि जो सीजनल फ्लक्चुएशन्स होते हैं उन का क्या हो। हर चीज का दाम क्या होगा फसल के मीके पर। इसका आप पहले ऐलान कर सकते हैं खासकर जो चीजें किसान को मिलती

हैं और जो चीजें किसान देता है उन सब का दाम। मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि जो एग्रीकल्चरल प्राइसेज कमीशन है वह आज एक पाण्डियल बाड़ी है। मैं चाहूंगा कि आप कमोडिटीज प्राइसेज कमीशन बनायें। बजाय इस के कि टैरिफ कमीशन एक बने और एक एग्रीकल्चरल प्राइसेज कमीशन बने, मैं चाहूंगा कि एक कमोडिटीज प्राइसेज कमीशन बन जो इन बातों का विचार कर सके। जब हम ने, जनता पार्टी ने इस बात को अपने सामने रखा है कि हम को अपने देश के आर्थिक विकास को एक दिशा देनी है तो आप को यह करना चाहिए।

दो बातों का और जिक्र कर के मैं अपनी बात खत्म करूंगा। पहली बात तो यह है कि जिस किस्म के विकास की बात हो रही है, जो विकास गांव का होगा वह विकास सिर्फ नौकरशाही के जरिये नहीं होगा। मैं नौकरशाही को डिबंक नहीं कर रहा हूं। मैं मानता हूं कि नौकरशाही या अफसरशाही का अपना रोल है, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि जब तक आप बुनियादी संस्थाओं को इस में नहीं लायेंगे, जब तक आप सहकारी संस्थाओं को इसमें नहीं लायेंगे, स्वैच्छिक संस्थाओं को इस में नहीं लायेंगे तब तक आप का काम पूरा नहीं होगा, और इसके साथ तब भी आपका काम पूरा नहीं होगा जब तक कि आप लैण्ड रिफार्म्स नहीं करेंगे। लैण्ड रिफार्म्स तो कुन्जी है आज आर्थिक विकास की। अगर आप लैण्ड रिफार्म्स नहीं करेंगे और उसके लिये मैं चाहता हूं कि प्लानिंग कमिशन को या गवर्नमेंट आफ इण्डिया को एक मानिटोरिंग सैल बनाना चाहिये, फैसला करना चाहिये कि लैण्ड रिफार्म्स लैजिस्लेशन में क्या-क्या कमियां है और उनको दूर कराने का प्रयास करना चाहिये। मैं यह भी चाहूंगा कि सरकार को तरफ से नहीं, लेकिन हम लोग बीकर सैक्शन आर्गोनाइजेशन बनायें। इसके बिना कोई भी, किसी भी प्रकार का लैण्ड रिफार्म लैजिस्लेशन

बना लीजिये, आप उसने कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगे और इसी सम्बन्ध में मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि पंचायती राज संस्थाओं को ज्यादा अधिकार देने चाहिये। अशोक मेहता की रिपोर्ट की हम लोग इन्तजार कर रहे हैं। मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमको सरकारी क्षेत्र को भी बढ़ाना चाहिये और वित्त मन्त्री से दरखास्त करूंगा कि इस सम्बन्ध में सरकारी क्षेत्र को ज्यादा मजबूत करने के लिये, उसको ज्यादा लोकतान्त्रिक बनाने के लिये, सक्षम बनाने के लिये और उसको सरकार की गिरफ्त से आजाद करने के लिये कुछ कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे।

मेरी तजवीज है कि कोऑपरेटिव इन्व्वायरी कमिशन बनाया जाए, उसके टर्म्स आफ रेफरेंस को साफ-साफ रखें और इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि हमारी सरकारी समितियां केवल समितियां न रहें, यह एक बड़ा भारी व्यापक आन्दोलन हो जाए।

तीसरी बात में स्वैच्छिक संस्थाओं के बारे में कहना चाहूंगा। मुझे ताज्जुब हुआ कि फुड फार वर्क प्रोग्राम के सम्बन्ध में हमारी सरकार की तरफ से एक सर्कुलर गया। उसमें कहा गया कि इस काम में आप स्वैच्छिक संस्थाओं का सहयोग लें और उस पर लिखा था। "कान्फीडेंशियल"। मैं अपनी जानकारी से कह सकता हूं कि जितनी भी महत्वपूर्ण स्वैच्छिक संस्थाएँ हैं, उनमें से बहुत को इस कार्यक्रम का पता नहीं था कि राज्य सरकारों को कहा गया है उन लोगों का सहयोग लना है। मैं चाहूंगा कि प्लानिंग कमिशन के माध्यम से या सरकार अपने तीर पर कर सकती है कि हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी वालण्टरी आर्गोनाइजेशन्स हैं, उनको स्टेट लैवल पर इकट्ठा किया जाए और कोऑर्डिनेशन कमेटी बनाएं और उनको ग्राम-विकास का काम दिया जाए। जो ग्राम-विकास का काम करने के लिये यह सब बातें करना जरूरी है।

[श्री सुरेन्द्र मोहन]

एक बात का और जिक्र करना चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि कल एक माननीय सदस्य ने उस बात का जिक्र किया। जनता सरकार पर उन्होंने यह इल्जाम लगाया कि जनता सरकार जूडिशियरी का डेनिग्रेशन कर रही है। मुझको इसमें ताज्जुब हुआ। मैं उनको किसी दलगत भावना के मातहत याद नहीं दिलाना चाहता, लेकिन एक कार्यकर्ता की हैसियत में कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब जजों का मुपरसैशन हुआ, तो क्या जूडिशियरी का डेनिग्रेशन नहीं हुआ। जब एमरजेन्सी के दौरान 42 जजों का स्थानान्तरण कर दिया गया मरिफ इसलिये क्योंकि मीसा के कानून को एन्वाई करने में उन्होंने सरकार की राय से ज्यादा नज़रबन्दों के हकूक पे उनका ख्याल किया, तो क्या वह जूडिशियरी का डेनिग्रेशन नहीं था। मैं दहर्वास्त कंग्रा, सदन के माननीय सदस्यों से कि जितने भी सवाल हमारे सामने हैं, आज मौका नहीं है कि दलगत दृष्टि से बात करें। हम में से कुछ लोग कहते हैं आज के हालात को देखते हुए कि 1974-75 जैसे हालात पैदा हो रहे हैं मैं जो एमरजेन्सी का फैसला किया गया, तो ठीक था। मैं गुञ्जारिश करना चाहता हूँ कि यदि 4-5 साल में हमने कुछ सीखा है तो यह सीखा है कि आज देश में जन आकांक्षाओं का एक बहुत विस्तृत आन्दोलन हमारे सामने है और अगर अपने सामाजिक डांचे को, सोशो-इकानामिक स्ट्रक्चर को बुनियादी तौर पर बदलने को तैयार नहीं होंगे, यदि हम गांव का और एग्रीकल्चरल वर्कर का ख्याल नहीं करेंगे और उसका ख्याल करके अगर हम उरुच वर्गों की आस्टैरिटी का फैसला नहीं करेंगे, तो शायद उन आकांक्षाओं को हम पूरा नहीं कर सकते और यदि वे पूरी नहीं होती हैं, तो वह दलों को और देश को तोड़ेगी। मैं चेतावनी के साथ आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम लोगों को लोकतंत्र प्यारा है, एकता प्यारी है, तो आज दलगत को छोड़ कर इकट्ठा हों।

हमारे राष्ट्रपति नीलम संजीव रेड्डी ने अपील की है और मोरारजी देसाई ने भी उसमें हाँ मिलाई है और मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि सब लोग उसमें शामिल होंगे। मैं यह भी उम्मीद करता हूँ, जैसा कि रंगा माहव ने कहा कि पंचायती राज की संस्थाओं में दल की भावनाओं पर चुनाव नहीं लड़ा जाए। मैं आपको याद दिलाऊँ कि हमारी पार्टी के अध्यक्ष श्री चन्द्रशेखर ने सभी राजनैतिक दलों को अपील की थी, एक खत भेजा था, पर मुझको कहते हुए अफसोस होता है कि अभी हमारा शायद चिन्तन करने का वह स्तर नहीं आया और किसी भी एक दल ने उनके पत्र का जवाब नहीं दिया है और यहाँ कहते हैं कि पंचायती राज संस्थाओं से हमको राजनीति हटानी चाहिये।

मैं इस बात को मद्देनजर रखते हुए फिर यह आग्रह करूँगा कि हमको राष्ट्रीय सन्दर्भ में—किसी पक्ष के सन्दर्भ में नहीं—इकट्ठे होकर कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर नये देश का निर्माण करना है। जहाँ तक वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने प्रोपोजल्स नये देश का निर्माण करने में हमारा मार्ग दर्शन करते हैं और नया रास्ता देते हैं, उनका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ और एक बार फिर वित्त मंत्री महोदय को मैं मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हूँ।

SHRI ANANDA PATHAK (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when I rise to participate in the discussion on the Appropriation Bill I cannot say that this is the Bill for socialist reconstruction or economic rejuvenation because although the Janata Party says that theirs is a socialistic approach, in practice we find that it is quite the reverse. As a matter of fact, the present Government is also following the same capitalist path of development which was pursued by the Congress Government in the last 30 years. In the present context of the world economic situation we find that the capitalist path is



outmoded, it is in the moribund stage. Therefore, the capitalist path of development cannot help our country.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri U. K. Lakshmana GowdS; in the Chair.

The Janata Government is also following the same old capitalist path as was pursued by the Congress Government. As a consequence of this we find stagnation in the economy, a growing inflationary tendency. No new industries are coming up, clp-sures, lock-outs and retrenchment of the workers have become the order of the day. We find that the internal market is shrinking due to want of purchasing power of the people. As you know, Sir, 70 per cent of the population is below the poverty line. It is an accepted fact by everybody. The small and poor cultivators and farmers are not getting remunerative prices for their product. This is the condition today. Moreover, the grip of the monopolists, multi-nationals and others is growing over our economy. The policy of the Janata Government is rather to encourage them, to help them and allow them to plunder our people ruthlessly. That is the state of affairs that we find.

Now they are dismissing the demand for nationalisation of the big industries which are in the grip of the monopolists and the multi-nationals. The Government has miserably failed to bring down the prices. Although in the manifesto they have promised that they will bring down prices, but when we draw their attention and put forward some concrete proposals to bring down prices, they are not prepared to accept them. For example, repeatedly we have been demanding that at least 8 to 9 essential commodities which are necessary for the people, for their day-to-day life, should be taken over by the Central Government and they should be distributed among the people through the medium of public distribution system. They should be given

at the same price and at a cheaper price in all the States, but they are not accepting this concrete proposal. That is why there is disparity in the prices and the cost of every thing is going up. They have not been able to check the prices. Sir, on the other hand we find that our rural economy is shattering\*. The grip of the jotedars, zamindars, moneylenders and other vested interests is such that they are ruthlessly exploiting our rural population. If that be the state of affairs, how can we claim that we are marching on the path of socialism? We cannot say so. We find that the Government has miserably failed to fulfil the promises made in the manifesto of the Janata Party in the sphere of economic development. The Government has not been able to keep its promise to give bonus to the Government employees. Government's attention has been drawn towards this and the Government employees are repeating their demand for bonus. On the other hand, heavy doses of taxation have been imposed on the common people and this heavy taxation is breaking the backbone of the common people. We find everywhere there is widespread discontentment and frustration throughout the country. The people are trying to express their discontentment. Demonstrations are taking place, protests are going on, strikes are taking place and the people are trying to express their discontentment in various ways. But what we find is that while we say that the Government has restored democratic rights, everywhere these movements are being suppressed. Firings are going on. We find in Agra, in Kanpur—everywhere—where the people expressed their discontentment, the Government has met their protests with heavy hands and tried to suppress them by bullets. This is not the way to tackle the problem and seek the survival of democracy. On the other hand, instead of solving the basic problems, going into the root cause of the problems, Government is trying to suppress popular discontent-

[Shri Ananda Pathak]

ment of the students, workers, peasants and the Harijan and tribal people. They are not going into the basic causes of the problems but these people are being suppressed like anything.

Our party—the CPI(M)—extended conditional support to the Janata Government for the restoration of democratic rights of the people and we shall continue to do so so long as the Government moves in that direction. But we are totally opposed to the bankrupt economic policy being pursued by the Janata Government.

Yesterday, while moving the Motion for consideration of the Appropriation Bill, the hon. Finance Minister had stated that 60 per cent of the total expenditure would be diverted for developmental activities and the different States will have big shares out of these allocations. But in practice what we find is that the Janata Government is not prepared to give more powers to the States for accelerating their economic activities. I am bringing this point in the context of Centre-State relations. The West Bengal Government and other State Governments are pressing for a dialogue on this point of Centre-State relations and for more powers to the States, but they are not prepared to have a dialogue. Whatever revenues are collected from the different States—like the Income Tax and other taxes—these go to the Central exchequer and the State Governments have to come with folded hands like beggars before the Central Government. If they like, they can have some thing. If they don't, they are deprived. That is why we are repeatedly saying that at least 75 per cent of the collections should go to the States so that they can render help to the poor and accelerate their economic activities. Their demand is there but the Central Government is not prepared to consider it. Sir, while fully sharing the views expressed yesterday by one of our hon. Members, Shri Goswami, I would like to say that the north-

eastern region, including the State of West Bengal, is contributing to the nation the much-needed highest foreign exchange earning through jute and tea. But the whole region and the States, the State of West Bengal and other States, are deprived of the required Central allotments for gear- , ing up their developmental activities. That is the state of affairs.

In this context, may I draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister and request him to consider the various proposals submitted to the Government of West Bengal, some of which are:—

1. Establishment of a ship-building yard and ship-repairing complex as well as a petro-chemical complex at Haldia.
2. Establishment of an export processing zone at the Salt Lake.
3. Setting up of a super thermal power station at Farraka and a gas turbine at Siliguri.
4. Irrigation scheme at Torsa river, Ghoa-Kunti Basin Drain, Jage, Jamuna Basin Drain, Upper Kangsawati Project and Gajol Lift Irrigation at Malda and West Dinaj-pur.
5. Opening of a terminal railway station at Kalyani.
6. Release of the balance amount of Central assistance for hill areas of Darjeeling District.
7. Release of assistance for the multi-purpose dairy at Matigara.
8. More funds for the development of tourism and forests.
9. Fund for uprooting and replanting new tea bushes in Darjeeling Jalpaiguri in Assam,

As I have stated earlier, tea is the highest foreign exchange earning industry. But now it is on the verge of collapse because the tea bushes are old and the employees are not taking up any replantation. They say that

they have no funds and whatever they earn is taken away by the Central Government in the form of excise duty, in the form of expert duty, this or that. Therefore, we have been repeatedly raising the demand that big plantations owned by the big monopolists should be nationalised. Otherwise, the survival of the tea industry is in danger. We have been repeatedly raising this demand, but the Government has not been paying heed to it.

3 also request the Government to extend the railway line from Dharma-nagar to Agartala and then to Sab room in the State of Tripura, which is most essential for the development of this economically backward State.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to say that if democracy is to survive, if the economic stagnation is to be removed, the party in power should have a new outlook, a new orientation and a new thinking before it is too late; otherwise, the writing on the wall should read the same fate as that of the previous Government.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Shri Ramanand Yadav—not here. Shri Gian Chand Totu.

SHRI GIAN CHAND TOTU (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, handling of the country's finances has two aspects. One is political and

the other is administrative. After hearing about the different political philosophies in this House, I am still of the opinion that the Government has not reached that economic level where the inflights of the different political systems and their merits and demerits can be considered and debated. There is a particular consensus in the country today that our rural areas remain neglected, that there is a need today to give attention to those people whom we call below the poverty-line and all those sections of the society whom we call the poorer sections of the society. Assuming, Sir, that the Janata Party does not have any other priorities than this, I do not want to dilate upon the political niceties. But, I would certainly draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to the financial structure this country is having. Sir, today, there is a race among the major Ministries of the Government of India, among the departments of the State Governments and among different sections of the society whether they are the Scheduled Castes, whether they are the Scheduled Tribes, whether they come from the rural areas or whether they come from the organised labour sector. Everybody here asks for more funds, for more allocations, without realising as to where actually these funds go. I have heard most of my friends asking for appointment of more Commissions and more Government departments, at the same time shedding tears that the funds do not go to the rural areas. Sir, in 1956 in PEPSU, I remember, an old story was told by the Comptroller-General, of

[Shri Gian Chand Totu] how the funds *pt* the State Governments are spent. He gave a typical example. He said that an Executive Engineer comes, proposes that a tank should be built for the rural population and draws some funds by saying that so much of work has been done in digging that tank. "When he is transferred, the next Executive Engineer comes and draws fi/om the Government of India or from the State Government funds for concreting that tank and comenting it. Then, Sir, the third Executive Engineer comes and says that that tank has developed leakage. So, he draws funds from the Government for 'filling up that tank. in this way today the funds of the State Governments and the Government of India are being spent, and that is why, Sir, in spite of the last SI years of planning, it is a shame that there are still large parts of the country where we have not been able to provide either the drinking water or the irrigation water or roads pr power.

As for the Parkinson's law, the administrative machinery is being added, the levels in the administration are being added. Sir, there is today duplication between the Planning Commission and the Government 'of India. The same type of job, the same type of survey and the same type of studies are being undertaken by the Planning Commission as well as the Government of India. Then, Sir, though the Constitution has specifically allotted subjects for the Government of India and the State Governments, somehow if you dissect the different State Governments and the Government of India, you will find that the same type of activity, whether it is education, whether it is agriculture or whether it is co-operation, the same type of studies are being undertaken by the State Governments and the Government of India. Ninety per cent of the funds allocated for a certain Department for a certain welfare activity, (is being eaten up by the bureaucracy and by the

agencies of the Government. In the last 30 years we have only expanded the Government establishments as well as the political institutions, and therefore, there is rightly a scramble among different sections of the society for getting the loaves and fishes of those small funds which trickle down from the balance of 10 per cent amount because the 90 per cent of it is eaten up by the Depart, ment itself. Last year, I gave 4 P.M. a classic example. There was a corporation in the State of Gujarat for distribution of loans to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. With an establishment cost of Rs. 3.50 lakhs—this is not from any newspaper report; it is given in the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes—it has done a signal job of distributing loans to the tune of Rs. 1.50 lakhs. That is how our funds today are wasted, whether they are -or the welfare department, whether they are for the Scheduled Castes, whether they are for the Scheduled Tribes, whether they are for this section of the society or that section of the society'. We take pride in demanding more Ministries, more departments, more commissions, more cells, for getting that all this money is not properly utilised. Capital is very scarce in India. We do not have much money. We have not been able to give the basic amenities to the vast millions of this country because we do not have funds. And whatever funds we have, we take pride in washing them/ in activities which can rightly be called unproductive activities.

Now, Sir, the Janata Government has rightly given stress on the rural areas. Is it right in saying that the Congress Government has not been able to give importance to the rural areas but they are going to give jmportance to the rural areas. But only the other day, the hon. Minister for Civil Aviation and Tourism gave

the information to this House that they have provided in the current Budget Rs. 10 crores for "Janata Hotels" in the four metropolitan cities of India. Now, the present Government does not have funds for having roads in the rural areas. They do not have funds for taking new railway lines to the rural areas or to the backward areas or to the hill areas. They do not have funds for providing drinking water or irrigation water or power. But they have funds for providing Rs. 10 crores for providing "Janata Hotels" in the four metropolitan cities in the name of tourism.

Then, Sir, the contradictions which were earlier there are still there. On the one hand, the Government of India spends not only lakhs of rupees but crores of rupees for inducing people to take to tourism. And, on the other hand, they spend crores of rupees in inducing people to go in for small savings. Now, are not these two activities contradictory to each other? Is a person expected to tour the country, or is he expected to save money? Therefore, we go on spending. We do not have any priorities, any philosophy. The Government is benign only to start a department, then to spend 90 per cent of the funds allocated to it on the establishment and then, as I said—I gave the example of the tank—the Minister would take pleasure here in saying that Rs. 5 lakhs have been spent for the rural tank. Or, if the Minister belongs to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, he would say that Rs. 5 lakhs have been spent for a tank for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and the Members would feel very happy that Rs. 5 lakhs have been spent, without realising that no money has been spent or has been spent in the way I have described here.

Now, Sir, as I said before, we do not have enough resources in the

country. Whatever resources we have got, we are frittering away. Look at the public undertakings, whether they are run by the Government of India or by the State Governments. Look at the State Electricity Boards. In the last one year, they have made a loss of Rs. 158 crores. Look at the State Road Transport Corporations. Out of about 25 to 30 State Road Transport Corporations, there may be only five or six whose results are good. Now, there are some friends who say "No, no, there should not be any profit motive. It is not a capitalist State. Our undertakings are not expected to show any profits." Then may I say, it does not affect their cloth, it does not affect their food? Whether these public undertakings make profit or they run into loss, it does not affect the 20 per cent of the top society today in India to which we politicians also belong, to which the bureaucrats also belong; it does not affect their standard of living. But what is the position of the 60 per cent of the people who, as we say, are below the poverty line? Whether these undertakings—whether they are Central undertakings or State undertakings—make profit or they incur loss, does it not affect those 60 per cent of the people? If these undertakings are not going to show any results, if these are not going to create surpluses, wherefrom will the resources come for providing the basic amenities which do not exist in the country? Yet, we take pride saying such and such welfare scheme is in the country, and we forget that there are people in our country who do not get two square meals a day.

I amuse myself when I read, when they say in a very patronising way, "Oh, we must have culture, we must have dances, we must have songs, we must have this and we must have that." And we send our delegations out of the country for propagating culture. What is this culture where 60 per cent of the people do not get

[Shri Gian Chand Totu]. two square meals a day? Is that culture for the 10 or 20 per cent of the society who are at the top, at the upper levels? Then see the sports, see the shameful way in which our sports delegations are faring throughout the world in the competitions. We are spending so much money on sports delegations, sports directorate, sports department and so on, when 80 per cent of the schools in India do not have even playgrounds, when most of the rural schools, most of the schools in small towns, do not have playgrounds. While we are spending so much on sports, we do not have funds for diverting for playgrounds. Are not these double standards, that while we have money for delegations and sports, we do not have funds for providing playgrounds to our schools? The people who are influential and connected either with politicians or with bureaucrats, they go and propagate the sports of this country. Are they propagating the culture of this country? May I ask the Finance Minister what departure he has made from the system which was prevailing before he came to the scene? Or is it because, though a very capable man himself, he also comes from that very environment of which I am talking?

The same is happening to our research institutions also. As a Minister of the erstwhile Punjab Government I had occasion to go to some of the research institutions not only in the State of Punjab but throughout the country. And I must say I was disappointed to see the way these research institutions were housed in palatial houses. Each institution is having a cinema hall, a theatre, for the amusement of the persons working there, while, on the other hand, as I said, there are lakhs of people in the country who have to sleep on

pavements as we see on the streets of Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY (Gujarat):  
Amritsar, Jullundur.

SHRI GIAN CHAND TOTU: On one side is this spectacle of lakhs of people sleeping on pavements, and on the other is the structure or the superstructure or the superficial structure of the handful of people who want to compete with the richest of the countries in the world, be it America, be it England, be it any other country. Apart from this, I was also shocked to find that some of the research institutions are spending funds on research which is 50 years old, just because we must provide a room to some people who are well-connected. We must have some research institutions to accommodate such persons. I do not want to take the name, but there was one such research institution in Chandigarh. Its job was to propagate sericulture and find out at what temperatures the cocoon can be best reared. I found the research they were conducting was already conducted in Bangalore about ten years ago. And when I went deeper into the matter I found that some of the well-connected people had to be absorbed and therefore, a research centre was opened in Chandigarh. So, I would request the Finance Minister to see that in the name of science and research we do not squander our funds. For such research no need exists today in India for which we are making the Superstructure because sixty per cent of the people of this country do not have roads, power or even drinking water. In the name of tourism you want to create five-star hotels. I am sure even the great Moghuls of this country could never have dreamt of the comforts which our politicians and bureaucrats enjoy today. They travel by air and enjoy all sorts of cultural activities in these five-star hotels.

There is another thing which we have created in this society. That is the subsidy. Even today in the morning this question of subsidy came up in the course of discussion on a Calling Attention Notice as to why the rates of milk has been increased in the town of Delhi. Coming from Himachal Pradesh, I ask why should the people of Himachal Pradesh subsidise the milk supply in the town of Delhi?

In this society which we have created, there are everywhere vested interests. There are subsidies in this country for every section of people. I know that if the Finance Minister or this Government—though it is a weak Government—can remove these subsidies, they can have enough funds for building roads and taking water and power to each and every corner of the country. But everywhere there are subsidies. We have some political fads and some social fads and in the name of implementing these fads all sections of society want subsidies. Everybody wants subsidy, whether he belongs to the highest strata of society or not. I would, therefore, urge upon the Finance Minister to remove, for God's sake, all these subsidies for different sections of society and for different interests, whether they belong to public sector or private sector or Government undertakings. They are also subsidised in large numbers. These subsidies can only be given when the basic necessities of life are provided to the people.

In this very context, I would say that the present handling of the finances indicates total confusion. On the one hand you want to develop rural sector. On the other, you want to raise the rates of power and power generation. How can agriculture prosper in this country? How can industry or small industries prosper in this country if you are going to raise the rates for power? There will be a chain reaction to this hike. You have raised the price of coal and

therefore the freight rates will go up. You raise the price of petroleum and the road freight will go up. I am disappointed at the way you are handling the finances. You cannot spend money for reducing the cost of power or cost of water. You have no funds for providing more roads. But you have enough funds to conduct surveys in this country—surveys which are hardly realistic. People from Delhi will travel by air and stay in a five-star hotel to find out whether the wretched Harijan in a village earns Rs. 3 a day or Rs. 4 a day. Their job is to produce statistics.

There is a story in our village. Formerly, a certain class of people used to arrange matches for marriages. One person told one of these people; "My daughter is 20 years of age and I would like you to find a young man of 24 years". After three days he came and said; "I have engaged your daughter to two boys of 12 years of age". Why? Because both boys together will make a total of 24 years. This is the position of statistics which are quoted by all sections. Most of these statistics are wrong. There is so much muddling in the handling of our finances. The Government of India doles out funds for development items to the State Governments. Therefore, the tendency of the State Governments is to catch hold of as much finances as possible even when they do not have any type of activity. I know of such a case and I know of a State which was given funds—this was about some years ago—for adult literacy programme. What happened in that school? The teachers were asked to enrol all the persons in the village and they were not only asked to enrol all the persons in the village, but they were also asked to promote all of them after a year. Therefore, they were being enrolled and they were being promoted and the State Government could come and say, "Oh,

[Shri Gia'n Chand Totu].

we have educated about a lakh or people". The Government could also take pride in saying that they had educated eight crores of people when not a single person has been educated. It is because the execution is bad and shameful even though we have the best administrators in the world.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Thia is in Punjab?

SHRI GIAN CHAND TOTU; Yes; it was in Punjab. Somehow, Sir, we have created a system in which, a young IAS officer, when he comes, is full of ambitions and he wants to do something for the country. But, just after two Or three years, he gets so much frustrated that he becomes a part of that machinery and he loses the habit of applying his mind. And, Sir, this Government today is run by the clerks and it is the clerks' notes which even a Minister dare not remove. Therefore, if this Government is to run like this and if the Finance Minister is to run his Ministry like that, well, then it is something different. But, if they want some basic changes, they will have to change the present structure of administration at the Centre and in the States. The adding of Secretaries Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries. Under Secretaries, Directors, etc. will not do and the adding of more and more cells and departments and dolino out money will not do. Now, there is a mad rush among all sections of the society, whether they are the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes or other backward classes, for entering Government service. But this will not do. Again, Sir, I would like to refer to another instance for the benefit of the honourable Finance Minister though he is very much experienced. A State sometime ago employed about 200 Industrial Extension Officers and they were provided employment in each development

block of that State and they were ai! MSc'sj M.Com.s, etc. and they were very bright people. I asked them what their output was during the last one year and what industry, whether cottage industry or small-scale industry, they were able to develop there. They said; "No, Sir. We did not get any job. So, we have come here." Again, five years back, the total budget of my development block was seventy-five thousand rupees out of which sixty-five thousand rupees was the cost of administration! There were Gram Sevikas for teaching the ladies in the villages and there were Gram Sevaks also. I do not know why another primary school could not be added for the benefit of the girls instead of having Gram Sevikas. Today, the difficulty is that every Ministry wants to justify itself by getting more and more funds and then there is our Public Accounts Committee which asks them why the funds have not been spent. Therefore, in the last month, in the month of March, fictitious bills will be prepared and many items will be added and all sorts of purchases will be made in order to finish those allocations. Therefore, Sir, before I conclude, I would like to say one thing to the honourable Finance Minister. Ours is such a poor country and there are scarce resources. So, unless he is bold enough and unless the Government is bold enough to change the present habit of thinking in terms of money instead of thinking in terms of physical targets, it will be very difficult. Instead of saying that they have spent a few lakhs of rupees on 'he construction of roads, they should come and sav that they have constructed a two-mile long road. So unless they are nvepared to change thr> norms, unless they can change the orient structure of the Government, ind un'pss thry can stop this duplication, that is, between the Planning Commission and the Government of India, between the State Governments



and the Government of India, between the State Government and the Development Department, no purpose will be served. Whatever money is allocated i'or rural areas will go to the urban areas. People from the urban areas will be employed as contractors; they would get the contracts for making buildingsi for supplying plants and machinery or for supplying stationery, etc., and that money would again go to the urban areas. And even in tha urban areas, 10 per cent or 20 pei cent or 30 per cent of the people still believe i'n sub-human and substandard conditions.

Sir, with these words, I would again request the Finance Minister that the present norms of expenditure should be changed.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA (Maha rashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am one of the victims of Janata victory—victim not in the sense that I lost an election but victim in the sense that I was one of the Ministers in charge of (he Marathwada region where we lost 9 seats out of 10. And as a result of it, on moral grounds. I resigned my Ministership, because I felt that the people wanted a change and perhaps the registration of their protest had to be taken note of. How ever, after 14 months of Janata rule, I am not sure whether the people themselves are not. sorry for what they did. I hold no brief for the emergency. I think it was wrong. It was wrong in the sense that no Gov ernment has the right to deny the people their civil liberties or their fundamental rights. But apart from that, when an attack is made this Government should really thank Mrs. Gandhi for their birth. Even for their birth they are not responsible. It is Mrs. Gandhi who gave birth to the Janata Party.

SHRI PILOO MODY; And Sanjay, too. Think about what you have said

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA.- I have thought about what you have said

Mine is not a perverted mind. There fore, I am only thinking in political terms, and not in physical terms as Mr. Piloo Mody would like to do. But what I would like to emphasise is that the emergency brought about this situation and for bringing about this situation as Mr. Mody rightly said, it was the caucus round >ur leadership which was responsible. But what do we find today? Tудay we find a circus round the Janata leadership, which is as dangerous because while the caucus gave wrong directions, the circus round the Janata Party is giving either *no* directions or contradictory directions, with the result that there is nothing but confusion worse cotjfounde and, therefore, I wonder . . .

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): They are providing entertainment to the people.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: I am coming to that also. I was wondering whether we should consider ourselves as the sinners because of certain lapses on our part. Are we really the sinners? There is an Urdu couplet-

गुनहाराँ में शामिल है,  
गुनाहों से नहीं बाकिफ ।  
सजा को जानते है हम,  
खता क्या है खुदा जाने ।

'Amongst sinners we know we are included,

But for what sins, we do not know.

Punishments we suffer,

But for what, God alone knows.'

Lr it is merely because of the emergency, then take away the political aspect of the emergency and lock carefully at the economic aspect of it. There is a lot which you can learn from it. Mr. Piloo Mody yesterday said that he had not read the 20-point programme. I beseech him to

[Dr. Rafiq Zakavia].

do so and I challenge him that if he has the welfare of the common people at heart, he will have no objection to any of the 20-point programmes. I know the 20-point programme because I was the Revenue Minister and I had the privilege of implementing it. What is the 20-point programme? You are talking of giving land to the landless. You are talking of house sites.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Nothing new.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: You are talking of houses for the nomads. This is the 20-point programme. You are talking of moratorium on rural indebtedness. These were the 20-point programmes. Just because a certain economic programme was enunciated during the emergency, it is not correct on our part to criticise it especially if we believe in a socialist society which I know Mr. Piloo Mody does not. (*Interruptions*) The way Mr. Mody made his speech, he cannot like to call himself a socialist. But at heart he is a socialist. He may wear the CIA badge, but when it comes to the interests of the common people, Mr. Piloo Mody is one with us. Therefore I do not doubt his sincerity as far as the common weal is concerned. When Mr. Piloo Mody talks of 'your thirty years, your thirty years' he forgets—as somebody who interrupted him told him—that during those 30 years, for 22 years your Prime Minister was one of the top policy makers of the set-up. In the beginning, for ten to fifteen years, if I am not wrong, your Finance Minister was one of the important civil servants who directed and guided the policies of the Government. The sins are supposed to be committed by those who have had nothing to do with those policies and those who were the creators of those sins, are sitting on the Treasury Benches and they are saying today, 'those thirty years, those thirty years.' So stop talking of those thirty years and start doing

some work and stop this kind of witch-hunt. Under the euphoria of the Janata victory, the Janata leadership got so power-drunk that they began thinking they have the solution to all the problems. Like Mahmood of Ghazni, they started demolishing every good idol. The danger is that in this destruction and in this process of demolition, you are destroying the whole system, today the danger is to our system. There is no parallel in the history of the world where a party which came to power with such mass euphoria under such electoral enthusiasm has lost its credibility within such a short time. It is no use your shouting us down here. It is no use your telling us that we have got the brute majority. I am not talking of this House but of the Lower House. But rapidly, not gradually, you are losing the popular sanction and no Government will be able to function if it loses the popular sanction. Therefore read the writing on the wall. You are losing ground because you have no economic direction. You are losing ground because as I said, you have created a circus around you which does not know what it wants. Therefore, unless you give the correct direction, you cannot do anything. They say that we neglected agriculture during the 30 years. But when you inherited this Government from us, you got godowns full of food-grains. You say we neglected agriculture and, still, you are in a position today to build on what was created by us. It is blasphemy to say that Nehru had not the vision that India is an agricultural country and, therefore, no economic planning could be successful because the agriculture foundation was not properly laid. What is the blame that is laid at his door? It is that he wanted to go in for big industries. Why should we not go in for big industries? We are a big country. We have to think big, we have to plan big. Look at the Soviet Union. Look at what Lenin did. Look at China. Small, petty little people arguing like small traders. Are we provision storehouses?

We are a mighty country. We are a big country with natural resources which can make us a world power. And we have to move in that direction. What kind of an approach is this? Go to -the villages, go to char-kha, don't think of these giant steel works, don't think of this and that? You remember what Nehru said. He said that these hydro-electric dams, these irrigation dams are the temples of modern India. But what had happened? Unfortunately, I think, the Government has now come into the hands of people who do not know what to do, who do not know what they have, who do not know what to do with what they have. Simply because we committed a wrong, we committed a blunder in putting these people in jail, they feel, they, have acquired all the qualities of leadership and therefore, the right to govern as they like and in the manner they want. Sir, I am reminded again of a Hindi couplet:

अन्तरधान के दर्शन को अन्तरध्यानी जाने ।  
पंडित जी, बनवास से कोई राम नहीं बन जाए ।

Simply because one took 14 years of *banvas*, one cannot become Ram. This qualification alone is not enough. What is required is to apply your mind to the economic directions that have to be given. And have you applied your mind? Sir, I have read Mr. Charan Singh's book. Is this the same approach as that of Mr. George Fernandes? Sometimes the National Executive of the Janata Party comes out with a declaration which gladdens your heart, for instance of dismantling the big houses. I told you in my speech last time how they are dismantling the big houses. The same kind of declaration we had made, the same kind of monopoly commissions we had created. But nothing happens. They have created some other commissions. I would like to know from the Finance Minister as to how much amount is being spent on these various commissions. And I would like to ask Mr. Pilloo Mody. 308 RS—8.

Out of these mountaivis Of commissions what are you going to produce? Not even a mouse. You have wasted 14 valuable months. You have diverted the attention of the people from their basic problems and I may tell you that nothing will come out of the commissions because today the popular resentment against you is rising in such a way that even if you have a just cause, people will not be with you. And in a democracy nobody can punish even the guilty if the popular sanction is lacking. And this has happened because of lack of economic direction. The only credit that the Janata Party is taking is that they have restored democracy to India. Janata Party did not restore democracy to India. It is the people of India who by their electoral verdict restored democracy to India. You are only trying to give a legal shape, a constitutional form to what was done by them. What is your achievement otherwise? And what is happening as far as your leadership is concerned? I do not want to go into that but when I am making a reference to it, I am doing so because I am frightened because you have created a vacuum I do not know how it will be filled. If as a result of your internecine quarrels there is a collapse of administration, what will happen? And that is the danger. Why are these riots there? You are lacking in direction. You have reduced the Prime Minister of this country to a mere captain of a team; nay a chairman and you have reduced the Government of this country to a board of directors where everybody thinks that he can do what he wants. You are dealing with the destinie and the lives of more than 650 million people of this country. Is this the way. you want to run this country? And, what has happened? Put your hand on your heart and then let Mr. Pilloo Mody say whether in 30 years we did nothing, you did not do that thing. It does not sound true because if you look at your board of directors, you will see that more than 50 per cent are

[Dr. Rafiq Zakaria].

our old directors, who are sitting there. And, therefore, how can you say that if there was anything wrong there, we were the creators of that wrong? They were holding the most important positions. Shri Surendra Mohan said: let us make a concerted effort. Let us forget all these things. Let us come together. Let us have a national understanding, a national coalition. Perhaps he did not spell it out as a national coalition but that's what he ment. Why should we bring your chestnuts out of the fire? First put your house in order. First realise the gravity of the situation. First stop putting all the blame on us for these so-called 30 years. You were shouting hoarse, and saying that we did nothing in these 30 years, in these 30 years? At your invitation, your great favourite, President Carter, came to India, an3 what did he say? He said: 'I must applaud you for the tremendous achievements, your tremendous achievements, in the last 30 years, that made India as one of the seven most industrialised nations of the world.' A certificate from a quarter, which, I am sure, Mr. Piloo Mody, will not doubt, The question is that as a result of what we had inherited from the British, something had to be built. But you are now trying to put all the blame on us and say that in these 30 years nothing was done. As I said, look at your Industrial Policy statement. Is it any diffevent from our industrial policy? A little bit of emphasis here and a little bit of emphasis there. What is your agricultural policy? Mr. Piloo Mody said that from 38 per cent you have gone now to 42 per cent. (Inierrwptiojis)

SHRI PILOO MODY: From 20 per cent to 42 per cent.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: That is *wrong*. What has happened is nothing but a jugglery of figures. What has happened is that . . .

SHRI PATITPABATN PRADHAN (Orissa): Jugglery of projects.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: What has happened is that the allocations which were separately separately shown for rural development, such as minor irrigation, soil conservation, etc. one clubbed together now. What I would like to know from the Janata Party is whether they have worked out any definition. What do they mean by rural development? Which are the sectors that fall under rural development, and has that demarcation been made by the Planning Commission? It has not been made. Therefore why are you throwing these figures at us? You must realise that this game OI figures can be played both ways. But, who is" interested? If you have really made an allocation and if really there is an improvement which will bring greater satisfaction to the people, then I would like to know why this mounting resentment of the people, why these signs of dissatisfaction among the poor. And, let me tell you, today the most dissatisfied people who brought you into power are the minorities and the Hari-jans. You have\* "broken their hearts. You have betrayed their trust. Talking of minorities, I will tell you what the Muslims are feeling. I know wrTat their feelings were on the eve of the last Lok Sabha elections. I know how enthusiastic they were about you. They had rebuked me and persons like me in the Congress and abused us and today they are the most frustrated and disappointed lot. What is your attitude towards their cultural problems, towards their language problems. You have made a solemn commitment about the Aligarh Muslim University and you have again gone back on "your word. What about the Harijans? Quotas and reservation were there before also. But you are creating caste riots now. It has never happened in India before. Is this the new" India that you want to build? Is this what "you are trying to create on the destruction of all that we did for 30 years? And if that is what you are going to create, then let me fell you that the danger of a collapse of administration is far more

imminent than even anyone imagines. And that is the great danger. We would not like the "Janata Government to collapse. For God's sake, put your house in order and do some work, because if you collapse, there will be no national alternative left also. There is a vacuum and if you are not conscious of it, if your top leadership is still not aware of all the dangers that lie ahead, then the saddest day will be when that the Janata Party was brought to power. And, therefore, I began by saying as an act of *'praischit'*—so to say . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: Penance.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: Yes, penance, that I tendered my resignation. But today I feel that the penance was done perhaps in haste, for there is something wrong somewhere and, therefore, I would appeal to the Finance Minister if he has a wealth of administrative experience behind him—let him not be very much bothered about the various pulls and pressures that are going on in India. The whole composition of the Janata Party is such that these pulls and pressures are bound to be there but these pulls and pressures are nothing ultimately as compared to the pulls and pressures of the masses. He must have his eye on those pulls and pressures and plan something concrete so that something good will come out of it. I would appeal to friends like Mr. Pilloo Mody to stop talking all the time of these 30 years, 30 years, because that is diverting you from the right course, that is diverting you from what the people want and that is diverting you from chalking out proper plans . . .

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: And let him try to know the 20-point programme.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: And, therefore, my respectful submission to the Finance Minister is that something is terribly wrong with our whole economic development. Then my friend,

Prof. Ranga said, every thing is happening for the urban areas and nothing is happening for the rural areas. A study was made by Gokhale Institute Of Economics in Poona and it was found that in the last 10 to 15 years, the urban poor has become poorer than the rural poor, because when you are thinking of the rural and the urban areas, you have to think of the rural poor and the urban poor . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: You are confusing the issue.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: I am not confusing. What I am saying is that as far as the poor is concerned, whether the poor is in the urban areas or in the rural areas, his problem should be treated as of equal importance. His problem should not be neglected. Yes, what you have to do with people like Mr. Pilloo Mody either in the urban or the rural areas, by all means do it, dismantle people like him in the urban areas with greater vengeance than in the rural areas. But as far as the poor is concerned, let us make no distinction, because if that happens, then you will create another war . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, Mr. Pilloo Mody is an area by himself.

DR. RAFIQ ZAKARIA: .. between the rural and the urban areas. Thank you, Sir.

श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त (बिहार) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी विनियोग विधेयक,  
1978 के ऊपर राज्य सभा विचार कर रही  
है। इस विनियोग विधेयक में 18417  
करोड़ रुपये में से 11037 करोड़ रुपये,  
जो कि लगभग 60 प्रतिशत आता है, विकास  
में खर्च होगा और इसका मैं समर्थन करता  
हूँ।

श्रीमन्, लगातार 30 वर्षों तक इस देश में एक पार्टी की सरकार चलती रही और शायद ही विश्व में कोई दूसरा गणतंत्र होगा जहां पर एक पार्टी की सरकार इतने दिनों तक रही हो। परन्तु इतनी अवधि में भी हमारी हालत में कोई सुधार नहीं हो पाया। आंकड़े तो बहुत सारे दिये जाते हैं और यह भी कहा जाता है कि जिमी कार्टर ने प्रशंसा की है। परन्तु जितना विकास होना चाहिए था उतना इस अवधि में नहीं हो सका। हमारे यहां जितने भी गरीब थे, उनकी संख्या बढ़ती गयी और उनकी गरीबी बढ़ती गई। जो अमीर थे उनकी अमीरी बढ़ती गई। अगर मैं उसके आंकड़े बताऊं श्री बी० एस० मिनहास ने अपनी किताब "प्लानिंग एंड पुअर" में कहा है कि परसेन्टेज शेयर आफ टोटल कंजप्शन एक्सपेंडीचर जो फेक्टाइल रूल इंडिया ग्रुप का कन्सेंट्रेशन रेशियो 1956-57 में 0.32 था वह 1967-68 में 0.29 हो गया। दूसरी ओर अगर अमीरी की बात देखी जाए तो सात ऐसे बिजनेस हाउसेज हैं जिनका मैं उदाहरण यहां पर देना चाहता हूं। इनकी 1951 से 1976 तक में कई गुना पूंजी बढ़ गई। टाटा 1951 में 116 करोड़ और 1976 में 975 करोड़; बिरला 1951 में 153 करोड़ और 1976 में 1065 करोड़; मफतलाल 1951 में 13 करोड़ और 1976 में 284 करोड़; थापर 1951 में 16 करोड़ और 1976 में 204 करोड़; किरलोस्कर 1951 में 2 करोड़ और 1976 में 177 करोड़; जे० के० सिघानिया 1951 में 37 करोड़ और 1976 में 224 करोड़; श्रीराम 1951 में 12 करोड़ और 1976 में 187 करोड़। यह सब आंकड़े हैं जिनके अनुसार उनकी पूंजी बढ़ी है। उस के बाद भी यह कहा जाता है कि आज देश का उदार हुआ है, गरीबों को भी लाभ पहुंचा है। 80% जनता ऐसी है जिसको स्वराज्य की सुविधा अभी तक प्राप्त नहीं हो सकी। करोड़ों ऐसे हैं जिन्हें मतदान देने का मौका नहीं मिल सका और बहुत सारे ऐसे हैं जो इतनी बड़ी

अवधि में पीसे गए और पीसे जाते रहे हैं। उसके बाद जहां यह मनोवृत्ति बढ़ती है, एक तानाशाही मनोवृत्ति आई। तानाशाही भावना से ही इमरजेंसी लगाई गई। उसमें क्या-क्या हुआ है और क्या-क्या गुजरा है, उसको दोहराने की जरूरत नहीं है। इमरजेंसी में 10 लाख मजदूरों की छटनी कर दी गई थी। 400 फैक्टरियों को बन्द कर दिया गया था। मजदूरों का बोनस जो 8.33% था, एल० आई० सी० में 15% था, वे सारे बोनस समाप्त कर दिए गए थे। प्रेस का गला धोंट दिया गया था। कोई भी स्वतंत्र रूप से बोल नहीं सकता था। उसके बाद फिर जनता पार्टी की सरकार आई है यह बहुत सही है कि अगर जनता पार्टी की सरकार सफल न हुई तो यह सरकार बहुत दिन तक नहीं चल सकेगी। यह कहना कि जनता पार्टी के तथाकथित बोर्ड आफ डायरेक्टर में बहुत सारे ऐसे हैं जो कांग्रेस पार्टी की नीति के अनुसार चलते थे लेकिन अब जनता पार्टी की नीति के अनुसार चलना होगा। अगर नहीं चलेंगे, अगर आर्थिक नीति में सफल नहीं होंगे अगर लां एंड आर्डर में सफल नहीं होंगे तो यह बात बिलकुल सही है कि अगर जनता कांग्रेस की सरकार को 30 वर्ष में समाप्त कर सकती है तो जनता पार्टी की सरकार को समाप्त करने में 3 दिन भी नहीं लगेंगे। हम इससे जागरूक हैं और हम समझते हैं कि हमें क्या करना चाहिए। इसलिए जनता पार्टी की सरकार आगे बढ़ रही है और यह बात छिपी नहीं है कि आज हमारे यहां 17 मिलियन टन का फूड रिजर्व है और फूड सरप्लस 8 मिलियन टन है। फारेन एक्सचेंज हमारे पास 5000 करोड़ की है। पब्लिक सैक्टर जिसमें 11000 करोड़ की पूंजी लगी हुई है इस में जहां पर कांग्रेस के समय में 10 वर्षों तक नुकसान ही नुकसान होता था 1976-77 में जहां 2.9% का प्रॉफिट हुआ था बढ़कर जनता पार्टी के समय में 1977-78

में 4.6 % प्रॉफिट हुआ। यह कहना कि इकानामी के रास्ते में हम आगे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं यह बात ही गलत होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह भी कहना है कि जिस इलाके में जहां पर सिंचाई की जरूरत है, पेयजल की जरूरत है, बिजली की जरूरत है वहां पर जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने अपने बजट का 40 % का प्रावधान इस वर्ष के बजट में किया है। 40 प्रतिशत का प्रावधान करने के कारण उसके अंदर काफी वृद्धि होगी। कुछ ही दिन में इसके नतीजे भी सामने आने लगेंगे। इसी प्रकार से राज्यों और केन्द्र शासित प्रदेशों की सहायता के लिये 1812 करोड़ रुपये की पिछले वर्ष व्यवस्था थी अब उसे बढ़ाकर 2761 करोड़ कर दिया गया है अर्थात् 52 प्रतिशत उसमें वृद्धि की गयी है। यह 52 प्रतिशत वृद्धि करने के कारण मैं समझता हूँ कि अब राज्यों के अन्दर काफी विकास हो सकेगा हालांकि इतना अवश्य है कि हमें और केन्द्रीय सरकार को यह भी देखना जरूरी है कि जो प्रदेश पिछड़े हैं उनके लिए क्या किया जाय। आज त्रिपुरा, मिजोरम या नागालैण्ड या बिहार में अगर आक्रोश है, शोभ है, अत्याचारी के प्रति विद्रोह की भावना है तो यह इसलिए है कि वहां ज्यादा बेकारी है, गरीबी है, विकास नहीं है। अगर बिहार के उदाहरण को लीजिए तो आज बिहार में जहां पर इतनी उपजाऊ जमीन है, इतनी नदियां हैं, इतनी खानें हैं, वहां किस चीज की खानें नहीं हैं, कोयला की हैं, अभ्रक की हैं, लोहे की हैं, सोने चांदी की हैं, बाक्साईट की हैं, यूरेनियम प्लेटिनम की हैं, हर चीज की हैं लेकिन उसके बावजूद भी बिहार जो आजादी के समय में अन्य प्रदेशों के मुकाबले में चौथा स्थान रखता था उसका स्थान कांग्रेस के कुशासन में अब 22वां हो गया है। इसके कई कारण हैं। एक कारण यह भी है कि वहां के लगभग 450 कारखाने ऐसे हैं जिनके मुख्य कार्यालय बिहार में न होकर दूसरी जगहों पर हैं और इसी कारण वहां

के सेल्स टैक्स में, रेवेन्यू में, वहां के इम्प्लायमेंट में और इसके अलावा अन्य सभी बातों के ऊपर काफी असर पड़ता है, यहां तक कि अभी वहां जो फटिलाईजर के दो-दो कारखाने हैं एक सिन्धी और दूसरा बरौनी उनका भी वहां पर कोई हेड आफिस नहीं बनाया जा रहा है। इस प्रकार से बिहार में सैकड़ों खानें हैं, कारखाने हैं, अच्छे-अच्छे कारखाने हैं परन्तु सभी के हेड आफिस दूसरी जगहों पर बिहार के बाहर रखे जायें यह उचित नहीं है। मेरी सरकार से मांग है कि इन सारे कारखानों के खानों के, मुख्यालय उसी प्रदेश में होने चाहिए जिस प्रदेश में कि वे स्थित हों। फटिलाईजर के जो दो कारखाने हैं सिन्धी और बरौनी उनके भी हेड आफिस दूसरी जगहों पर हैं जो कि उचित नहीं है उनके हेड आफिस बिहार में ही रखने चाहिए। बिहार के अन्दर रखेंगे तभी उससे सुविधा होगी।

मैं बिहार इस्टीमेट कमेटी के मेम्बर की हैसियत से बिहार की लगभग जितनी भी बिग या मीडियम इंडस्ट्रीज हैं उनको देख चुका हूँ। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर भी आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो सारे कारखाने हैं वह अपने क्षेत्र के लिए, देहात के लिए कुछ नहीं करते हैं। इसलिए सामुदायिक विकास के लिए उन लोगों का कार्यक्रम होना चाहिए और इसके लिए इनको डाइरेक्शन दिया जाना चाहिए। वहां की नौकरियों में बहाली के लिए वहां के जो स्थानीय और विस्थापित लोग हैं उनको बहाल करना चाहिए जबकि इनकी बहाली नहीं होती है। शिडयूल्ड कास्ट और शिडयूल्ड ट्राइब के लिए जो परसेंटेज रखा गया है उस परसेंटेज के मुताबिक ही उन लोगों की बहाली की जानी चाहिए, उस परसेंटेज के मुताबिक उनकी बहाली नहीं होती है अतः इसकी तरफ भी सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिए। इतना ही नहीं मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने वादा किया था, अपने चुनाव घोषणापत्र में कि हम विक्री कर

[श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त]

हटायेंगे। इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने वित्त मंत्री जी का बयान अखबारों में देखा है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि कोई कारण है जिससे कि विक्रीकर न हटाया जाये। अगर इस काम को राज्यों के ऊपर छोड़ दिया गया तो राज्य का कोई भी मंत्री यह नहीं चाहेगा कि हमारे हाथ से पावर चली जाये। आखिर यह सेल्स टैक्स है उसकी पूर्ति तो कहीं से करनी हो होगी, इसे उत्पाद-कर में बदलने के पक्ष में मैं हूँ। बल्कि वे चाहते हैं कि सेल्स टैक्स को उत्पाद-कर में बदल दिया जाय जैसा कि कहा गया है। आज कपड़े के ऊपर उत्पाद कर लगा दिया गया है और उसे सेल्स टैक्स के बदले में जोड़कर वसूल किया जाता है। उसमें कहां कठिनाई है? कहां उसमें किसी तरह की चर्चा है? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज सेल्स टैक्स हटाने के पीछे माननीय वित्त मंत्री को पीछे नहीं हटना चाहिए और निश्चयपूर्वक सेल्स टैक्स को हटाने की योजना लानी चाहिए। इसके साथ ही मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस ओर भी आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि हर प्रदेश में जितने भी रुपये का आवंटन किया जाता है वह भी देखना चाहिए कि राज्य द्वारा वह रुपया उपयुक्त समय पर खर्च होता है या नहीं। इसके लिए एक टाईम वाऊंड प्रोग्राम होना चाहिए क्योंकि बहुत बार ऐसा देखा जाता है बिहार में मेरा अनुभव भी है कि जब आखिरी समय मार्च का आता है तो उसी समय खर्च करने की बात आती है। फिर उस रुपए का भिसयूज भी होता है और वह खर्च भी नहीं होता है। बचा हुआ सारा रुपया केन्द्र सरकार को लौटाने है और फिर केन्द्र सरकार की योजना सफल नहीं हो पाती है। इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा हर 3 महीने के भीतर जितना रुपया आवंटित किया जाता है, उस रुपए के बारे में जांच होनी चाहिए कि वह खर्च हो रहा है या नहीं। इन सारी बातों को देखते हुए अगर काम-काज होगा तो मैं समझता हूँ

कि कोई बजह नहीं कि जनता पार्टी की सरकार आगे नहीं बढ़नी रहेगी।

जहां तक लॉ एण्ड आर्डर और सारी बातें कही जाती हैं, बहुत जगहों पर जान बूझ कर बढ़ा चढ़ा कर प्रचार किया जाता है और गह दी जाती है। ये इस तरह की बातें हैं जिससे जनता पार्टी की सरकार बदनाम हो...

**श्री रामानन्द यादव (बिहार) :** कौन बदनाम कर रहा है ?

**श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त :** बदनाम जो दूसरे हैं, जो कांग्रेस (आई०) के लोग हैं वे करते हैं।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** यह कौन करता है ? कांग्रेस का लेजिस्लेटर जेल गया था या जनता पार्टी का लेजिस्लेटर जेल गया था ? जनता पार्टी का विधायक आरक्षण के विरोध में जेल गया था।

**श्री रामलखन प्रसाद गुप्त :** जो ये सारी बातें होती हैं उसमें जहां भी प्रोबोकेशन की बात आती है निश्चित रूप से कांग्रेस (आई०) और सो०पी०आई०के लोग करते हैं और इस तरह से जनता पार्टी की सरकार को शांति-पूर्वक शासन चलाने में बाधा पहुंचाते हैं।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे अपने विचार रखने के लिए समय दिया।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Sourendra Bbattacharjee. There is hardly five-minutes time left for your group. You can take 10 minutes and finish,

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Five



minutes is the allotted time. You can take 10 minutes and finish.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA-CHARJEE: Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman. Actually, the Bill which is before the House is one which covers the entire gamut of governmental activity, or, one may say, the public activities as well as it is an occasion to examine the different aspects of -the Government policy in different fields. The task is very wide. It is an opportunity and at the same time a temptation to try to dilate on the various aspects of the Government policy over which one may have reservations, but, naturally, there is the constraint of time.

The question that comes up in regard to the first full-fledged Budget of the new Government is whether any new approach has been made by this Government which is about 14 month old—whether there has been a break from the past. Dr. Janki made a very fervent appeal not to talk of the preceding 30 years. But I do not know how a reference to the preceding 30 years can be avoided. The Budget that has been presented by the Government is naturally presented in the background of the economic edifice created over these 30 years. I know that a complete break from the past is not possible to be reflected in the Budget presented by the Finance Minister once the Government accepts the essential framework which worked for so many years—the essential capitalistic framework which has been in vogue in this country.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Syed Nizam-uddin) in the Chair]

If the new Government had taken up courage in both hands and decided to make a break from the past in the sense that it would have presented a blueprint for an economic social structure which would be primarily different, we might have been presented with a different picture. But that is not the case. It is essentially

a Budget framed within the capitalistic framework. In the Budget is reflected the question of priority in the rural sector. The allocation for the rural sector has been increased. But, who will benefit by that allocation? In this House, there is constant harping on the downtrodden, the neglected sections of the people, the weaker sections of the people, the Harijans etc. But, will it be honest to suggest that the allocation for the rural sector will benefit those down-trodden people, those who are exploited? Forty-two per cent allocation for the rural sector will actually benefit the agricultural rich and not the agricultural poor. In the paper which is the monthly organ of my party, RSP, a comment has been made "where apparently a greater accent has been given on agriculture, irrigation, roads, village industries etc But in the existing set-up of the rural economic structure, the major benefits of the increased outlay would go more to the rural rich and the kulak elements than to the landless workers and poor peasants." But this is given in paper which is committed to the ideal of Marxism which is perhaps an anathema to many. But the observation has stated that "it is only 14.6 per cent manner. The essential point is the same by one who at least does not claim himself to be a Marxist—Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. That is his point too, in a way. In an article in *Yojana* he has stated that "it is only 14.6 per cent of the peasants who have obtained the maximum gains from the new ideology by virtue of their owning and/or leasing about 61 per cent of the total area. Hence, whether it is in the industrial field or in the agricultural field, whether it is in the urban field or in the rural field, it is the rich who will benefit and the greater allocation will go to them." That is one aspect of it.

In the industrial sector, we hear of much restriction being imposed on the multinationals, the big industrial houses. But what is the figure ac-

[Shri Surendra Bbattacharjee]

tually? The figure is that the multinationals have increased their profits over the years. A particular company increased its profit from 113 per cent in 1975 to 320 per cent in 1977. Another company made profit of the same order. Side by side, they are diversifying their production beyond the limits sanctioned by the Government. They are going in for over-production, there is no restriction on their expansion beyond the authorised limits. What has happened in the case of the big monopoly houses in our country? It is accepted on all hands that there are 73 families, 73 big industrial houses, which are in the main control of the economy, and what is the actual position in this regard? Their assets have gone on increasing. Their assets in 1972 were of the order Rs. 4,223 crores, which in 1975 increased to Rs. 6,204 crores. There have been further increases, as would be revealed by the latest figures. Now nothing has been done to reverse this trend. Unless the concentration of wealth in the hands of the rich can be prevented with a change in the direction of the economy it will not be possible to solve the basic problem of poverty and the problem of violence as has discussed again and again in both the Houses and in the country at large. We have to tackle the basic problem of the economic and social violence that is inherent in the exploitative social system. Unless we do that, we would not be able to tackle the problem of sporadic-violence. The violence is another aspect of it. What do the instances prove? Wherever there are the exploited, the working class, the peasants, there are raising movements, and the arms of the law, the coercive machinery, come forward and act in a trigger happy manner. That is what has happened in Pantnagar, that is what has happened at Bailadilla, that is what has happened at Kanpur and that is what has happened in the latest example of Agra. Unless we are prepared

to stop the exploitative system to put an end to the basic violence it would not be possible on our part to tackle the problem of violence however much we may hold all-party meetings and however much we may express our best intentions to have a national consensus on these points. So, the moot point is whether a basic departure from the exploitative economic policy that has been pursued so long would be made or not. Now, the answer has been negative, to the contrary. That is what has been reflected in the Budget, the full-scale Budget, presented by the Janata Government,

(Time bell rings)

There are certain aspects which I would like to point out in a matter of a minute or two. Unless the interests of the workers and the interests of the peasants are protected—today there is a news item that a proposal, it is understood; has been endorsed in the Cabinet that the workers' right to strike and to collective bargaining through agitation should be taken away and that side by side there should be no question of declaring closer and illegal lock-out—and if these things go on, then what happened to the earlier regime may be repeated.

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

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTA CHARJEE: Comrade Surendra Mohan made a fevent appeal to all to sit together to find a way out of this morass. If that is to be done, it is necessary first that the basic approach has to be to determined whether what has been done during the last 30 years should be repeated or whether we should try to bring about a change in the social and economic system. That is the issue which is before the nation which is at stake. With these general observations, thank you.

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं बिहार से आता हूँ। बिहार एक मुख्यतः औद्योगिक प्रान्त बहुत बड़ा बन सकता है। लेकिन जिस तरह से केन्द्रीय सरकार बिहार के वित्तीय संकट को, बिहार की इंडस्ट्रीज को खराब करने का प्रयास कर रही है, और बिहार की जो उचित मांगें हैं उनको नहीं मान रही है, इस पर मैं थोड़ा सा आपके माध्यम से सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित कर देना चाहता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष जी, बिहार में आजकल बिजली की बड़ी कमी हो गई है। ऐसे बिजली की कमी तो यहां भी है लेकिन बिहार राज्य में बिजली की कमी इतनी अधिक हो गई है कि 6-6 घंटे तक हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल अंडर-टेकिंग बन्द हो जाती है। किसानों को बिजली नहीं मिल रही है। औद्योगिक प्रतिष्ठानों को बिजली नहीं मिल रही है। सरकारी दफ्तरों को नहीं मिल रही है, लोगों को नहीं मिल रही है। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि अनुभवहीन लोगों के हाथों में—केन्द्र का शासन है फिर भी कहूंगा क्योंकि यहां पर कुछ अनुभवहीन लोग हैं—लेकिन बिहार में अनुभवहीन लोगों के हाथ में शासन चले जाने के कारण आज शासन ठीक से नहीं हो रहा है जिसके कारण बिहार की आर्थिक प्रगति में रुकावट हो रही है।

बिहार में बिजली की इन्स्टाल्ड कैपेसिटी 750 मैगावाट है। लेकिन बिहार 250 मैगावाट ही बिजली पैदा कर पाता है। उस पर भी रात-दिन ये विभिन्न घटक जनता पार्टी के अपनी अपनी युनियनों बना कर बिजली घरों में कहीं स्ट्राइक करा रहे हैं, कहीं तोड़-फोड़ का काम कर रहे हैं, कहीं काम नहीं होने देते हैं, कहीं पीस-फुल घरना दे रहे हैं, कहीं गो-स्लो वाली पालिसी अडाप्ट कर रहे हैं और इस तरह से एक घटक दूसरे घटक को बदनाम करने के लिए काम कर रहा है। इस इंटरनल झगड़ों की वजह से बिहार की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत दयनीय होती जा रही

है। आज 6-6 घंटे तक बिहार में बिजली नहीं मिलती और भारत सरकार भी जहां तक प्लान अलोकेशन का सवाल है अधिक वित्तीय सहायता नहीं दी है। श्रीमन्, बिजली की सबसे अधिक खपत, सब से अधिक लोड बिहार राज्य में है क्योंकि हतिया का कारखाना, बोकारो का कारखाना, सारी माइन्स और फिर दूसरे जो औद्योगिक घंघे हैं, ये सारे वहां हैं और बंगाल से अधिक, उड़ीसा से अधिक और मेरा अपना खयाल है कि जैसे आंकड़ों के आधार पर लोग कहते हैं, बिहार में जितनी बिजली की खपत है उतनी किसी प्रान्त में नहीं है। फिर भी भारत सरकार रुपया अनुदान कम देती है, बिहार को बिजली के लिए अनुदान देती है तो वह बहुत कम देती है। क्यों? जितना पैसा बिहार में बिजली के लिए दिया गया है वह शायद लाइन बिछाने लायक में भी नहीं है। सारे मुलाजिमों को पैसा चुकाने में और इधर-उधर थोड़ा-बहुत लाइन बिछाने के लिए ही दिया जा सकेगा, उसी में खर्च हो जाता है। इसलिए मैं इनर्जी मिनिस्टर से अनुरोध करूंगा कि बिहार जहां सब से अधिक मैन-पावर है, सस्ती मैन-पावर है वह औद्योगिक दृष्टि से विकसित हो, उसकी आर्थिक हालत अच्छी हो, जहां पर कैपिटल इनकम बहुत ही कम है, जो बाढ़ और सूखा के कारण स्ट्राइकेशन के, अकाल के गाल में चला जाता है। आप उसको अधिक अनुदान केन्द्रीय मद से देने का कण्ट करें। तब बिहार की सरकार ठीक से चल सकेगी और औद्योगिक विकास कर सकेगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, बिहार राज्य में एक आंदोलन चल रहा है। बिहार सरकार ने नोकरीयों में पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए आरक्षण का प्रबन्ध किया है। ऐसे नोकरी उनको बहुत ही कम मिलती है, लेकिन जनता की सरकार ने आरक्षण की व्यवस्था पिछड़ी जातियों के लिए की है।

[श्री रमानन्द यादव]

नौकरी उनको अधिक नहीं मिलेगी, अधिक नहीं मिली लेकिन आत्म संतोष जरूर पिछड़ी जातियों में हुआ है। यह चीज उनके मन में आई है कि हम भी ऊंची जगहों पर पहुंच सकेंगे। हमें भी नौकरी मिल सकेगी। ऐसी व्यवस्था उनके लिये की गई है। लेकिन आज क्या हो रहा है? मुझे दुख होता है और अफसोस होता है जब मैं जनता पार्टी के घटक के भाइयों के मुंह से सुनता हूँ तो मुझे यह कहावत याद आ जाती है, जिस तरह से एक अंधा जा रहा है और साथ ही एक बहरा जा रहा है तो उस बहरे को बहरा ही दिखाई पड़ता है। इसी तरह से जनता पार्टी के विभिन्न घटक के एम०पी० और जो एम०एल०एज० हैं उनको केवल इन्दिरा गांधी ही दिखाई पड़ती है। 30 वर्ष का शासन ही दिखाई पड़ता है। जो थोड़ा बहुत विकास नहीं हुआ, जो काम नहीं हुआ वही उन्हें दिखाई पड़ता है। वह कभी आंखें खोल कर नहीं देखते कि उनके पिता जी के जमाने में उनके घर में कितने कमरे थे, कितने पेयर जूते थे, कितनी धोती, कितने पायजामे, कितने कुर्ते, टोपी थी। क्या होता था कि जब कभी किसी काम से परिवार के लोग बाहर जाया करते थे, न्यूते पर जाया करते थे एक ही कपड़े को परिवार के भिन्न भिन्न लोग उनको पहन कर, लेकर जाया करते थे। यह नहीं सोचते जनता पार्टी के लोग कि आजादी के पहले ऐसा भी जमाना था कि जब गांव में एक घर से दूसरे घर अग्नि ले जाते थे लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान का कोई ऐसा गांव नहीं होगा जिस घर में माचिस नहीं होगी। हम को ऐसा लगता है कि ये जनता पार्टी के घटक आंख मूंद कर वास्तविकता की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते हैं। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि विकास हुआ है और 30 वर्ष में गरीबों की आर्थिक हालत भी सुधरी है लेकिन जिस तरह से और जितनी उनकी हालत सुधरनी चाहिए थी वह नहीं

सुधरी बल्कि पूंजीपतियों के पैसों में बढ़ोतरी हुई है, मैं यह मानता हूँ। लेकिन यह कहना कि पिछले 30 वर्षों में कुछ नहीं हुआ है, इन्दिरा गांधी के शासन काल में कुछ नहीं हुआ यह गलत है। मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि आज बिहार में जो आरक्षण के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन चल रहा है चलाने वाले कौन हैं इस आन्दोलन को बिहार के मुख्य मंत्री श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर के विरुद्ध और जनता पार्टी के घटक के लोग हैं वे ही करा रहे हैं। इसके कारण आज स्थिति यह हो गई है कि पिछड़े वर्ग के लोगों में अन्दर ही अन्दर आग सुलग रही है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी, साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों, पृथक्-वादी तत्वों, रीजनल तत्वों को साथ लेकर के बिहार राज्य में सिविल वार कराना चाहती है। बड़ी जातियों और तथाकथित छोटी जातियों के बीच में गृह युद्ध कराना चाहती है। जिस तरह से आयरलैंड में प्रोटेस्टेंट और कैथोलिक में युद्ध हुआ है, जिस तरह से मुसलमानों और क्रिश्चनों में लेबानान में युद्ध हो रहा है, जिस तरह से कुछ वर्ष पहले हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान दो अलग-अलग देश अग्नेजों ने बनाए थे हिन्दुओं और मुसलमानों को लड़ा करके उसी तरह से यह जनता पार्टी के लोग आज पिछड़ी जातियों के प्रश्न को लेकर गांवों में गृह युद्ध कराना चाहते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि दूसरे लोग इन उपद्रवों को करवा रहे हैं। आपको इस बात का पता है कि हमारी पार्टी कांग्रेस (आई) का एक भी आदमी एरेस्ट नहीं हुआ है। कुछ लोगों ने पहले एक मीटिंग बुलाई, लेकिन बाद में जनता पार्टी के कुछ एम०पी० ने आरक्षण के पक्ष में दूसरी मीटिंग बुला दी। इस प्रकार से आरक्षण के पक्ष और विरोध में मीटिंगें बुलाई गईं। आप लोग इस बात को भी अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं कि कांग्रेस (आई) के लोगों ने इस तरह की कोई मीटिंग नहीं बुलाई है। लेकिन फिर भी ये लोग कांग्रेस (आई) पर दोषारोपण करते हैं और

वास्तविकता से भागते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि झूठी राजनीति से कोई भी सरकार अधिक दिनों तक नहीं चल सकती है। आगे आने वाला इतिहासकार निश्चित रूप से इन बातों को काले अक्षरों में लिखेगा। बिहार के अन्दर जातिवाद के नाम पर जो दंगे हो रहे हैं उसकी मिसाल इतिहास में नहीं है। वहाँ की सोसायटी सर्दव से एक कोहेसिव सोसायटी रही है। उस सोसायटी में कभी इस प्रकार का विगाड़ पैदा नहीं हुआ जैसा अब आपने पैदा कर दिया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जनता पार्टी का अगर कोई बड़ा अचीवमेंट होगा तो वह यही अचीवमेंट होगा कि उसने बिहार के अन्दर इस प्रकार की बुरी स्थिति पैदा कर दी। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर ने कौन-सा गुनाह किया है? सब लोग आरक्षण के पक्ष में हैं। सारे देश में ऊँची जाति के लोग भरे पड़े हैं। हमारे पिछड़ी जाति के लड़कों के लिए और हरिजनों के लड़कों के लिए आरक्षण का प्रबन्ध किया गया है, लेकिन उनका कोटा भरा नहीं जाता है। कोई न कोई बहाना करके हरिजनों को टाल दिया जाता है। जितने भी पब्लिक अन्डर टेकिंग हैं या जितनी भी सरकारी नौकरियाँ हैं उनमें पिछड़ी जातियों और हरिजनों के लड़के बहुत कम हैं। हरिजनों और पिछड़ी जातियों के लड़के एम० ए० और बी० ए० पास करके इधर उधर मारे मारे फिरते रहते हैं, उनको नौकरी नहीं मिल पाती है। लेकिन जो ब्राह्मण हैं, कायस्थ हैं या भूमिहार हैं, उनको नौकरी मिल जाती है। जितने भी ऊँचे पद हैं उनमें ऊँची जाति के लोग भरे हुए हैं। वे लोग अपनी जाति वालों को ही नौकरी पर रखते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि बड़े बड़े औद्योगिकों पर कितने हरिजन बैठे हुए हैं, कितने मुसलमान बैठे हुए हैं और कितने औद्योगिकों पर पिछड़ी जाति के लोग बैठे हुए हैं? सारी मशीनरी में बड़े बड़े पदों पर ऊँची जाति के लोग ही बैठे हुए हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि बिहार के अन्दर जो इनर-कॉम्प्लेक्ट पैदा

हो गया है उसको समाप्त किया जाना चाहिए। इसलिए मैं आपके माध्यम से जनता पार्टी के लोगों से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप पहले अपना घर सम्भालिये। अगर आप अपना घर नहीं सम्भालते हैं तो इसका सारा दोष आपका है। आप हमारे ऊपर दोष मत लगाइये। जनता पार्टी के नेता जहाँ भी जाते हैं। यही कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस (आई) के लोग देश में कॉन्फ्रंटेशन पैदा कर रहे हैं और इंदिरा जी कॉन्फ्रंटेशन पैदा कर रही हैं। आपको हर चीज में इंदिरा गांधी ही नजर आती हैं। आप क्यों चुपचाप बैठे हुए हैं। अगर आप में हिम्मत है तो उनको एरेस्ट कीजिये। क्यों आप अपने दोषों को छिपाते हैं? असल में कॉन्फ्रंटेशन हम पैदा नहीं कर रहे हैं। आप कॉन्फ्रंटेशन पैदा कर रहे हैं। आप ही लोगों ने देश में स्थान-स्थान पर गोलियाँ चलाई हैं। बँलाडीला में आपने गोली चलाई, पन्त नगर में आप ने गोली चलाई और दो तीन रोज पहले आगरा में भी आप लोगों ने ही गोली चलाई है। देश में दूसरे स्थानों पर भी आपकी सरकार की तरफ से अत्याचार किये गये हैं। इस देश की जनता इन बातों को बर्दास्त करने वाली नहीं है। लोग आज कहते हैं कि अगर अब चुनाव हो जाये तो यह सरकार एक दिन में खत्म हो सकती है। लेकिन आप में चुनाव कराने की हिम्मत नहीं है। आप पर तो यही कहावत चरितार्थ होती है कि "आये थे हरिभजन को ओटन लागे कपास"। आये तो जनता की सेवा करने के लिए थे, लेकिन आप ने उल्टे काम करने शुरू कर दिये। हम लोग तो विरोधी पक्ष में हैं। अगर आप गलत काम करेंगे तो हम आपकी नुकताचीनी करेंगे और डिमोन्स्ट्रेशन और एजीटेशन भी करेंगे। आपके गलत कामों को जनता के सामने लाएंगे और आप पर चँक लगाने की कोशिश करेंगे ताकि आप जनता की सेवा अच्छी तरह से कर सकें।

श्रीमन्, अन्त में बिहार के संबंध में कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। बिहार में आज

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

क्या स्थिति है, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। बिहार एक बहुत बड़ा खनिज पदार्थ पैदा करने वाला राज्य है लेकिन जैसा कि अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि जितने भी सारे हेड दफतर बिहार में होने चाहिए थे पब्लिक अन्डरटेकिंग्स के, प्राइवेट अन्डरटेकिंग्स के और माइन्स के, उन सब का या तो आफिस कलकत्ता में है या दिल्ली में है या बम्बई में है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार में प्रधान कार्यालय नहीं होने से 300 करोड़ रुपये रेवेन्यू के रूप में बिहार को मिलने चाहिए थे, वह उसे नहीं मिलते हैं। मैं इसका एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। शायद भारत सरकार ने यह निर्णय किया है कि भारत फटिलाइजर का दफतर जिसमें नामरूप फटिलाइजर, दुर्गापुर फटिलाइजर और वरीनी फटिलाइजर, . . .

श्री उपसभापति (श्री सयद निजामुद्दीन) : आप खत्म कीजिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इन तीनों को मिलाकर इनका हेड आफिस कायम किया जाये जो कि बिहार में हो। अब मुनते हैं कि बंगाल की सरकार ने बंगाल विधान सभा में एक रजोल्यूशन पास किया है, असेम्बली से पास किया है कि यह दफतर बंगाल में जाना चाहिए। अगर यह दफतर बिहार से बाहर चला जाता है, भारत फटिलाइजर का हेड आफिस—बंगाल में चला जाता है तो बिहार को 30 करोड़ रुपये की रेवेन्यू का हर साल लॉस होगा। स्टील अथारिटी आफ इंडिया का दफतर दिल्ली में है। भारत सरकार के मुलाजिम कांसपरेसी करके जो बिहार के दफतर हैं, जौ सेंट्रल अन्डरटेकिंग्स है, उनको बाहर ले जाते हैं। स्टील अथारिटी का दफतर दिल्ली में हो गया इससे हमारा रेवेन्यू मारा जायेगा और जुलोजिकल सर्वे आफ इंडिया का हेड आफिस कलकत्ता में है, रीजनल आफिस कलकत्ता में है। इसी प्रकार के

और भी आफिस अन्य प्रान्तों में हैं।  
(Time bell rings)

जुलोजिकल सर्वे आफ इंडिया का जो दफतर है उसके आफिस पटना से हटाकर बंगाल में ले जाने की व्यवस्था हो रही है। आज 10 दिनों से पिछली 27 तारीख से वहां के मुलाजिम, उस दफतर में काम करने वाले मुलाजिम स्ट्राइक पर हैं। वहां जमीन अजित कर ली गई है। यह जमीन चार साल से अजित है लेकिन यहां जो बड़े बड़े अफसर बैठे हैं—वह कांसपरेसी करते हैं और उसके लिये पैसा नहीं देते हैं कि यदि भवन बन जायेगा तो दफतर वहां रखना पड़ेगा। इसलिये वे पैसा नहीं दे रहे हैं। वहां के मुलाजिम स्ट्राइक पर हैं। तो बिहार को त्रितीय बंग से पंगु करने के लिये केन्द्रीय सरकार यह सब काम करने पर लगी हुई है। मैं सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप बिहार के मामले में जरा उदारता से काम लीजिये। हमारे पास रिसोर्स है। क्या आप चाहते हैं कि हम हड़ताल करें? हमारे यहां मिनरल पैदा होता है उसका फायदा उस स्टेट को दें। भारतीय कोकिंग कोल का दफतर वहां से बाहर न जाय। वहां के सारे दफतर या तो कलकत्ता में हैं, या दिल्ली में हैं या बम्बई में हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): Please conclude now. I will have to call the next speaker.

आप का टाइम हो गया।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इसलिये मैं सरकार से चाहूंगा कि जुलोजिकल सर्वे आफ इंडिया का जो हेड आफिस है उसे रांची में लाया जाये जिसको कि श्री करिया मुण्डा स्टेट मिनिस्टर ने भी स्वीकार किया है। क्योंकि अधिकांश मिनरल पदार्थ उड़ीस, बिहार और बंगाल में भी पैदा होते हैं, इसलिये इसका दफतर रांची, जो कि मध्य में है, में होना चाहिए। यह हमारी मांग है और हम

चाहेंगे कि कम से कम रोजनल आफिस यहां रखा जाये। मैं एक बात की तरफ...

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री सैयद निजामुद्दीन) :**  
आपका टाइम हो गया।

You can speak on another occasion. You can speak on the Finance Bill tomorrow. The Minister has to reply now.

फिर कभी मौका मिलेगा फिर अपनी बात कह दीजिए। अभी इस पर दूसरे मੈम्बरान को बोलना है।

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** तो इतना कहकर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा (बिहार) :** उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल जो हमारे सामने है, इसके जरिये जो पैसा मंत्रालयों को चराने के लिये, मंत्रालयों का काम बढ़ाने के लिये दिया जायेगा, उनका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन कुछ बातें हैं इस एप्रोप्रियेशन के सम्बन्ध में, जो मैं यहां पर रखना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं उन बातों के बारे में जहां मैं थोड़ा कहना चाहता हूँ वहां मैं इस बात को पहा कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी श्री जकारिया साहब का भाषण हुआ। वह भाषण नहीं था बल्कि मैं कहूंगा कि वह "स्वान सांग" था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ जब देश आजाद हुआ था उसके बाद कुछ निहित स्वार्थ वाले जो देश में जनींदार राजा-महाराजा थे उन लोगों से जब बातें होती थीं वे कहा करते थे कि एक जमाना था जब अंग्रेजों के राज्य में न्याय होता था, इन्साफ होता था, शासन होता था। यह धोती वाले क्या शासन करेंगे हल चलाने वाले क्या शासन चलाना जानेंगे। जनींदार और राजा-महाराजा स्वान-सांग गाया करते थे। हम नीजवान लोग बातें करते थे एक नयी दुनियाँ आ रही

है, नया इतिहास लिखा जा रहा है लेकिन यह लोग अपना स्वाग-सांग अपने गीत गाने में लगे रहते थे। दूसरा उदाहरण अमरीकी इतिहास का है। प्लेटिशन ओनर्स—लिकन ने आजादी की घोषणा इमैसीपेणन प्रोक्लेमेसन 18 63 में किया, उस घोषणा के बाद एक नया अत्र्याय, नया इतिहास शुरू हुआ। अमरीकी इतिहास में है कि जब प्लेटिशन ओनर्स बैठते थे तो स्वान सांग गाया करते थे कि एक जमाना था एक सभ्यता थी जब हम दक्षिण में रहा करते थे लेकिन उनकी सभ्यता चली गई। एक हवा के झोंके में अमरीकी सभ्यता चली गई। यह प्लेटिशन ओनर्स, यह हिन्दुस्तान के जनींदार और राजा-महाराजा आजादी के महत्व को क्या जानेंगे। आजादी के महत्व को समझने के लिये दूसरी आंख या तीसरी आंख की जरूरत होती है। उसी तरह की बात जकारिया साहब की है। वे भी यही कहते हैं पिछले तीस साल में क्या जमाना था। मैं उनसे कहना चाहूंगा कि 1977 में जो हिन्दुस्तान में क्रान्ति हुई वह दूसरा स्वराज्य था, दूसरी आजादी थी। जिस तरह सन् 1947 में पहली आजादी भारत को मिली थी, पहली आजादी को समझने के लिए जिस तरह दूसरी और तीसरी आंख की जरूरत थी उसी तरह जकारिया साहब 1977 में जो क्रान्ति हुई उसको समझने के लिए कुछ और आंखों की जरूरत है। यह जनता सरकार जो 1977 के बाद क्रान्ति के गर्भ से पैदा हुई, यह एक नये परिवर्तन के रास्ते की ओर है। मैं मानता हूँ तमाम सफलताएं हमें न मिलें, हमारी मंजिल दूर है लेकिन हम कदम सही दिशा में उठाने जा रहे हैं...

**श्री रामानन्द यादव :** आपकी कोई मंजिल नहीं है, झा साहब।

**श्री शिव चन्द्र झा :** राही को मत देखो राह को देखो, दिशा को देखो, हमारे मेजर ट्रेंड को देखो, कुछ खामियां हुईं, गलतियां

[श्री शिव चन्द्र झा]

हुई और उसके लिए इतिहास में क्या क्या परिवर्तन हम लाने जा रहे हैं। यह लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण की रहनुमाई के मातहत एक क्रान्ति के गर्भ से पैदा हुई हकूमत, यह सरकार क्या-क्या परिवर्तन लाने जा रही है। आप जरा इस पर गौर करें। अभी तक मैं स्वान-सांग के बारे में कह रहा था। अब मैं अत्रोप्रिणेशन बिल के मुत्तालिक आ रहा हूँ। जो पैसा उठाया जा रहा है और जो काम होंगे उनका मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो 66वीं आइटम रोजगार के बारे में है जिसके लिए यहां जिक्र हो चुका है, सुरेन्द्र मोहन जी ने बड़े जोर से कहा और दूसरे साथियों ने कहा। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ देश में इस समस्या को किस रूप में हल करने जा रहे हैं? क्या कोई क्रेश प्रोग्राम आपके पास है? आप ऐसी रूप रेखा बतावें, लघु उद्योग, कुटीर उद्योगों को रूरल एरियाज में हम लगाएंगे और बेकारी की समस्या को हटाएंगे। यह सब बात ठीक है लेकिन सब में समय लगता है।

इन सब कामों के पूरा करने में समय लगेगा वित्त मंत्री जी लेकिन देश मांग रहा है एक ऐसे कार्यक्रम को एक ऐसे प्रोग्राम को जिससे कि हमारे नौजवान जो बेकार हैं उनको सन् 78 में रोजी मिले। क्या आपके पास ऐसा कोई कार्यक्रम है ताकि क्रेश प्रोग्राम के रूप में उनकी बेकारी खत्म हो और उनको कोई काम मिले, रोजी मिले। यदि नहीं है तो मैं एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। दुनिया के इतिहास में बहुत से ऐसे प्रोग्राम अनइम्प्लाय-मेंट दूर करने के हैं मैं उनमें से केवल एक ही कि तरफ आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वह प्रोग्राम है सिविल कन्जरवेशन कोर। मोटे तौर पर उसे सी० सी० कैम्पस कहते हैं। एफ० डी० रूजवेल्ट ने इसे शुरू किया था। सन् 31 के डिप्रेशन में जब अमरीका में

वित्तीय संकट था और अमरीका एक संकट के कगार पर खड़ा था, राष्ट्र मर रहा था तो एफ० डी० आर० ने अपनी इस न्यू डील पालिसी के मातहत नौजवानों की रोजी के लिए सी० सी० कैम्प फार्मस चलाये। यह क्या था। कई इलाकों में कैम्पस बनाये जाते थे और जो बेकार नौजवान 18 से 25 साल तक के होते थे उनको बहाल किया जाता था सड़कें बनाने के लिए, बांध बनाने के लिए, जंगल में आग लगी हो तो उसको बुझाने के लिए और इसके अलावा दूसरे बिल्कुल मैन्युअल वर्क करने के लिए। उनको 30 डालर महीना दिया जाता था। उसमें से 25 डालर वे अपने उन परिवारों को भेज देते थे जो गरीबी के दिन गिन रहे थे। इस तरह से अमरीका के रूजवेल्ट ने सी० सी० कैम्पों को एक क्रेश प्रोग्राम शुरू किया। इससे तुरन्त पांच लाख नौजवान इम्प्लायड हुए। रूजवेल्ट के 100 दिन के शासन में पांच लाख नौजवानों को रोजी मिली। क्या आपके पास इस तरह की कोई योजना है? मैं अब हिन्दुस्तान के संदर्भ में इस बेरोजगारी को हटाने के लिए सुझाव देता हूँ कि कैसे क्रेश प्रोग्राम यहां पर लागू किये जा सकते हैं।

हर ब्लाक में मोटे तौर पर एक हजार नौजवानों को इसी तरह से 200 रुपये प्रति मास देकर सड़कें बनाने में, बांध बनाने में और इसके अलावा दूसरे कन्स्ट्रक्शन के रचनात्मक कार्यों में लगा दें। आप इस प्रकार का एक कार्यक्रम बनाइये। मैंने एक रफ हिसाब बिहार को सामने रखकर लगाया है। यदि हर ब्लाक में एक हजार आदमियों को तुरन्त काम पर बहाल किया जाय तो बिहार के 583 ब्लाक्स के लिए प्रति मास आपके 12-13 करोड़ रुपये लगेंगे। और इस हिसाब से सारे हिन्दुस्तान में अगर हम एक ब्लाक पर एक हजार आदमियों को बहाल कर उनमें सड़कें बनाने का, बांध बनाने का काम लेते



हैं तो इस पर मोटे तौर पर मेरे हिसाब से तीन से चार हजार करोड़ रुपया लगेगा। यदि सारे देश में एक फ्रेश प्रोग्राम तुरंत रोजी नौजवानों को देने के लिए बनाया जायगा तो उस पर तीन से चार हजार करोड़ रुपया लगेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह रुपया बहुत ज्यादा नहीं है। यदि आप इस एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल के जरिये 36,573.70 करोड़ रुपया उठा रहे हैं तो तीन या चार हजार करोड़ रुपया कोई बहुत बड़ी बात नहीं है। अब वित्त मंत्री जी पूछेंगे कि इतने पैसे कहां से आयेगे तो इसका एक तरीका तो वह है जिससे कि अब तक उठाया जाता रहा है लेकिन इसका एक दूसरा भी रास्ता है। इस संबंध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारत गरीब नहीं है परन्तु भारत की जनता गरीब है। उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कौन कहता है कि भारत गरीब है। यह जरूर है कि भारत की जनता गरीब है। और इस पर भी मैं यह कहूंगा कि भारत की जनता गरीब नहीं है बल्कि बनायी गयी है और पिछले 30 साल में बनायी गयी है। धन देश में है, दौलत देश में है फिर भी इस देश में लोग गरीब हैं, इस बात को मैं बाद में कहूंगा।

एक दो बातें एप्रोप्रियेशन के बारे में और हैं जिनके बारे में मैं कहना चाहूंगा। एक है आइटम नंबर 40 ओपियम और एल्कलाईड फ़ैक्टरीज। उस पर जो खर्च किया जाएगा, अपकीप पर—प्राहि-विशन की जो नीति अख्तियार की जाती है, उस पर—यह ठीक बात है। ओपियम का दवाइयों में प्रयोग होता है, यह मैं मानता हूँ। लेकिन इसको बढ़ावा देने की क्या जरूरत है, इसमें खर्च की क्या जरूरत है? पैसा इसमें क्यों लगा रहे हैं? इस आइटम में आप कटौती कर सकते हैं तो उस पर आप सोचें।

दूसरी बात, जो रीजनल और क्षेत्रीय असमानताएं हैं उसके बारे में कहना चाहूंगा। उधर से हमारे साथी ने और श्री रामलखन ने बिहार की चर्चा करते हुए एक बात कही है कि बिहार पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है, अविकसित है, इसको तुरन्त आगे बढ़ाने में कोई खास प्राविजन करते हैं कि नहीं ताकि औद्योगिक विकास के दृष्टिकोण से बिहार आगे आए? मैं जानना चाहता हूँ, यह पैसा जो आप उठाएंगे क्या इसकी वदौलत बिहार को ऊपर उठाने के लिए आप पैसा देंगे और कितना पैसा देंगे?

एक बात और है उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एटामिक इनर्जी के बारे में। मैं मानता हूँ एटामिक इनर्जी एक अहम ताकत है। भारत की नीति एटामिक इनर्जी का प्रयोग शांतिपूर्ण प्रयोजनों के लिए है और खेती में, दवा में भी इसका महत्व है। इसलिए इस पर भी पैसा खर्च होना चाहिए था। मैं मानता हूँ इसके लिए आप प्लान्ट्स लगा रहे हैं। बिहार उपजाऊ है, बिहार में वे सारे जो मैटीरियल्स हैं जिससे मजे में एटामिक प्लान्ट की स्थापना हो सकती है। इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो इस एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल से आप पैसा उठाते हैं क्या उस पैसे में बिहार में एटामिक प्लान्ट बनाने के लिए भी कोई योजना है।

आखिरी बात कह कर मैं खत्म कर देना चाहता हूँ। वित्त मंत्री कहेंगे कि पैसा कहां से आएगा? मैं सिर्फ पौइन्ट रख देना चाहता हूँ। ये आंकड़े हैं, 500 करोड़ रु० प्रति साल, पिछले 30 सालों में, कांस्पीक्युअस कंजम्शन जिस को कहते हैं उस पर खर्च होता आया है—उस पर आपने कितनी कटौती की? आप तो कटौती कर सकते हैं, 500 करोड़ रु० प्रति साल, आप इसे तुरन्त बंद करें। टैक्स इवेजन के आंकड़े है प्रो० काल्डार

के—200-300 करोड़ का टैक्स इवेजन होता है, कर चोरी होती है। इसको कितना रोका है? आप इसको रोक कर पैसा उठा सकते हैं।

अब आखिरी बात कहता हूँ। आमदनी की हदबंदी हमारे घोषणापत्र में, जनता पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणापत्र में था और 1 और 20 के अनुपात से हम आहिस्ता आहिस्ता 1 और 10 के अनुपात में जाएंगे—मिनिमम और मैक्सिमम आमदनी में। जब यह कदम हम उठाएंगे तो 1000 करोड़ रु० प्रति साल आएंगे, यह डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया का हिसाब है। 1500, 1800 और 2000 करोड़ रु० संपत्ति है, धन है, इन कार्यक्रमों को चलाने के लिए। इसलिए इस एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल में जो धन इकट्ठा किया जाएगा, इन सबों का मैं तहें-दिल से समर्थन करता लेकिन जो बातें मैंने उठाई हैं, जैसे बेकारी के लिए त्रेण प्रोग्राम, इन सब के बारे में धन की चिंता आप न करें।

अंत में एक बात फिर दुहरा कर बेट जाऊंगा। भारत गरीब नहीं है, भारत की जनता गरीब है और भारत की जनता भी गरीब नहीं है, भारत की जनता गरीब बनायी है उनकी पंच वर्षीय योजनाओं के चलते।

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Sir, I am indeed grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in the discussion on the Appropriation Bill. The

discussion and the comments have ranged over a very wide field and I have listened to whatever has been said with very great attention and I shall attempt to reply to some of the points, at least, the more important points that were made in the course of the discussion.

Shri Dinesh Goswami said that at present we are witnessing a spiralling inflation. I do not know from where Shri Dinesh Goswami got his facts. But it is quite obvious that he has chosen to ignore the facts. In the case of wholesale price index—and this is something which, I think all of us must recognise—there are certain ways by which we judge these things, and these are indices, the wholesale price index and the consumer price index. What goes into the making of these indices or the principles on which these indices are prepared were settled long ago and were not settled by this Government. And, if you look at them, then you will see that the wholesale price index, at the time when we presented the Budget, covering one year of the Janata rule, was exactly the same as when we assumed office. Does this not show that there has been no inflation at all? This has been recognised everywhere all over the world as a remarkable achievement. The hon. Members will also appreciate that even after the presentation of the Budget the wholesale price index has remained remarkably stable. The consumer price index remained steady at 3.30 points for October, November and December 1977. It fell to 3.25 points in January 1978 and further fell to 3.20 points in February 1978. All this surely indicates that the alarmist reports of price increases only represent stray instances resulting from local maldistribution or sudden unexpected short-term demands for some consumer items. What is important is the general trend of price level in our country and that has been, as I have said, remarkably stable.

Shri Surendra Mohanty referred to the accumulation of foreign exchange reserves and has asked the Government to spell out how these reserves would be utilised. The utilisation of foreign exchange reserves is not a matter of simple solution or any neat device. It involves certain basic changes in regard to our import policies as also stimulation of investment in our economy and we have attempted both these. The House is aware that the Government has taken very far reaching steps to liberalise imports and these steps have been widely welcomed in the country, in my Budget proposals I have also made substantial reduction in customs duty for this very purpose. The foreign exchange reserves, however, can be used only if investment goes on at a sustained and accelerated pace, both in the public sector and in the private sector. It has been my attempt to achieve precisely this through my Budget. I have proposed a Plan which involves major investments and I have also sought to create conditions which would stimulate investment in the private sector. I would, however, like to utter a word of caution. There has been a good deal of criticism that foreign exchange reserves have accumulated and the Government is not utilising them, I need not remind the hon. Members of the manner in which the sterling balances were liquidated in the years after Independence. For the first time now we have been able to accumulate a respectable foreign exchange reserve, which represents the value of eight to nine months of imports. We should not be under any delusion that these balances are enormous. They are just about reasonable and provide a cover, an insurance cover, against any untoward contingency that may arise in future. It is the Government's intention to utilise this reserve in a planned and purposeful way to modernise our economy and impart a powerful thrust to all-round economic growth. I may say that it is because we have these foreign exchange reserves that we can

think in terms of sustaining a deficit Budget of the magnitude that we have ventured to face.

Shri Shrikant Verma has accused me of frittering away the gold reserves of the country like an unworthy son. Perhaps the hon. Member has not appreciated the considerations of policy which has led the Government to embark on sale of gold from Government held stocks. The sale of gold is only one element in a package of measures designed to curb smuggling of gold. While we shall pursue other measures effectively against smugglers and foreign-exchange racketeers, we should also render it increasingly unprofitable for them to try and smuggle gold into the country, I must reiterate that the Government's intention in commencing gold sales is primarily to fight and to end the evil of gold smuggling. I am confident that through judicious programme of sales of gold, we shall succeed in checking the evil of gold smuggling. As you know, the first sale of gold will take place in India today when the tenders will be opened. I would request Shri Shrikant Verma to suspend his judgment till the results of our policy become visible.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA (Madhya Pradesh): That will be over. I do not understand your point.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I am sorry if you do not understand, it is my misfortune that I have not been able to clarify.

SHRI SHRIKANT VERMA: With all my journalistic experience of covering so many Finance Ministers for so many years. I do not understand your predictions that the country will become stronger and that the smuggling will be stopped.

SHRI H. M. PATEL; Has anybody ever proceeded to form a Budget by giving a guarantee? Budget is the formulation of policies, which policies proceed with certain assumptions and assuming further that if these assumptions work out, this will be the consequence. This is how *OUT* Budget is formed and this precisely means that I have proceeded on certain assumptions, which, to my mind, will work out. If they do not work out, you will be right and I will be wrong. But if they do work out, I hope you will certainly accept that my position was right.

Shri Piloo Mody has rightly referred to the "Serious distortions brought about in our economy and the accent on industrialisation in our plans and centralisation of decision-making powers. I entirely agree with him that the plan priorities need to be reoriented in favour of agriculture and rural development. Such reorientation would be facilitated if simultaneously we take steps to devolve suitable powers with matching resources on organisations at levels close to the people. The most competent administrative and technical personnel should be induced to take up the exciting tasks of rural development and the tendency for all talents to gravitate towards the Central and state capitals has to be curbed. At the same time, I would like to add that the Central Government would also need competent men to advise them on making policies, enabling it to provide directions and guidance to the State Governments and other field agencies. We need competent personnel for the discharge of both staff and line functions. Nothing is gained by under-estimating the significance of either of these functions. I might also clarify here that when we say that we are turning towards agriculture, it does not mean that we are neglecting industry. In fact, for the development of agriculture, a number of large-scale industries are also necessary. Just as the

emphasis on small-scale and cottage industries does not mean that we will have nothing to do with large-scale industries. How do you produce fertilisers? Fertilisers have to be produced in large organised industries. How do you produce power? Power generation requires large units, and so on. Take the case of cement and steel. These have to be in the large-scale set-up.

Some hon. Members have referred to the problem of regional disparities in development and have pleaded for effective steps to correct these disparities. Government are fully conscious of the problems posed by the uneven economic development of the different regions in the country and the need to evolve policies and programmes that would, over a period, mitigate these disparities. I hope it is realised that these disparities "were not created in the last fourteen months. They were there. They have developed over the years since Independence or even before and our aim should be to reduce such disparities to the maximum extent possible. Here, you can ask 'what steps are being taken?' We are taking steps. The awards of the successive Finance Commissions and the formula for distribution of Central assistance amongst the States for Plans have kept in view the need to achieve an even development and the need to extend a measure of special help to the villages and to the regions which are economically backward. The needs of States like Assam and other States in the North-Eastern Region, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Sikkim, are" treated as a first charge on the resources available for distribution amongst the States for their Plans and the balance alone is distributed amongst the other States according to the Gadgil formula. A lumpsum allocation has also been made for schemes to be implemented under the North-Eastern Regional Council. The outlay for schemes under the North-Eastern Region which was only Rs. 10

crores in 1974-75 has been stepped up to Rs. 35.85 crores in 1978-79. Keeping in view the need for industrialisation of the North-Eastern Region, we have provided funds for a number of projects like the Nowgong paper project, the Cachar paper project and the Bon-gaigaon refinery and petro-chemical project. At the same time, I am fully aware that the regional imbalances which are the result of decades of neglect cannot be redressed within a period of one or two plans. It is our firm conviction that our democratic way of life can be sustained only by ensuring that the benefits of economic development accrue to all parts of the country. In the new Plan, we are laying stress on the development of agriculture, village and small-scale industries, subsidiary occupations and allied services. We are confident that the backward States will be the principal beneficiaries of this new emphasis on agriculture and rural development.

One hon. Member mentioned that this emphasis on agriculture has always been there and that there is nothing new in this. When a reference was made that a greater allocation is being made to agriculture, it was questioned. To my mind, there is no need to question this. We are making larger allocations and there, undoubtedly, are problems which were neglected before. Why do we have the drinking water problem? Why is it that we have this problem? Why is it that, today, thousands of villages have no approach roads and during monsoon, for months, they are cut off from the market centres. These are signs, clear signs, of neglect which have to be repaired. It will take time, because, within our resources, we will proceed to see that these problems are tackled as speedily as possible.

One of the hon. Members, Shri Shrikant Verma, referred to the recent decision of the Government to increase the price of milk supplied by the Delhi Milk Scheme. I was glad to see that one hon. Member, Shri

Totu, said that he was surprised that there should be so much protest at this step and that there is no justification for subsidising Delhi, at the expense of the rest of the country. What is the justification for the Delhi citizens receiving milk at a price which is lower than any other metropolitan city? Even this increase which has been made would only mean that it would come in line with the price in Madras which was the lowest before. But the price is still lower than the price in the other metropolitan cities. I think this is something which should be realised and this is precisely the point referred to by Shri Totu. Delhi was being subsidised in the matter of milk. The loss for the current year is estimated at over Rs. 8 crores. Similarly, Delhi's road transport is again another item in which subsidy is being given. Losses were being incurred year after year; between Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 crores.

Where is the justification for 6 P.M. it? Why can't the tariff rates be brought in line with the rest of the country? This is the way in which one should work, not to subsidise. Efficiency; by all means bring in efficiency, management efficiency administration efficiency and see to it that there is no need for subsidy. There is no warrant whatsoever for it. Speaking as Finance Minister of a Central Government, I do maintain that such subsidisation is unwarranted and what is more, when these questions are put what is forgotten is that the urban consumers of milk want to have milk at a lower price than what the rural area producer can afford. If the rural area producer is to have a reasonable price, a price which enables him to increase the production of milk, then he must be given a proper price. There is no warrant whatsoever for the urban consumer insisting upon having his milk at lower price, which can only be managed if the rural, producer, of milk, one who is really concerned with it or who pays for it,

[Shri H. M. Patel].

gets the reasonable price. I think that is something which all hon. Members will readily concede.

One hon. Member Shri Dineph Goswami, complained that not enough was being done by the Agricultural Refinance and Development Corporation in the north-eastern region. In terms of figures which he showed as well as the figures which I have, I agree that it is, of course, true that the share of the north-eastern region in the total disbursement of the assistance by the ARDC is pretty small. But I was surprised that Shri Dinesh Goswami should have complained of this because the ARDC was not established during these 14 months. We are, however, endeavouring to raise the activities of the financial institutions and the banks in the relatively less backward regions of the country. I have myself gone to the north-eastern region a few months ago and impressed upon the banks operating in that region to do the maximum possible for the benefit of the people there. The State Governments also have to provide the necessary help in formulating schemes which may be financed by the bank and the co-operatives and for which money can be eventually found from the ARDC. Schemes have to come forward. Schemes have to be formulated. I wish to assure the hon. Members that the concern which hon. Shri Goswami has expressed is also our own concern and that we shall be taking effective measures to remove the regional imbalances and also to see that the banks and financial institutions provide services to the remotest part of the country. We have laid down specific targets for the banks. Some of these are already close to achievement. For instance, our target is that no community development block should remain unbanked by June 1978. At the end of December, 1976 there were 700 unbanked blocks. In the course of 1977 new branches were opened in these unbanked blocks and the number of unbanked blocks was brought down to 300. Nearly two-

thirds of the new branches opened during 1977 were in rural areas. Altogether 3348 new branches were opened in 1977. Of these, 2261 were in rural areas. Again, during 1977 and the first two months of the current year credit plans have been prepared for 200 additional districts, bringing the total number of districts for which such credit plans have been prepared to 375. There are only four districts in the lead bank scheme for which credit plans have not been completed as on the 1st April, 1978. The banks have been giving advances to the neglected sectors and thus for these have reached the figure of 27 per cent of the total advances. This is, of course, not adequate, but we have moved considerably forward in this direction and we have asked the banks to step up their efforts-" still further in this direction.

I think the hon. Member, Shri Sahu said that the levy on electricity will adversely affect industries like aluminium. In reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the Finance Bill, I had stated that I recognised the need for considering the cases of industries such as aluminium in which electricity forms a large part of the actual cost of production and the desirability of affording some relief so as to maintain the availability of essential products at reasonable prices and I said then that the question would be gone into at the earliest in consultation with the concerned Ministries in so far as industries such as aluminium etc. are concerned for which electricity is virtually a raw material.

Prof., Ranga and Shri Kadershah referred to the credit in the rural sector. I have already mentioned certain things. But I may add that further instructions have been issued to banks to ensure that 60 per cent of the deposits mobilised in rural areas should be lent in the same areas by 1979. The public sector banks' credit to agricultural small industries has risen to 27 per cent, as I said, and they have been advised to enlarge the flow to 33.1/3 per cent by March,

1979. The terms of agricultural lending have also been improved. Banks have been advised to grant direct individual loans upto Rs. 2,500 to small farmers at a maximum rate of 11 per cent. The rate of interest on term loans of not less than 3 years, which are given to farmers for minor irrigation and land development, will be at fixed rates and the maximum will be 10 per cent. As you know, considerable loans are also given at 4 per cent to backward and weaker sections in the rural areas.

Another point to which Shri Era Sezhiyan referred, is about the considerable delay in framing rules and executive instructions for the implementation of amendment to Section 4 of the Central Excise and Salt Act, 1944. There is no doubt at all that he is perfectly correct in saying that there has been delay. A delay of over two years had taken place by the time we came on the scene in framing rules under this Section. How this delay has occurred is some thing which I am going into. This question of delay was raised in the Public Accounts Committee . . .

SHRI ERA SEZHIYAN: Rs. 18 crores loss.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Undoubtedly. I am saying that this delay has occurred. How it has occurred, what led to it—I am going into it. It did take place, I am not denying it, and I think it is some thing which should not have happened.

Sir, I think I have covered all the important points. In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that in my Budget for the current year . . .

SHRI N. G. RANGA: What about the self-employed sector?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: There are so many questions. I do not think that I can answer all of them.

SHRI N. G. RANGA: But that is the most important.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I would like to emphasise that in my Budget for the current year, I have attempted to utilise the favourable economic situation in the country to set in motion a process of sustained increase in output and employment particularly in the rural sector. The programme of Government expenditure on investment is the key policy instrument that I have sought to use to attain this objective. Investment expenditure on infrastructure facilities is being stepped up steeply so that the bottleneck coming in the path of further sustained accelerated growth are removed and there is an improvement in the general economic climate of the country. I am aware that along with the allocations organisation and leadership are crucial for the achievement of these objectives. I think a point was rightly made that it is not enough just to provide money; that money must be well spent. I can assure the hon. Member who mentioned this that it is also our anxiety and we shall certainly do everything that we can to see that the larger allocations that have been made for new purposes will be well spent and not mis-spent and foolishly spent. Continuous monitoring is essential to see that the schemes are implemented effectively and according to the time-schedule. This is what we are organising at every stage. The basic task is so formidable that we will need the willing support, goodwill and co-operation of all sections of this House and, since they are all agreed that rural development is essential and vital and should be speeded up, I hope that that co-operation will be forthcoming from all sections of this House.

Thank you.

SHRI GURUDEV GUPTA (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, through you, may I ask the hon. Minister what his views are about the question of the nationalisation of the six banks whose depo-

[Shri Gurudev Gupta].

sits on 31st December, 1977 were more than Rs. 100 crores? I had mentioned about it in my speech yesterday. Will he be kind enough to take the House into confidence and say what he thinks about it?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): Would you like to say something?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I have no objection to answering this particular point, but actually it is not a question of my views. We have no intention to nationalise the private banks whose deposits have exceeded Rs. 50 crores. The 50 crore was not necessarily a limit set at the time when the banks were nationalised. That was, more or less, an *ad hoc* line drawn to say. Well, let us nationalise the banks which are the larger banks. And these banks which are nationalised continue to dominate the entire banking scene. The private banks, in spite of the fact that their deposits today exceed Rs. 50 crores, a number of them—do not hold the field much. Percentagewise, the field that they hold of the banking system is now less. It is the nationalised banks and the State Banks whose share in the banking system has gone up—probably over 80 per cent of something. (*Interruptions*) I am not prepared to answer all the things.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): The hon. Minister has already spoken about all the matters on which he wanted to speak. Now let us go on.

SHRI L. R. NAIK (Karnataka): It is a very important question. (*Interruptions*) May I ask the hon. Minister what provision he has made about

the advancement of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes and other sections who are socially and educationally backward? And why is it that the Budget fails to make any mention about this?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1978-79, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill. There are no amendments.

Clause 2 to 4 and the Schedule were added to the Bill,

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SYED NIZAM-UD-DIN): The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifteen minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 4th may, 1978.