

spell in the prison, he struck a deal with the then rulers and gained his release.

As soon as the Emergency ended, he made a fast one by the sale of his 'Judgement'. For him, Sir, story telling and selling draws heavy money. Like the chameleon he sports different colours and sells his hot cakes. Such men are not only dangerous, Sir, but in my estimation despicable. Sir, let not this House suffer insults from such a person. I have the total trust and complete confidence that this person will not be permitted such indulgences by you, Sir Sir, on behalf of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, to which I have the honour to belong, and on behalf of my leader, Dr. Kalaignar Karunanidhi, I record my protest and resentment about the ignoring of the Parliament in the manner in which I have referred to earlier in this statement.

THE INSOLVENCY LAW (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1978

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Presidency-towns Insolvency Act, 1909, and the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1920.

The question was put and the motion was adopted.

SHRI SHANTI BHUSHAN: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

श्री उपसभापति : सदन की कार्यवाही 2.15 बजे तक के लिये स्थगित की जाती है।

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

The House reassembled after lunch at twenty minute past two of the clock. Mr Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1978.79 GENERAL, DISCUSSION—contd.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND (Punjab): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, this is the first full-fledged Janata budget that is before us. Last time, the budget had to be presented soon after the victory of the Janata Party and the Finance Minister could hide behind the fact that he had no time to prepare a proper budget reflecting the policies of his party. Sir, now, there is no excuse of lack of time and what is revealed through this Janata budget is the ugly face of the Janata Party. All the distorting features, all the contortions, all the negative aspects of our economy that during the last 30 years have been accentuated through this budget.

Sir, the Prime Minister had been saying time and again that prices would be controlled by the time of the budget. He was telling us to wait till the budget when the things would be under control. But what do we find in this budget? We find that heavy burdens have been imposed on the common man—Rs. 499 crores through indirect taxation and Rs. 25.5 crores through direct taxation. And, Sir, despite all the tall promises and declarations about not resorting to deficit financing, which is an instrument of transferring resources from the poor to the rich and a subtle invisible loot, more than Rs. 1000/- worth of deficit financing has been resorted to. This opens up dangerous possibilities of inflation.

Sir, the budget is directed against the growth of the public sector and planned development of the economy. As you know, Sir, earlier preferential purchases from the public sector were stopped. Now whatever expenditure is planned for the public sector, 90 per cent of it is for on-going projects. So it is obvious that the Janata Government, which has a reactionary philosophy and outlook, is out to stultify the public sector.

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Then, Sir, the prices are bound to go up. And the prices have already gone up. Sir, the Finance Minister has performed a very fine finesse by talking in terms of percentages while presenting the budget, saying that on the basic duties, the levy will go up by 2 to 5 per cent and using such other phrases. Even the newspapers of that day, which went forward to publish the budget, could not come out with the fact the prices of essential commodities, excepting very few, would automatically go up because of the new duties imposed by the Finance Minister. Not only that, Sir, Shri Dandavate had a few days earlier presented the Railway Budget with a small surplus. But through the increase on power, increase on coal, increase on petrol, Shri Patel decided the fate of the Railway Budget also. The implication of this budget and that budget would be that the Railway Budget will also no longer remain a surplus budget.

Sir, certain things had been done earlier. There had been an increase in the levy price of sugar. Then tax exemptions had been given for taking over fixed units by the big business houses. And now further concessions have been given to the big business in a number of ways. The Janata Government's total reliance on the big business and the rural rich has been exposed through this budget. Ignoring the needs of the rural poor, the budget pampers the rural rich by allocating more finance for rural development, though it has not satisfied Shri Charan Singh, the great champion of the rural vested interests. No effort to develop the home market is there but there is reliance on export promotion for sustaining production inside the country. The working peoples' demands have to be appraised, we are told now, against the socio-economic realities of the country—that is, the needs of the distorted capitalist path of development which always imposes burdens on the poor.

Then, Sir, the Janata Government always talks of inheriting a bad budgetary situation and a bad economy. In certain aspects, the economy was bad. It continued to be bad throughout. It was worse still during the emergency. There were obvious distortions. And despite the emergency, in the last year of the emergency, the inflation had come up. These negative aspects were there and if serious effort had been made to improve these aspects I would have been in sympathy with the hon'ble Finance Minister. But there were certain positive aspects also. There was the grain stock from the last two good harvests which would have improved the financial position but these positive things were squandered away.

Sir, there was the Economic Survey presented a few days before the Budget. In that Economic Survey it was already said that capital is not co-operating with the Government. Private business is not coming forward with proper investment. But what did we find? We found that more and more concessions were being given to them by reduction in lending rates, by raising the estate duty and by various other means which I do not want to go into. And what do we find, Sir?

The consumer price index has gone up by 9 per cent. in the first nine months of the Janata Government—that was from April 1977 to December 1977—despite all the tall claims to bring down price rise in general, especially at the wholesale level. Inflation has not only been halted but new resurgence of inflation is round the corner because of what is revealed by this Budget.

Sir, the emergency had some horrible aspects. But it had some positive aspects too. For example, the drive against black money was there. According to Wanchoo Committee the black money was to the tune of Rs. 10,000 crores in 1970. Today it would be no less. Ever since the Janata

Government came in there was remarkable relaxation in regard to the action against blackmarketeers and smugglers in getting out black money.

Sr, nothing significant under the Janata Government for building up a proper public distribution system in rural areas has been done. Without that it is not possible at all to make any of the benefits for rural development reach the poor. The Kerala Government has already organised a network of rural distribution of essential commodities. The West Bengal Government is in the process of doing so but the Janata Government has not even touched the fringe of the problem. In most of the Janata-ruled States and in the Centre also we find all the distribution system is confined to the urban communities which has provided, to some extent, some relief which also is going to be wiped out because of the new fiscal policy.

We had huge food stocks at our disposal. We could have utilised them by organising some food-for-work plan. It was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in his days and, later on, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan also who used to talk of payment of wages in kind. Sometimes the Congress Government also resorted to this measure when there was famine or cyclone or some such thing. But now when the food stocks are lying there right from 1975 and the other day when a member of the Janata Party from our House raised the question also to dispose of this food stock before going forward with your new policy, I did say then and I want to submit now also that because of the lack of purchasing power of the common Indian according to our Indian economic statistics there are 20 crore of people out of a little more than 60 crores in this country whose daily earnings did not go beyond 25 paise. When such is the purchasing power of our people, there is no question of our stocks getting purchased. When such is the capacity of our people there is no

question of food stocks being liquidated in a proper manner even when they are rationed. They cannot be liquidated because under capitalism you do not recognise a human being. Whether it is hunger or anything else you only recognise one who has something in his pocket. You are inhuman to human misery. Therefore, Sir, I must say that if these food stocks were to be liquidated by providing such work which would be paid with food there was some possibility of its proper utilisation. But nothing of the sort is there.

Sir, there is Rs. 4,000 worth of foreign exchange. Last year the hon'ble Finance Minister came forward with a very illuminating proposal, that is, allowing the elite, the rich, luxury-loving people to import the coveted foreign watches under the plea that it would stop blackmarketing and smuggling in these watches. I do not want to dilate on this. The other day I said that there is more smuggling in digital watches, but the policy of the Government of India now is that if they are allowed to be imported, they can be sold at cheaper prices. Two years ago, a digital watch was selling at Rs. 2000, but now it is available for Rs. 400 or Rs. 500 only. Anyway, the precious foreign exchange was allowed to be squandered for allowing foreign watches to come in. Now, Sir, foreign gold is being invited. Foreign gold is being invited to mop up the money resources of the common man who covets gold because of his old notions. If gold purchases are allowed by the common Indian, what happens is that the resources are not available for further productive activity, the resources are blocked, the resources are only jammed, I would say. This is a funny proposal which had come up.

Then, Sir, I would go over to certain other features. You would bear with me. I have mixed up my notes. Now, is there anything being done by this Government to increase the purchasing power of the common man? For

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that, what is necessary is to resort to land reform. That is a thing aimed at giving land to the poor. Then, in order to help the poor people in the villages, what is necessary is to provide them with cheaper inputs for agricultural production. But is there any provision for cheaper inputs? Then, Sir, there could have been some steps taken to wipe out the rural indebtedness. The last regime, during the Emergency, while introducing many negative features, also introduced what is called the 20-point programme. This 20-point programme which was propagated with an over-enthusiastic crescendo is no longer heard of. But there were certain points of that programme relating to the rural poor, relating to the agricultural poor, relating to the rural indebtedness, relating to the house-sites for the Harijans which should have been taken over by any Government which was devoted to the welfare of the rural poor. But, Sir, we do not hear of any such steps of either wiping out the rural indebtedness or providing houses or house-sites for those who have no houses, or coming forward in a proper way with land reforms. There is no appreciable effort to wipe out illiteracy, especially in the rural side. Whatever may be the Government's dispensation for the benefit of the rural poor, their backwardness cannot be eradicated without literacy. Until and unless illiteracy is removed, until and unless cultural darkness is removed, until and unless consciousness is generated in the rural people, they would not be able to take help of the schemes which may be there directed towards their benefit. Most of the schemes are not directed towards their benefit. They are directed towards the benefit of the upper few the vested interests. I belong to a State which is called the State of the Green Revolution. But with the coming of the Green Revolution the income disparities have accentuated. It has created richness at one end and poverty at the other. Therefore, Sir, I was trying to locate

whether this Government which came into power on the promise of fulfilling the aspirations of the poor had taken any step in this regard or not.

Then, Sir, what is the common peasant interested in? He is interested in proper prices. Here, I will not refer to wheat and all that. Wheat will be coming into the market next month. The question of wheat prices has been dealt with in the past. I also took it up in the House earlier. But there are two cash crops which affect the producers in the villages very much. One of them is sugarcane. Now what is happening to sugarcane? Sugar levy price has been pushed up to the detriment of the sugar consumers. Regarding the sugar cane which was fixed to be sold at Rs. 13.50 P., the other day there was a lot of hulla baloo in the House, and the Hon. Minister was telling us that he had seen in Haryana that there was no distress sale of sugarcane. Now, Sir, the Irrigation Minister of Haryana, Shri Virender Singh in the Haryana Assembly is on record to say that sugarcane is not selling at Rs. 13.50 but at Rs. 9.50. Then, at Jagadri sugarcane was not being lifted even at Rs. 6 per quintal. And now the situation is that the Haryana Government, one of the two States which produce sugarcane in quite a big way, has come out that it is not possible for the Haryana State to take over 80 per cent of sugarcane production.

Then, I come to cotton, Sir. The Cotton Corporation was created. Now it is as it was in the last regime. To purchase the total produce of cotton produced in the country, at least Rs. 300 crores are required at the disposal of the Cotton Corporation, but even Rs. 30 crores would not be provided and that too the money would not be provided in time. The Cotton Corporation would alone enter the cotton market when through distress sale all the farmers who had no holding capacity to hold on, had already sold their cotton holdings. Even now, Sir, in the Sirsa, Fazilka and Abhor belt. Sirsa is in Haryana and Fazilka

and Abhor in Punjab and this is a great cotton producing belt—distress sale of cotton is going on.

I want to bring another interesting feature of the distress sale of cotton that was going on for many months to the notice of the House. The day before the demonitisation ordinance came, suddenly the cotton prices shoot up in Malout, Mukteswar, Fazilka, Sirsa and Abhor by more than a hundred rupees. Suddenly the cotton traders appeared in the *mandies* and also in the villages. The villages sold their cotton with great enthusiasm and gusto. On that day and even on the previous day they were all paid in 1,000/- rupee notes, and the poor cotton producers had to sell their notes the next day in the same *mandies* of Malout, Abhor and Sirsa to the *Sahukars* for Rs. 500 because a trader who had in his *arhat* books some balance pending, can very well claim that money. Then I am told that a relation of a dignitary of the Janata Party in Haryana, an illustrious son of the dignitary, went and purchased them at Rs. 700. You know, Sir, that since the Sanjay Gandhi's time, all the sons are illustrious. It is a phenomenon in our country. This is a big scandal. You go anywhere in Punjab and Haryana, this scandal you will find.

What I am saying is that this Government including the Home Minister, which is talking about the rural people, if it is at all interested in welfare of the rural people, should be interested in protecting the commercial products of the rural people.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV (Bihar): He is interested in the rich people.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: I am only saying about the rural people. I know that he is interested in the rural rich. I know that he is an agent of the vested interests. I do not want to repeat. There was

some unfortunate incident this morning. I am not taking him in that light.

If he had any anxiety about it, then, Sir, he should have seen to it that at least the cotton crops of the rural people get some adequate price. But, nothing has been done at all, Sir.

Now, Sir, we must realise what the situation is in the cities. This Government has been following a consistently anti-working class policy. The Home Minister has declared that he would no longer tolerate any 'gherao'. As a great Gandhian, does he not remember that there are peaceful 'gheraos' also? The other day I mentioned the case of the Kanpur Swadeshi Cotton Mills. From 1973, every time the workers, to get their wages, had to use, had to organise peaceful gheraos. They used to put up a table, a chair and the telephone link for the officers concerned and served them with sweets and water, and when they knew that they cannot go home, they took bank loan in a day or two and paid their wages. This dispensation came to power in the name of civil liberties and they have issued stern warning that there shall be no gherao. Now they say that there should be no strike. Last year we saw what happened in Faridabad, Sonapat and Ghaziabad. And we saw the culmination of the killings and massacre in Kanpur. And this year what do we find? There is a sardar who claims to be the leader of the sikh community. In this factory a strike has been organised. And shooting is resorted to by so-called guards. Then a complaint is lodged and the Haryana police is asked to investigate the antecedents of 13 of his guards. Three of them are found to be with the criminal record in the Ballabgarh police station. About the others, may be in other police stations there is some criminal record. Now, Sir, armed guards are provided to these looters who have been exploiting the unorganised, rural poor people around Delhi, who have

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been traditionally kept backward by the British in order to perpetuate their rule from olden times, through organisation and employment of gangsters with arms. I do not want to dilate on this.

The trade union rights of the workers are being questioned at every stage. The trade union Bill is yet to come, but what is in the air is that the basic right of organisation and recognition will be attacked in a subtle way by interesting the membership to 51 per cent for purposes of recognition. So, the working class is being attacked, the agricultural poor are being attacked and the rural producers are suffering. And what is happening to the weaker sections, especially the Harijans? It has come up in this House often enough. It was a Janata Party Chief Minister who declared the other day in Madhya Pradesh that as many as 105 people have been killed from April to December in his State. But the working class, the agricultural labour, the toiling people are not taking it lying down. The toiling people are much more determined to fight back this offensive. The toiling people know who their enemies are. The Janata 'hawa' has gone. What do we find from the election results in Andhra and Karnataka? Mr. Devraj Urs is on record as saying that because he implemented the rural progressive measures embodied in the 20-point programme he would win. He said at the time of the split in the Congress that whether the Congress remained together or split, whatever happened to it, because he stood by the Harijans because he stood by the minorities, because he stood by the backward classes he was going to win. And he did win. Then, Sir, in Andhra also there has been a cyclone, a new Cyclone nor the type of cyclone that Mr. Rajnarain envisaged when he shouted at them. What is that cyclone due to? I have no misgivings about the propensities of the lady as to what she may be 'p' to. Only this morning I

was reading the letter of Mr. D. P. Singh, a valued colleague of mine, who was promised a ticket by her. But because of the same caucus, because of the same reactionary forces which dominated during the Emergency, a very enlightened Member was....

श्री रामानन्द यादव : पार्टी का मामला बीच में क्यों लाते हैं ?

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: It is public property. It is public knowledge that the same caucus is still continuing. What I am saying is that this caucus is still operating. It is good that Mr. D. P. Singh, after consistent support to her, came out with the real face of this caucus which govern this lady and, according to him, pressurised her to nominate notorious reactionaries, ditching all the progressives. On what did she win? Who voted for her? How did she sweep Andhra? By showing the landlord-kulak-exploitor face not only of the Janata Party but also of the people inside the official Congress. I regret to say that. But it is a fact that those very people who stood....

श्री रामानन्द यादव : चूँकि हम लोग अपने कुलीन के विषय में झगड़ा नहीं करना चाहते, आपके लिए उचित नहीं था कि हमारी पार्टी के झगड़े को यहां लाते ।

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH ANAND: I will not dilate on this but I am only pointing out that despite all the negative propensities being there, the people have voted in a big way for her in the southern States. I am pointing out why the people have come forward in two States very distinctly and in the third State also quite significantly in favour of the lady, against whom all this shouting and denigrating competition was organised to an extent that people got bored to listen to the AIR or to see the TV. People have got fed up. They have come to believe, rightly or wrongly, that this is all motivated. I am not saying that

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I have come to believe so. I am not passing an opinion, though. I know that there is gross misuse of the media, grosser than ever before under conditions of non-Emergency. Now invisible controls are exercised. I know what is being done. When I am on this, I must point out that all the progressives who have been coming to the TV on various occasions are being phased out and their programmes are being cut. And the biggest example is the case of Mr. Kamleshwar of Bombay, whose Pankrama programme has won kudos from everywhere. He was a very devoted person and his was unique programme. Even he is forced to shift his job to Delhi and they want to throw him out. What I am trying to say is that in the situation that is there, where the masses are now alert, where the masses have recognised their enemies, where the masses can also be misled in a certain situation, in that situation, imposing of more burdens can lead to a real explosion. And there is simmering discontent within the Cabinet itself. Can you say that the Janata Party is a fully built party? Janata Party is yet to be formed. When they want to the polls, they said, Janata Party was yet to be formed. When they formed the Government, they said, Janata Party was yet to be built. Now, after eleven months it is yet to be a party. Human beings are delivered in nine months. Some species are delivered in ten months. But in this case even after eleven months Janata Party is not properly built up. It is not a properly built up party. I do not know whether it will ever be delivered at all as a whole party in future. Before that probably its past will be over. It may live to be a party with the smallest existence. There were many dynasties in India. Some existed for a long time, some for a short time. But this may happen to be a dynasty with the shortest period. (Time bell rings) I am trying to close. What I am trying to say is that this sort of a Budget, this sort of an attitude towards the multi-

national, will not help the country, will not help the poor people. The multi-national group that came—with Freeman—those people are internationally notorious operators. They are the people who subvert their Governments. You know what they did in Chile. So, the Janata Party promised many things to the people. But in every sphere the Janata Party is trying to go back on its promises. MISA. MISA now would be a permanent part of the Criminal Procedure Code. This is the liberty they are giving us. Even when Sardar Patel brought that measure, it was only for a limited period. Even if it had to be brought repeatedly, it was only for a limited period. But now what they are doing is in violation of the promised civil liberties. If the Janata Party Government continues to pursue the course—the way this Budget is formulated—the end of the Janata Party is round the corner. All of us who are loyal to our people, who are loyal to the democratic traditions, who want to preserve parliamentary democracy, who stand by the people of this country, we must unite and fight such measures. When I say this I talk of friends not only on this side of the House, but also friends on the other side of the House—those who are positioned in the opposition as also those who got themselves positioned somehow or other in the ruling party. They also say the time has come. It is happening in Bihar. The inside fight has now become an open fight. The Janata Party MLAs are having an open fight among themselves on wrong issues, wrong posters. It is for us to pose the correct issues; it is for us to show the correct path and fight the capitalist path of development; it is for us to fight for real structural changes, to ameliorate the conditions of our masses, to bring them up and bring forward a situation in which the thwarted march of Indian parliamentary democracy, the thwarted march of the Indian people towards their cherished goals, is again carried forward in a big way and our country reaches the goals which Bhagat Singh and other martyrs set

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before themselves when they went to the gallows.

श्री भीष्म नारायण सिंह (बिहार) :
उपसभापति जी, मेरा एक अनुरोध है कि जो वाद-विवाद चल रहा है उसका आज तीसरा दिन है और मेरे दल के केवल तीन सदस्य ही अब तक बोल पाये हैं। हमारा जो समय आपने निर्धारित किया है, हमारे दल का जो समय आपने निर्धारित किया है वह हमें मिलना चाहिये।

श्री उपसभापति : केवल आपके ही दल को नहीं अन्य दलों को भी काफी लम्बी लिस्ट है। मैं चाहता हूँ सभी को बोलने का अवसर मिले। आपका सुझाव भी ठीक है इसलिए कोई सीमा भाषणों पर लग जाए तो उचित है। माननीय सदस्य अगर सीमा के अन्दर रहें तो बहुत ज्यादा सदस्य बोल सकेंगे। मेरा आपसे यह निवेदन है।

श्री भीष्म नारायण सिंह : हमारे दल के केवल तीन ही सदस्य बोले हैं। परमों एक, कल दो और आज एक भी नहीं बोला है।

श्री उपसभापति : जब तक आपकी पार्टी संक्षेप में नहीं बोलेंगी तब तक सब को कैसे बुलवाया जा सकता है।

श्री भीष्म नारायण सिंह : हमारा समय तो बहुत बचा हुआ है।

श्री उपसभापति : 15 मिनट से ज्यादा कोई सदस्य समय न ले। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि उसके अन्दर-अन्दर बोलने की कोशिश करें।

DR. V. P. DUTT (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I hope this point taken up after my speech.

Sir, great many things have been said about the Budget—some lauda-

tory and some critical—and one would not like to repeat all those points. Still, one has to give one's own overall assessment of the Budget, no matter what others might have said.

One newspaper has described this Budget as an 'accountant's Budget'. There is no plan for development in it. There is no vision in it. There is no strategy of development in it. In fact, it can be described as a design of stagnation. Sir, I choose my words with utter responsibility. This Budget is an attempt to transfer resources from the unaffluent to the affluent.

I should like to bring to your notice the paradox of a kind which has hardly been witnessed in many other countries—a paradox on which the hon. Finance Minister ought to say something. We have huge foodstocks in the country. We have a massive foreign exchange reserve. We have a great deal of unutilised capacity. And yet the entire philosophy of this Budget is inflation for growth. This is the paradox that I would like the hon. Finance Minister to explain.

We have a foodgrains stock of about 20 million tonnes, or even more than that. By December 1977, our foreign exchange reserve had accumulated to Rs. 4,000 crores. And yet we find that the prices have been rising, that inflation has been gripping the country and the public sector investment, even in nominal terms, has been lagging behind the projected rate.

The hon. Finance Minister has not liked what I said and therefore he went away. Sir, I am sorry I am digressing a little. To my mind this is typical of the mentality of this Government. This Government does not care what people are saying or what the hon. Members of Parliament are saying. In fact, I would like to say that the hon. Finance Minister has hardly sat in this House. It is for you and other hon. Members to say

whether this is fair. But when you have this kind of wooden-headed bureaucrats heading the finances of the greatest financial institution of this country, namely, the Government of India, you can imagine what will be the situation.

Anyway, I am saying that we have 20 million tonnes of foodstocks and Rs. 4,000 crores of foreign exchange reserve. At the same time you find that the public sector investment is lagging behind the projected rate. The fixed capital formation for the private sector has also decelerated. In spite of all these, in spite of this comfortable foodstocks position, foreign exchange reserve and low investment, we have a situation of rising prices. During the last one year, the prices of food articles increased by eleven per cent and those of textiles also increased roughly at the same rate. In other words, the common man is paying more and more for the necessities of life. That is why I raise this point that there should be some explanation coming from the treasury benches. Why is this paradox being allowed to rule in the economy of the country? My own analysis, whatever analysis I can offer, is that this is because you are trying to find the easiest way out. You are leaving it only to the bank liquidity. Whenever the Government is in deficit, it goes to the banks to borrow money instead of trying to raise resources internally. Whenever the public institutions lag behind, they also go to the banks to borrow money and the private sector, the corporate sector, instead of raising resources internally through its internal savings, also goes to the banks and the other financial institutions in order to get liquidity, in order to get money. I think this is the major cause for the trouble. This, shall I say, financial indiscipline and this financial irregularity have been some of the major causes for the dilemma which I have pointed out.

There is another thing which I would like to point out. I would like to bring to the notice of the honourable Minister of State for Finance—at least he has shown his patience by being here all the time and, therefore, in appreciation, I would like to bring some of the points to his notice—that I am trying to identify many of the factors which are responsible for this inflation and for this inflation-for-growth philosophy which you have adopted and I am trying to point out that while there are stocks of cereals with the Government and while there are unutilised capacities, there are various essential commodities which have been in short supply like pulses and oil and one of the items which has registered a higher price rise is pulses. The prices of pulses increased by 67 per cent last year and the prices of fruits and vegetables also went up. So, even when you have a comfortable food stock, there are always some essential commodities which are in short supply and I would like to say that in such a situation what happens is that some essential consumer articles are exported. In fact, even in a period when the prices were rising rapidly, a number of essential commodities were exported in the name of earning foreign exchange and the export of sugar is one such example. I may point out here that an analysis made by the "Economic Times" Research Bureau suggests that the export of essential commodities may be forming or constituting as much as one-fourth of our total exports, one quarter of our total exports, and that too when the prices are rising in the country. This is something which, I think, ought to be taken note of.

Then, Sir, the Government has failed to bring about or build up an efficient machinery for public distribution in order to see that the essential goods and commodities reach the people promptly and at suitable prices, at reasonably controlled prices. We have heard a lot of talk about it.

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But, Sir, till date, no suitable machinery for public distribution has been built up in this country. I would like to say that one of the reasons for this is that powerful vested interests are involved and they do not allow you to build up such an efficient and such a necessary public distribution system because they are right within the coalition that is ruling the country and, Sir, it is like what the "London Times" put it very correctly:

"You have in India a Board, a Company's Board, which is ruling the country over which presides, the Chairman, not the Prime Minister."

So, Sir, I am identifying some 3 P.M. of the Factors that are responsible for this so-called new strategy that you have adopted, that is, the philosophy of inflation for growth. And there is no doubt that you have adopted strategy of inflation. Whether there will be growth or not—that is a different matter altogether. Of course, I need not remind the House that the two biggest warriors against deficit financing this country has known were the present Prime Minister and the present Finance Minister. But today they are adopting that philosophy. In fact, I would like to submit that the actual deficit would be much more than what has been indicated by the Budget, because while indicating the deficit of over Rs. 1000 crores you have not taken into account the additional burden of Rs. 80 crores on the Exchequer to sanction another instalment of dearness allowances to Central Government employees and the concessions given to the sugar industry. You have also excluded the loss of revenue from withdrawal of the tax on bank interest. All these have not been taken into account. Therefore, the actual deficit, I would say, would really be much more than what you have indicated in the Budget.

I was reading a speech by the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission in support of the new philosophy in which he described two blessings; foreign exchange reserve and foodstocks. For neither of these you can take the credit. And for one of them at least you will be dependent on the rain goods. Therefore, just to bank on these two blessings in order to adopt your present policy of inflation for growth may turn out to be not only dangerous for yourselves but also disastrous for the country. And therein he doubts that you have imposed what I would call savage taxation—savage taxation on the people. In fact, I would like to go as far as saying that it is the biggest assault on the consumer and on the common man ever made in post-independent India, because you have raised the prices of virtually everything—5 per cent surcharge on the basic excise on all items, even consumer goods, general excise on items not elsewhere specified raised from the present 2 per cent to 5 per cent, blanket 5 per cent increase in basic excise on all items that you say will yield Rs. 229 crores, levy on power generation, levy on coal. Now, all these will lead to a spiral in prices. Though you say that levy here is small or the levy there is marginal, the cumulative effect of these levies will be a general rise in prices, because the end-result would be that all these levies and all these imposts will be passed on to the people. You have departed from the policy that you said you would be adopting when the Jha Committee's Report comes in, and that is to reduce the burden of indirect taxation. On the other hand, you have gone in for such a heavy indirect taxation that has never been done in post-independent India. And on the other hand, instead of looking carefully into the question of direct taxation and reducing the burden, you have increased the burden for the common man. That is why I said that this has been a philosophy of transferring resources from the

unaffluent to the affluent. That is why I choose my words advisedly.

Then, Sir, I would like to point out to another very major danger point. That is the public debt. The Government is becoming more and more heavily indebted as a result of which there can be a danger of the Government going bankrupt. The outstanding public debt of the Central Government is going to rise by 4117 crores in 1978-79 against the estimated rise of 2550 crores. It will be a total debt of 29420 crores. It amounts to an increase of 60 per cent in the public debt in the next 3 or 4 years. Of course, the major portion of this is the internal debt. But there is also going to be an increase of 800 crores of rupees in the external debt. While I am on this external debt, I would like to ask why you go on borrowing from abroad when you have such bulging foreign exchange reserves. What is the need? It seems that there is a certain race and delight in competitiveness among the various departments of the Government as to who can borrow more from foreign sources. You have such huge resources. I was reading only yesterday or the day before yesterday that you are going to take huge loan for railway modernisation. You have all these massive foreign exchange reserves. And yet you are going on borrowing for everything from others and adding to the public debt. I say that if you do not examine this question of mounting public debt, both internal and external, before it is too late, the Government might collapse through bankruptcy. I am not saying that the Government will collapse. But I am pointing out the danger.

Sir, time is short. I would like to mention one or two other things which are important. I am talking about inflation because some of the hon. Members on the Treasury Benches do not seem to be convinced that

these levies will necessarily cause inflation. In fact, the Economic Department of the Ministry of Finance has said that they are confident that there is going to be no rise in prices. Of course, they do not seem to be reading the newspapers because the newspapers are reporting that the prices are already rising. Nor do they seem to go shopping in the markets. Otherwise they would know what is happening to the prices. I am taking the figures that are generally known to the economists in the economic language. The study of nearly 1650 public limited companies in the private corporate sector reveals that power and fuel expenditure accounts for 5.1 per cent of the total value of production and there is every likelihood that this additional levy will hike the cost of power for the industrial sector by another 1 to 1.5 per cent of the total value of production. Even high priority industries such as iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, etc. have not been left out from the purview of this levy. So the cost will find its way ultimately into the end prices charged from the consumer. I say today that within a year you will find the prices spiralling. Prices of all the things will be spiralling.

There are one or two other things which I would like to mention because the time is short. I welcome the idea and the notion that in a country like India, there should be emphasis on agricultural development. Nobody can disagree with that. In fact, in this House, many of us, year after year, whether in the previous Government or this Government, have said that in a country like India, education, technology, industry and the whole complex of development must be taken to the villages and made relevant to the needs of the villagers. But I would like to add that it is totally a mechanical, artificial and wholly fallacious discrimination that is being made between industrial development and agricultural development. The two are absolutely inter-twined and

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inter-related. Can you have any industrial development in the country if agricultural development does not go forward? Conversely also, please tell me whether there can be any real agricultural development in the country if there is no industrial development. Last year, industrial development slumped by ten per cent or more. There has to be integrated industrial and agricultural development. Only then can we tackle the problem of unemployment, the problem of poverty. But I do not see any design for that kind of integrated industrial and agricultural development.

Then, Sir, I would like to say—though some of my friends on that side will disagree with me—purely as a student of the Indian society: Can you take Indian agriculture as one harmonious unit? What do you mean when you say that you are going to help the farmer. Certainly the first question that will arise is: Which farmer? I do not agree with the view, I do not agree in the sense that all that we have read about the Indian society goes against what is being said, that in the countryside there is only one kind of peasantry. I say, and it has also been pointed out by another colleague of mine, that no re-structuring of the Indian society is possible without land reforms. Some land reforms have taken place. But that is not enough. They have not been thorough-going. And unless you break this socio-economic domination of the rich farmer over the poorer sections of the peasantry, it will not be possible for you to achieve the breakthrough in agricultural development. That does not mean that you should not put money into agriculture. Surely you can put. But certainly you must also look into and try to change the institutional bottlenecks, the institutional operations that are taking place in our society. (*Time bell rings*). Therefore, I would say that your whole Budget has left the surging incomes in the countryside totally out of purview. There is no effort to take

whatever little money there is from those sections of the agricultural community who are capable of paying and who have money. And you are giving concessions there. So, you will be accentuating all the problems that you are having now in Bihar, in Uttar Pradesh and in the urban areas. Therefore, you are promoting the inequalities in the country-side through this strategy. You will not be able to meet the problems in the cities, but you will be promoting inequalities in the countryside through this policy. And the philosophy seems to be that the urban rich can pay as little or should pay as little as possible and the rural rich need not pay anything at all. I say, you take from those who are able to pay. And your whole budgetary, financial, economic, institutional policy should be such as to take from those who are capable of paying for the development of those who are not capable of paying, namely the agricultural labourers, the Harijans and other weaker sections, the urban poor and so on and so forth. Finally, I would say that it is asking for the moon from the present Government. I am sorry to say this because the first function of a Government is to govern. And, unfortunately, the Janata coalition is not able to govern. There is disastrous deterioration of law and order. There is increasing oppression against the working class. There is no effort to promote harmonious industrial relations. There is increasing oppression on the agricultural labour and on the Harijans and other weaker classes. Unless you begin to pay attention to these fundamental problems of re-structuring the Indian society, you are only tinkering with the problem and promoting capitalism under the sign-board of socialism. But, I am happy to note that our hon. Finance Minister that way is frank enough to say that he is not a socialist and he does not believe in this nonsense. Thank you, Sir.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : उपसभापति जी,
मैं इस बजट का विरोध करता हूँ। यह

वर्णशंकर बजट है। चूंकि विभिन्न घटकों ने मिल कर इस बजट को तैयार किया है— वह एक पार्टी का तो बजट नहीं है, यह अनेक पार्टियों का बजट है इसलिये मैं इस बजट को वर्णशंकर बजट कहता हूं और यह बजट सोसाइटी के हर तबके को टैक्स करता है, छूता है जिसमें आज सारा समाज प्रभावित हो गया है। लेकिन यह बजट अधिक तो पूंजीपतियों के पक्ष में है और मध्यम वर्ग और गरिब तबके के पक्ष में कम है। यह बजट आम जनता पर बहुत भारी बोझ हो गया है। इस बजट से धना सेठों और औद्योगिक पूंजीपतियों को बड़ी सुविधाएं मिली हैं। इस बजट से मुद्रास्फीति होगी। यह बजट पब्लिक सेक्टर के खिलाफ है और इस देश में योजनाबद्ध औद्योगिक विकास का भी यह बजट विरोधी है। इस बजट से यह झलकता है कि उद्योगपतियों को राहत देने के बजाय उन्हें उत्पीड़ित करने के लिये यह लाया गया है। मैं बता देना चाहता हूं कि किस तरह से यह बजट पूंजीपतियों के हक में है। धनिकों को इसने आधकर में बड़ी छूट दी है। इसने पूंजी निवेश में भी छूट दी है। धनगणों को सस्ती दर पर ऋण दिलाने की राह में व्यवस्था की है और उनको बैंकों के व्याज में सुविधा दी है। इसने बड़े पूंजीपतियों को अनेक रियायत दी हैं। स्टेट ब्यूटी में भी धनगणों को इसने बड़ी छूट दी है। चीनी मिल के जो बड़े मिल मालिक हैं उन को भी इसके द्वारा छूट दी गई है और गांव का जो धनिक वर्ग है, जो भूस्वामी है, जो जमीन वाले हैं, जिसने सदियों से उस देश के गरीब तबके को, जो देश की आबादी का 45 से लेकर 55 प्रतिशत हिस्सा है, पीड़ित किया है, उसको भी इसमें बढ़ावा दिया गया है। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि इस बजट में किस तरह से यह व्यवस्था की गई है कि जो देश में रहने वाला धनिक वर्ग है वह गरीब तबके का शोषण करे। पहले भी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं बनी थी। उनमें जितना पैसा खर्च हुआ उसका एक

अंश भी, या अंश का अंश भी गांव के गरीब लोगों पर खर्च नहीं हुआ। गांव का खेतिहर मजदूर जो अपना श्रम बेच कर अपनी जीविका निर्वाह करता है, गांव का वह छोटा किसान जिसके पास एक या डेढ़ एकड़ जमीन है, जो उसको जोतता है और बाकी समय में मजदूरी करके अपनी जीविका निर्वाह करता है, गांव का वह कारीगर जिसमें जुलाहे, बढ़ई, कुम्हार, लोहार आते हैं। गांव का जुलाहा भी वह गरीब तबका है जिसके ऊपर कुछ खर्च नहीं हुआ है। इस बजट में जो कृषि के लिए पैसा एलोकेट किया गया है, वह पैसा गरीब के पास नहीं जायेगा।

उपसभापति जी, आपने देखा कि हरित क्रान्ति में सरकार से जो पैसा मिला, जो सुविधाएं मिलीं, वे बड़े किसानों ने लीं। बड़े किसानों ने ट्रैक्टर, ट्यूबवैल से अपना फायदा उठाया, सड़कें बनीं, उसने अपने कच्चे माल को मण्डियों में ले जाने की व्यवस्था की, फर्टिलाइजर में उसको रिमिशन मिला, छूट मिली, कर्जा मिला, दूसरी तरह की और सुविधाएं मिलीं। लेकिन गांव का वह गरीब आदमी जो खेतिहर है, जो कम जमीन वाला है, जो पिछड़ी जाति का है, हरिजन है, जुलाहा है, कारीगर है, इनको तो कुछ नहीं मिला। उनकी क्या हालत है? क्या इस सरकार ने देखा कि अभी जो रुपया एलोकेट किया गया है एग्रीकल्चर पर 17 अरब 54 करोड़ रुपया दिया गया है, यह सारे का सारा रुपया इसलिये दिया गया है कि गांव की माली हालत ठीक की जाये और दूसरे गांव के लोगों को एम्पलायमेंट दिया जाये। यह गांव के जमीन वाले लोग 17 अरब 54 करोड़ रुपया जो है स्वयं खा जायेंगे जैसे कि पहले हरित क्रान्ति में जो सुविधाएं मिलीं, इन्हीं के पास गईं क्योंकि जो पैसा हरित क्रान्ति के माध्यम से, पंचवर्षीय योजना के माध्यम से, रूरल डिवेलपमेंट पर खर्च हुआ वह इन्हीं शक्तिशाली वर्ग

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के पास गया। गांव के भू-स्वामी के पास आज भी उस गरीब तबके को दबाने की क्षमता है।

तो मैं कहूंगा कि जो बड़े-बड़े रूरल इकानमी के जानने वाले हैं, उनका कहना है कि जब तक कि गांव के गरीब आदमी की माली हालत नहीं सुधरेगी, उसका कल्याण नहीं होगा। जब तक आप लैण्ड रिफार्म्स नहीं करेंगे तब तक आप गांव के गरीब आदमी को राहत नहीं दे सकेंगे और न दे पाए हैं। पिछले दिनों बटाईदारी बिल पास हुआ। गांव की पडनी जमीन गरीबों में, गांव के लैण्डलेस लोगों में, भूमिहीन में बन्दीबस्त करने की बात आई। मावली एक्ट बना बिहार में और होम स्टेट एक्ट बना, कर्ज माफी का कानून बना, कर्ज देने के लिये रुपया देने की बात हुई, अनेकों कानून बने। लैण्ड सीलिंग किसी-किसी प्रांत में बना। लेकिन उससे क्या हुआ? क्या जमीन की बटाईदारी एक्ट पास हो जाने से गरीब को कुछ राहत मिली? नहीं। लैण्ड सीलिंग पास हो जाने से क्या जमीन मिली, नहीं मिली। कर्ज माफी की। 20-वाइंट प्रोग्राम के अन्दर श्रीमती गांधी ने सबसे पहले कोशिश की कि 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के माध्यम से जो गरीब तबका देहात का है, उसको कुछ राहत पहुंच जाय। कौन इस बात से इन्कार करेगा कि 20-सूत्री कार्यक्रम के दस मद्दे ऐसे थे जो गांव के इन गरीब तबकों को छूने थे। आज यही कारण है कि आप वह गरीब की मसीहा बनी हुई है। तो जब तक आप भूमि सुधार नहीं करेंगे तब तक गांव की जो समस्या है, वह नहीं सुलझेगी। आज प्लैनिंग कमीशन के मेम्बरान कहते हैं कि जरूरत इस बात की है कि गांव का जो खेतिहर मजदूर है, उसको संगठित किया जाए। आज जो अन-आर्गनाइज्ड लेबर है उसको संगठित करने की जरूरत है। अगर सचमुच आपके दिल में उनके प्रति कुछ नरमी है, उसकी हालत आप ठीक करना चाहते हैं तो

आप उनके संगठन में योगदान दें। विभिन्न पार्टियों की जो संस्थायें हैं उन को आर्गनाइज करना चाहते हैं तो दक्कन राजनीति से ऊपर उनको मदद करने की कोशिश कीजिए। आज उनके पास घर नहीं है। कर्ज के बोझ से वह दबा हुआ है। अशिक्षित है और कुरीतियों से वह ग्रसित है। एक बोधा तक जमीन उसके पास नहीं जिस पर वह खेती कर सके। गांव का वह बंधुआ लेबर है। सरकार ने उसकी न्यूनतम मजदूरी भी तय नहीं की। जहां-जहां भी प्रांतों में कांग्रेस की सरकार थी, हम लोगों ने कोशिश की कि न्यूनतम मजदूरी तय की जाए। सब को मजदूरी बढ़ गई। प्रोफेसर साहब की बढ़ गई, सरकारी मुताजिमों की बढ़ गई, दफ्तरों में काम करने वालों की बढ़ गई चाहे वह केन्द्रीय कर्मचारी हों या प्रांतों के कर्मचारी हों। उनके लिए पे-कमीशन बन गये। उन सब की तनख्वाह बढ़ गई, कहां से कहां चली गई। शिक्षक की बढ़ गई और प्रायः हर मुताजिम की बढ़ गई, हर चीज तो कीमत बढ़ गई लेकिन गांव के किसानों की, जमीन के मजदूर की कीमत नहीं बढ़ी। क्यों नहीं बढ़ी? क्योंकि वह संगठित नहीं है। इसलिए उसकी मजदूरी नहीं बढ़ी। आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि जो आदमी हज को मूठ पकड़ कर खेती की छानो को चोरता है, अन्न पैदा करता है उसको कीमत बढ़े। आप बैठे-बैठे खाते हैं। अगर आपका उसकी माली हालत ठीक करनी है तो उन और सोचिये वरना आप समझिये कि आप अन्याय करेंगे तो इस देश में वह भ्रष्टाचार कान्ति होगी, हिंसक कान्ति होगी जिसको आप नहीं रोक सकेंगे। हमने देखा है कि बंगाल में, बंगाल में, बिहार में देखा कि किस तरह से गरीब तबके के तोजवान अपनी आर्थिक दशा सुधारने के लिए जान देने और जान लेने के लिए कटिबद्ध हो रहे हैं। इसलिए अगर आप खेती करने वालों की

हालत नहीं सुधारेंगे तो कुछ होने वाला नहीं है।

इसलिए मैं सरकार से अपील करूंगा कि इस ओर सोचें। इस सरकार में तो राजे-महाराजे हैं, पूंजीपति हैं, आई० सी० एस० अफसर हैं। उन्होंने ही यह बजट बनाया है। उनको क्या मालूम गांव की हालत का। वह तो चांदी के चम्मच से सोने की कटोरी में शुद्ध गाय का दूध पधु डालकर पीने वाले लोग हैं, गरीबों की हालत को वह क्या जानें। इसलिए जरूरत है कि लैण्ड रिफार्म कीजिए। भूमि का बटवारा कीजिए। जिसके पास अधिक जमीन है उसको निकालिये। इस देश में 3 करोड़ 80 लाख हेक्टेयर जमीन ऐसी है जो खेती करने लायक है। उस जमीन में आपको मालूम होना चाहिए कि 29 परसेंट लोगों का कब्जा है। समूची जमीन 3 परसेंट लोगों के कब्जे में है। आप लैण्ड सीलिंग के अन्तर्जमीन निकाल कर इन गरीबों में बांटिये।

दूसरी बात हिन्दी के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं। हिन्दी पर पहले बजट में जितना पैसा दिया गया था उतना पैसा आज बजट में नहीं है। हम किसी भाषा के विरोधी नहीं हैं, लेकिन हम देख रहे हैं कि किस तरह से हिन्दी भाषा के प्रचार में सरकार पैसा खर्च नहीं कर रही है। हम लोगों को बहुत तकलीफ होती है यह देख कर कि जो भाषा संपर्क भाषा बन सकती है उस पर पैसे खर्च होने चाहिए, वह नहीं हो रहे हैं। हम लोग प्रश्न पूछते हैं हिन्दी में तो मंत्री अंग्रेजी में जवाब देने की कोशिश करते हैं। मैं प्रपने उन भाइयों को भी कहूंगा कि हमको आपकी भाषा से विरोध नहीं है। हम जानते हैं

SHRI U. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): You can plead for spending money on all languages, not merely on Hindi.

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि भाषा, कोई भी भारतीय

बोले तो मुझे खुशी होती है कि कम से कम वह आदमी अपनी भाषा में तो बोलता है लेकिन जब वह अंग्रेजी बोलने लगता है तो मेरा मन दुखने लगता है। मैं चाहता हूं कि आप अपनी भाषा में बोलिये। तामिल में मलयालम में, बंगला में कन्नड़ में, उड़िसा में बोलिये। जब आप अंग्रेजी में गिट-पिट करने लगते हैं तो हमारी समझ में नहीं आता।

SHRI N. G. RANGA (Andhra Pradesh): You follow the Hindi translation. Don't bring in the language question here.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: I am not bringing in the language question here. But I have the right to say what I feel.

SHRI SHRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI (Assam): People want bread and butter. They are not interested in language. Don't deceive the people.

SHRI RAMANAND YADAV: You are deceiving more. You hear me first. I am not disturbing you.

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप समाप्त करिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : मैं किसी भाषा का विरोधी नहीं। मैं चाहता हूं कि सब भाषाएं पनपें। मुझे खुशी हुई जब मैं दक्षिण भारत गया और मैंने पाया कि वहां के लोग तो मेरी भाषा समझ लेते थे लेकिन मैं उनकी भाषा नहीं समझ सकता था। मेरा यह कहना है कि हमारे यहां उनकी भाषा सिखाने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। उनकी एक भाषा जरूर उत्तर भारत में सिखाने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये ताकि हम उनकी बात समझ सकें।

श्री श्रीमन प्रफुल्ल गोस्वामी : लैंग्वेज की बात भूल जाओ बजट की बात करो।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : अगली बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि बिहार में, उत्तर प्रदेश में,

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

तमिल नाडु में, महाराष्ट्र में, गुजरात में शूगर मिलें हैं। वहां पर कृषक हैं और काफी केन ग्राउंस हैं। मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि आज की यह सरकार उन किसानों की तरफ और चीजें पैदा करने वालों की तरफ नहीं देखती, बल्कि मिल वालों की तरफ ध्यान देती है। सब से पहले मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि इस सरकार ने चीनी का दाम बढ़ा दिया और ईख का दाम, स्टेट्युटरी प्राइस जो तय हुई थी, वह उन्हें नहीं मिल रही है। जब यह कहा जाता है कि मिल वालों से यह पैसा दिलवाइये तो बगलें झांकने लगते हैं, बात करना छोड़ते हैं। इसी के कारण मिल वालों को, जैसा कि अभी पीछे सदन में बताया गया था कि 10 करोड़ रुपये का फायदा हुआ। इन मिलों को बैंक गारंटी देता है, तरह-तरह के लोन देता है, लेकिन किसानों को मिल वाले केवल पांच रुपये क्विंटल दे रहे हैं जब कि गुड़ का दाम 40 रुपये क्विंटल हो गया है। गांव का जो किसान है, ईख पैदा करता है उसी से वह अपनी जीविका चलाता है, उसी से अपने बच्चों का पेट पालता है, लड़कों की पढ़ाई कराता है। आज केन ग्राउंस की स्थिति बड़ी दयनीय है। आज दो करोड़ रुपये यू० पी० में मिल वालों के पास है, लेकिन किसानों को उनका पैसा दिलाने की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। बिहार में मिल वालों के पास एक करोड़ रुपये हैं लेकिन वहां भी किसानों को दिलाने के लिये कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। मैं समझता हूं यह सरकार पूंजीपतियों की है।

अंतिम बात मैं डिफेंस के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। आज डिफेंस की हालत क्या है आप सब जानते हैं। मुझे दुःख है कि हम लोग देश के लिये लड़े हैं देश की आजादी के लिये हम जेल गये हैं और यह देश वर्षों तक ब्रिटिश की सत्तनन में कराहता रहा है आज उस देश की आजादी को खतरे में डाला जा रहा है। मैं नहीं चाहता कि

आजादी को खतरे में डाला जाए। जब कोई कहता है कि डिफेंस के ऊपर कम खर्च होना चाहिए तो हमें बड़ी तकलीफ होती है। मैं इस सरकार पर चार्ज लगाता हूं कि यह सरकार डिफेंस को निगलेकट कर रही है। क्यों नहीं आप देखते हैं कि पाकिस्तान और चीन जो हमारी सीमा पर है, किस तरह से तिब्बत के पास चीन हमारी सीमा पर कितनी ही डिबीजन लेकर खड़ा हुआ है, वहां पर सड़कें बना रहा है। उसने अमरीका की मारी फोर्सेज हमारी सीमा पर खड़ी कर रखी हैं। पाकिस्तान, सऊदी अरब और जितने मुस्लिम कंट्रीज हैं सब हथियार खरीदने के लिये रुपये लेते हैं, एटोमिक इंस्टालेशन के लिये रुपये लेते हैं। यहां तक कि शाह आफ ईरान अमेरिका से हवाई जहाज खरीदेगा और पाकिस्तान को नामिनल प्राइस पर जब भी जरूरत होगी, दे देगा। आपको मालूम होना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान के पाइलट और आर्मी जब रैड होगी तो उनका स्टेशन होगा ईरान में, साऊदी अरब में और ये सब उसी के खर्चे पर चलेंगे। जरूरत पड़ने पर वह पाकिस्तान में ट्रांसफर हो जायेंगे, अगर हमारे साथ कुछ हुआ मगर इसकी संभावना कुछ कम है। हमारा बार्डर काफी बड़ा है और हमारी लैंड की सीमा भी बहुत बड़ी है। मेरा कहना है कि उसके अनुरूप ही हमको फौज रखनी होगी। उसी के अनुरूप हमको नेवी रखनी होगी। आज क्या है, नेवी हमारी कमजोर है। इस पर हमको पैसा खर्च करना पड़ेगा। आज दुनिया में न्यूट्रोन बम बनाने की बात चल रही है। एटमबम भी बनाने की बात चल रही है। गांधी जी की जब दुहाई देते हैं तो कहते हैं कि इसकी जरूरत नहीं है।

उपसभापति जी, हमारे देश में न्यूक्लीयर एनर्जी पर जो रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है वह बहुत ही कम है। मैं समझता हूं कि जितना रुपया न्यूक्लीयर एनर्जी पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिए, उतना खर्च

नहीं किया जा रहा है। उसके लिए सिर्फ 40 करोड़ रुपयों का प्रावधान किया गया है और यह रुपया भी कुछ तो रिमर्च पर खर्च होगा और बाकी रुपया मैटेनैस और स्टाफ की सैलरी आदि पर खर्च होगा। यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि यह सरकार माइंस को नेगलेक्ट कर रही है तो यह गलत नहीं होगा। अगर हम इस देश में इंडस्ट्रियल ग्रोथ चाहते हैं तो हमें माइंस की प्रगति की तरफ विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना होगा। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस देश में माइंस को नेगलेक्ट न किया जाय बल्कि उसकी और भी ज्यादा प्रगति की जाय। नेहरू जी ने इस देश में माइंस के बहुत से रिमर्च सेंटर बनाये थे, लेकिन इस सरकार ने उनको बंद कर दिया। अमेरिका को खुश करने के लिए इन्होंने कह दिया कि हम एटॉमिक बम नहीं बनाएंगे, लेकिन अमेरिका न्यूट्रोन बम बना रहा है। जब संसार में इस प्रकार की स्थिति हो तो क्या हम एक अणु बम भी नहीं बना सकते हैं? बड़ीदा के अन्दर हमारे न्यूक्लीयर स्टेशन में क्या हुआ, यह किसी से छिपा हुआ नहीं है। हैदराबाद के अन्दर न्यूक्लीयर कमप्लेक्स में हिंसक प्रदर्शन हुआ और फिर उसके बाद कोटा के अन्दर इसी प्रकार की घटनाएं हुई। आज ही एक माथी ने बताया कि अमेरिका से एटॉमिक नर्जी का कुछ सामान जहाज से हिन्दुस्तान में आ रहा था, वह बीच में ही गिर गया। ऐसा लगता है कि इन बातों की तरफ हमारा सरकार का कोई ध्यान नहीं है और न्यूक्लीयर की दिशा में जिस ढंग से रिमर्च का काम होना चाहिए उस ढंग से नहीं हो रहा है। अमेरिका ने हमें हेवी वाटर देने से इंकार कर दिया है और वह आगे भी इंकार कर देगा। हम इसके लिए कोई अन्य आल्टरनेटिव निकालना चाहिए। अगर उसके लिए ज्यादा पैसा भी खर्च करना पड़े तो वह किया जाना चाहिए। मेरी यह मांग है कि देश की रक्षा के लिए सरकार की तरफ से किसी प्रकार की कोई कमी नहीं की जानी चाहिए और सर्वदल देश की रक्षा को

ध्यान में रखा जाना चाहिए। हमारे देश में फिर से उसी प्रकार की स्थिति पैदा नहीं होनी चाहिए, जिस प्रकार की स्थिति चीन के आक्रमण के वक्त हो गई थी। चीनी हमारे देश की भूमि में घुस आए और उन्होंने हमें तबाह कर दिया और दुनिया के इतिहास में हमारा अपमान हुआ। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप देश की रक्षा के लिए सदैव कटिबद्ध रहें। हमारी फौज के नवजवान चाहते हैं कि उनको आधुनिकतम हथियारों से लैस किया जाये ताकि संकट आने पर वे देश की रक्षा कर सकें। आप जानते हैं कि अमेरिका ने यूरोप के अन्दर जगह-जगह अपनी फौजें रखी हुई हैं और उनको वह आधुनिकतम हथियारों से लैस रखता है। इसलिए आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हमारे देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा के लिए हमें भी अपनी फौज को आधुनिकतम हथियारों से लैस करना चाहिए।

श्री एन० एच० कुम्भारे (महाराष्ट्र) : क्या आप इसके लिए अधिक टैक्स देने के लिए तैयार हैं ? ...

॥ (Interruption) ॥

श्री रामानन्द यादव : इस देश की जनता देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा के लिए कटिबद्ध है।

श्री उपसभापति : अब आप जल्दी समाप्त कीजिये।

श्री रामानन्द यादव : श्रीमन्, आखिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो हरिजन, आदिवासी, गरीब मजदूर, कन्वर्टेड क्रिश्चियन और बुद्धिस्ट हैं उनकी तरफ विशेष रूप से ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। वे लोग इस बात की मांग करते आए हैं कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेन्ट की सर्विसेज में और प्रान्तीय सर्विसेज में उनको रिजर्वेशन दिया जाना चाहिए। बिहार में इस संबंध में प्रावधान किया गया तो उसके विरुद्ध जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है, वह आपने देख

[श्री रामानन्द यादव]

लिया है। मुझे खुशी है कि श्री राम नरेश यादव और श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर इस दिशा में काम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मुझे भय लगता है कि वे लोग प्रेशर में आकर कहीं पीछे न हट जायें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों को सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट की सर्विसेज में तथा प्रान्तीय सर्विसेज में रिजर्वेशन दिया जाना चाहिए। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करेंगे तो इसका परिणाम अच्छा नहीं होगा। इतना कह कर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAMCHANDRA MHAISEKAR (Maharashtra): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, initially I would like to welcome the budget *in toto* mostly because it has given a new thrust for the first time in the economic policy, planning policy and financial policy of this country.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda) in the Chair]
Sir, for the first time we find that emphasis has been laid on agriculture and allied sectors by providing more for agriculture, rural development and irrigation and also for area planning and employment. As one would find, a sum of Rs. 20 crores has been provided in this budget. Therefore, Sir, I find that it is an attempt to strike a balance in future in the capital-intensive industrial field and the labour intensive agricultural field. Sir, before I go into the details of the Budget I would like to point out why this policy is rational and logical because of the different situations that obtain today when the Budget starts.

Some of these items have been pointed out in the Economic Survey of this year. The first thing is that the wholesale price index is lower compared to last year. I am aware of the negative side of this statement that I am making.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA (Gujarat): What about the consumer price index?

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAMCHANDRA MHAISEKAR: That is why I am saying I am aware about the negative side of the statement that I am making.

The second is that the G.N.P., the Gross National Produce, is increasing by 5 per cent as against 1.6 per cent of 1976-77 and 4 per cent. average of the last four years. I do not say that it is a matter of complacency but it is a matter of satisfaction. I say that it is not a matter of complacency because in Pakistan the G.N.P. growth rate is 9.5 per cent. during 1977-78. I am making a special mention of this because in certain quarters a view is being expressed that this growth rate is not likely to be finally attained.

Sir, I may draw the attention of this House, through you, to the appreciation of this growth rate in G.N.P. Even the ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific) has shown its appreciation in its report which is being discussed at Bangkok. In this report it has been very clearly said, and I quote:—

“That the high priority given by the new Government to agriculture and rural development and the emerging economic strategy has a pronounced labour intensive anti-poverty focus.”

In spite of the stress and strain the economy is showing stable trend though there is world recession in economy.

Thirdly, the agricultural production is to reach 121 million ton mark. I know there is contribution of nature also in this. I may just point out that the backdrop which I have said is very rational for good take-off. Fourthly, the balance of payments is strong. Foreign exchange reserves continue to increase.

Here, again, there is a negative side to this, namely, the export rate con-

tinues to be lesser and the import rate growth is against the export rate. However, the foreign exchange reserves offer a very good cushion. In fact, Sir, I feel that the agricultural production in this country and the foreign exchange reserves are two very good cushions for a rational take-off of the economy in the Budget. Additional allocations for agriculture, irrigation and rural development are a very good feature. But these two cushions have to be properly used. I would only submit that even in the highly industrially developed countries inflation is growing. Unemployment is also increasing. Therefore, it is but necessary that we apply a different look, in fact, a different basic approach to the agricultural economy which is a major contributing factor in this country's economy.

Sir, I feel that there is a great realization in the fiscal policy statement of the Finance Minister where he has said that concessions and subsidies without economic justification should be stopped in future. This is another *sine qua non* of a new approach to the problem. Sir, nobody has made a mention in this House that steps have been taken to abolish octroi, which was being discussed for a long time. Octroi is one such duty the establishment expenditure of which comes to 50 per cent. Therefore, it is a welcome feature that the Budget says that steps are being taken in order to approach the State Governments to see that octroi is abolished.

Now, Sir, one important thing which I would like to submit, and which I have been submitting in this House in the earlier General Budget discussions particularly, is about the backward areas. Sir, it paired me very much to find that no statement had been made in the fiscal policy by the Finance Minister in this year's Budget, although there was a special mention about the backward areas in last year's fiscal policy statement of the Finance Minister. Last year, he had said that there was a yawning gap between the

economy of the backward areas and the economy of the developed areas. Therefore, as I said, it is very unfortunate that no reference has been made in this year's Budget to this. I feel there is a need to lay emphasis on this problem because there is a lot of confusion. The words "backward areas" are used in ambiguous and vague terms. Firstly, the distressed areas or the depressed areas which were developed initially but have gone sick and which require revitalisation are also included by some people in these areas. Secondly, certain areas which are developing, which have started developing, and which require consolidation are also included in these areas. I feel this vagueness has to go and the classification based on certain indices which the Planning Commission has once and for all decided has to be made, and the backward areas which very easily go to show how these indices can be applied to them should be clearly identified. Special programmes should be taken up, and amounts should be specifically earmarked for them. I can tell you some of the indices. These are: per capita income, per acre produce, current consumption, Railway lines and roads per 100 sq. metres, employment and social amenities. These are the indices which will help us to identify what are the backward areas in this country. In fact, Sir, the Planning Commission has in its report in the past very clearly analysed 247 districts in this country is backward. I, for example, come from a revenue division in Maharashtra where all the five districts, which were called the Marathwada districts, have been declared to be economically backward. Therefore, I say that special attention should be given to these areas. I find only two provisions for backward areas in this Budget—Rs. 14 crores under the demands of the Ministry of Industry under A-2, page 26 for subsidy to new industrial units in selected backward areas; and another Rs. 45 crores for loans for credit co-operative societies in backward States. I feel much more

[Shri Govindrao Ramchandra Mhaisekar]

ought to have been done, and should be done. Schemes and amounts should have been specifically earmarked. In fact, I very reasonably feel that there must be a special cell in the Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission to look after the development programmes, earmark the amounts for the States; not only this, they should also act as watch-dogs for the implementation of these special programmes submitted by the Planning Commission or the Government of India.

Now I come to another problem. Whether it is the green revolution or the white revolution that has to come through milk and milk products, I want to see that the achievements that are made and the targets that are achieved reach the lowest rung of the society. And, therefore, I feel that there is a dire need to change it.

SHRI YOGENDRA MAKWANA:
What was the achievement.
(Interruptions)

SHRI GOVINDRAO RAM-
CHANDRA MHAISEKAR: Please
listen and then you will come to know.
You are talking there and asking me
in between what it is.

I come to the dire need for changing the present set up of institutional and organisational structure in the areas where these activities are to be taken up. Land reforms and measures for assistance to small farmers and labourers have to be extensive and intensive. So also steps have to be taken for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and other economically weaker sections to see that they are involved in the economic activities and that they benefit from these activities. The nature of the schemes and the programmes will have to be revaluated in relation to the objectives. Some schemes under all the Ministries will have to be dropped with reference to

the concessions and the subsidies that are offered they will have to be strengthened and some new schemes will have to be introduced.

Sir, the Economic Survey quite rightly points out that the price index of foodgrains has gone up by 8.9 per cent mostly because the pulses' price index has gone up by 36.5 per cent and because the oil price index and the oilseed price index have also gone up. The crop patterns in this country will have to be decided according to the needs and according to the demands of the society in order to see that we meet our needs and we achieve the targets that we set for ourselves. This fact about the rationalisation of the schemes and the programmes becomes much more clear if we see this year's budget. The total provision for the Plan schemes is Rs. 11,649 crores, out of which Rs. 10,465 crores are to be spent on the continuing schemes. This shows how we get bogged down and entangled in the mechanism of procedures. Only Rs. 1,184 crores are available for new schemes. It is because of this that very little could be provided and done for dry-land cultivation. Though the Finance Minister has specifically mentioned in his fiscal policy statement that sufficient attention for the development of dry-land farming will have to be given, I have to point out that in the budget no provision has been made under the head, "Dry Land" at page 38 under the schemes H. 2(3)(1) and H3(3)1. These two schemes have been mentioned but not a single rupee has been allocated in the Budget. It makes me to lay more emphasis on the rationalisation of the programmes and the schemes in terms of well-defined objectives and physical targets.

Then, Sir, I come to the most important point and that is the deficit. Although it was estimated last year to be Rs. 84 crores, it came to be Rs. 975 crores, and this year it is to be Rs. 1034 crores. It has been said

that much of this would be made up by partly drawing from the foreign exchange reserves, and for that purpose a bank consortium is to be formed according to the statement of the Finance Minister. Sir, I have a word of caution here. Last year also it was said in the Budget that Rs. 800 crores would be made up by drawing against the foreign exchange reserves, but it has not been possible to do so. That will have to be done in terms of rupees, and, therefore, I am saying that it is possible that this may cause inflation.

A new economic situation has resulted partly because of the fruitions of the previous Plans and partly because of the new economic priorities. These two and the proposed massive Rs. 70,000-crore Sixth Plan have changed its references, siphoning of money, new structures and reforms. The regulation of parallel economy due to black money will make the economic task more difficult for which all the programmes and the policies will require a new look. Sir, my last submission is, we have been talking about universalisation of education and we have been talking about adult education. Those have been made practically obligatory under the Directive Principles of the Constitution of this country. I know there has been a lot of discourse and so many debates have been going on in this country for last one year, that these two things should be taken up on a priority basis. I wish that much more provision had been made under the head of Education, particularly for these two activities. Knowing fully well that Education is a State subject, I lay emphasis on this point. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Pradhan, you can take about 12 minutes since you party has not got much time.

SHRI PATITPABAN PRADHAN (Orissa): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this incidentally is my maiden

speech, and I would like to start my maiden deliberations with a few observations which have been born out of experience of long standing with the working population. Although it is a welcome sign that the Finance Minister has had the widest possible consultation with many people on the Budget, yet I feel this is not enough. I feel that there should be a public debate with regard to the Budget before the Budget is presented. For that it would lead to less of this kind of exercise, I should say, mostly a futile exercise, which means loss of time for this house of the Parliament also . . .

SHRI NARASINGHA PRASAD NANDA (Orissa): On a point of order. My hon. friend now made the point that there should be a public debate before the Budget is presented to Parliament. How can there be a public debate before the Budget is presented to Parliament?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Anyway, you have made your point. He has hardly much time. Mr. Pradhan, you please proceed.

SHRI PATITPABAN PRADHAN: I say public debate and by public debate I do not mean that both groups should stand on a platform and speak on it. I mean, there must be public discussion and the public should be allowed to participate as to what is going to be the size of the Annual Plan, which sector should be taxed, in which areas there should be developmental priorities and which sector should get priority and which sector should not get priority during the year. I think there is no harm in having a debate because even in democratic countries like America they hold debates and even in totalitarian countries like China, they hold debates. They hold a debate in some form or the other, but there is some kind of a debate before the presentation of the Budget. After all, the Budget is for the people, and it is the people who are to implement these

[Shri Patitpaban Pradhan]

budgetary provisions. Unless we take the people into confidence, I think the very purpose of presenting the Budget will not be served. There may be some objection in some quarters that there may be a leakage of the Budget and things like that. But I feel the Indian Budget is the most innocent Budget in the context of international finance because it hardly affects any country. Probably the budget of countries like Russia and America does affect to some extent the world economy. Even there it is debated. So what is the harm if we have some kind of a debate in a country like India which is free and democratic?

The next observation that I would like to make is that unfortunately we have been pursuing a legacy which is colonial in character. Previously the Budget used to be essentially a collection budget. The Budget is to be based on revenues. Now this is the Budget of a democratic country and it is time that we gave serious thought to the question of departing from the previous legacy. After all, the Budget is for the people, as I

have already said. Here the 4 P.M. question of financial year ending comes. I feel in the present context the timings is ill-conceived. We present the Budget when most of the rural population is engaged in agricultural operations, particularly in the areas where we have rabi crop cultivation and all that. They hardly find time to participate either in the debate or in the post-Budgetary operations. Besides, we talk of the rural poor like marginal farmers, landless labourers, etc., yet, we fail to give them even the minimum available advantage. This is because after the Budget is passed during this time of the year, the bureaucracy takes time to release finances; earliest it does by the end of April. This is the real time when the rural poor need some work engagement to subsist. Because of this difficulty, incidental to the presentation of the Budget, at this time of the

year the bulk of the workers fail to get the work which they need it most. As a result, the village folk do not feel they are part and parcel of the country's Budget which has a direct relevance to the people. Therefore, my suggestion is you should present the Budget at a time when the rural folk can find time not only to think but also to work for it. After all, ours is no longer a collection of revenue Budget, as I have already said. This is the Budget of a developing economy meant to ameliorate the lot of the majority of the rural population. While deciding this we should also take into consideration these rural poor I mean the people who are exploited by absentee farmers and landlords because of lack of alternative avenues of employment. If rural development programmes are undertaken simultaneously when agricultural operations also take place, then these people will have some bargaining power and can demand at least a minimum wage, by which the very purpose of the minimum wage legislation can also be served. Therefore, taking all this into consideration I feel the Budget should be presented on the last day of June and the 1st of July should mark the beginning of the financial year. In that case the bureaucracy will exercise on public finances at least when the rural folk are not busy with affairs other than agricultural operations. That means, we will present the Budget during rains, and the development programmes should get going during winter and summer.

Then the next observation I would like to make is about authority in expenditure. I have collected some statistics. According to an estimate between 1951 and 1976 over Rs. 91,000 crores were raised by the Central and the State Governments as taxes from the people, out of which 80 per cent came from indirect taxes, that is, from everybody's pocket, including the farmers. Of this, Rs. 36,000 crores were spent on maintaining the Government administration and the balance for growth. Even in the present Budget

the same tendency is noticed. That means, of every rupee raised by the Government from the poor tax-payer, it spends 42 paise on itself, which by all accounts is totally out of proportion to its usefulness. If we preach the people about austerity at all levels, then I think we should do something about this kind of expenditure which is always on the increase.

Now, most of my friends have mentioned, and mentioned critically, about the Budget as an inflationary Budget. The main plank of criticisms on the Budget has been with regard to its dependance on deficit financing which would lead to inflation. But I feel that this Budget has been presented at a time when we are going to have our Sixth Five Year Plan. Always there is some lively controversy with regard to the rate of growth. But then the fact remains that we must have industrial growth and we must have growth in a big way to sustain and ameliorate the down-trodden whose numbers are formidably large. Even here I feel our Finance Minister has been very cautious. It is really surprising that despite his cautious attitude, his Budget has become a subject-matter of criticism. He has himself said that a good part out of the total of Rs. 11,649 crores during 1978-79 would be spent on going schemes. This amount comes to about Rs. 10,000 crores. That means many schemes initiated by the previous Government will be sustained with this amount. This also is a factor for bigger outlay.

The striking feature of this Budget is that our Finance Minister has tried to strike a balance, probably for the first time, between the three sectors of our economy. These are heavy investment sector mechanised goods sector and wage goods sector. I feel some kind of balance is there. But the real fact is that from the past experience we find that the constraints are there. Those constraints being mostly in the sphere of administration must go because with these constraints the gestation period of different sec-

tors is on the increase. The gestation period of these sectors must be reduced to the minimum and particularly with regard to the wage goods sector if the Government means business with regard to fighting inflation. Considering the type of Budget that has been presented and the way allocations have been made if we become genuinely, cautious with regard to the wage goods sector, I feel we shall be able to contain inflation to the extent we desire.

Then, there has been a criticism levelled with regard to the indirect taxes. Indirect taxation affects everybody. But I feel that at this stage of our economy around which mostly depend on this kind of taxation has to be made to raise revenue from the agricultural sector later on. This area does not deserve to be explored now. In order to raise revenue from the agricultural sector, I think a background has to be created and I must congratulate the Finance Minister that he has tried create a background in this Budget for future taxation from the agricultural sector, when it can afford to be taxed, through incentive to this sector for sustenance and growth. I find that the relief which has been given to the agricultural sector is quite *bona fide* and genuine and I am sure that the agriculturists of the country would welcome and respond to it. Then, with regard to the wage goods sector, I think the return from this sector would be adequate and quick also. But, for that, we must galvanise our administrative machinery to make it work in such a manner that it becomes helpful and the machinery is helpful to this sector. (The bell rings) Sir, only one or two points more are there. Now, Sir, emphasis has been put on the rural sector. If we really want to the rural sector to be effective, unless we change. Our attitude; I have my reservation.

SHRI KALP NATH RAI: Sir, the speech is not audible at all.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You proceed, Mr. Pradhan.

SHRI PATITPABAN PRADHAN: Now, Sir, I want to refer to the levies on coal and electricity. This has also been the subject-matter of criticism and justifiably too, to some extent. Here, I want to suggest one thing to the Government and it is that in the present context it is necessary to tax this sector because the beneficiaries of the investment in this sector should also be made to pay something for what they get. When I justify this, I want to make a request to the Finance Minister through you that the Coal India Ltd. should be asked to open fair price shops at least in urban and semi-urban areas for the benefit of genuine consumers who are not affected by this increase. I think that would help the consumers and by this they can be spared from the hardship in consequence of these levies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think you will have to wind up.

SHRI PATITPABAN PRADHAN: I will do it, Sir. The next issue on which I would like to focus the attention of the House is the issue of regional imbalance. As my friend has already pointed out earlier, the question of regional imbalances has become a serious one and it has become a problem in this country. I come from an area where the cry of regional imbalance is at its peak. During the course of the last 30 years, we have seen only uneven growth of our economy and in keeping with that uneven growth, we have also been seeing only tardy development. In certain places, we face the problem of development and in some areas we face the problem of underdevelopment and we feel the pinch of it. So, a balance has to be created and I would request the honourable Finance Minister to give a serious thought to this question of regional imbalance.

With these few words, Sir, I wind up my speech. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Yes, Mr. Bhagawati. You have to finish within 15 or 20 minutes because three more speakers are there from your party.

SHRI B. C. BHAGWATI (Assam): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today; when I am coming to the end of my parliamentary career, I feel like looking back and assessing the situation as objectively as possible. I feel that the main objective of the Indian Revolution led by Mahatma Gandhi has not been fulfilled. That revolution meant to have a new society and a new economic order based on equality of all citizens and particularly laid emphasis on the concept of "Antodaya" that is, the last man should get first preference. Unfortunately, that basic question has not been given importance in formulating our Plan programmes. I recognise that in all these years after independence we have made good progress. No doubt about that. We have laid the foundation of industrialisation in this country, particularly on the basis of public sector industries. That is really very important to have a new society. We have made some progress in agriculture also. I do not want to go into details. I can only quote some figures which will describe the situation. The index of agricultural productivity increased from 94 in 1965-66 to 124.8 in 1970-71. That shows that some improvement has been made. But as I have said, the inequality has grown, the disparity has widened and the problem of unemployment, disparity and high prices could not be solved, resulting in great suffering for the vast number of people in this country. For this I do not hold this party or that party responsible. I think we all politicians—those who claim that we have something to do in public life—are responsible. I feel that politics in this country has degenerated into election politics. If we do not realise this basic thing, I do not hope that we can really deliver the goods. All of us are very much concerned about certain political ad-

vantages. That is unavoidable in politics. But I am afraid we have forgotten the basic things which we have to fulfil, so that this country may rise, grow and get its rightful place in the comity of nations. When other people, other nations, have marched from agriculture to industrialisation, from industrialisation to super industrialisation when some countries have built up, or are trying to build up, aerodromes in the outer space, we in this country are struggling to tackle the basic problem of two square meals a day for a vast number of our people. What a tragedy! It does not speak well of our intelligence; it does not speak well of our capacity. I do not know why this situation should be there. Why should we have allowed this situation to continue? How do we justify that we have played our part? I do not think that the people should excuse us. I myself feel guilty that it has not been possible for me to do much though I have continued to be a Member of Parliament for a pretty long time. Sir, I think that it is no good having casual discussion on this budget or that budget. Sometimes I feel that it is a futile exercise. We have not tried to tackle the basic issues. What is there in this budget? It has no impact on the public mind. There is no direction. I do not think anybody is serious about tackling the basic problems of this country. How long can you go on like this? Janata Party leaders talk much about freedom. But what sort of freedom are they thinking of? I do not know. The capitalists and vested interests want freedom. They want to have freedom in business and industry. What is the concept of freedom the Janata Party leaders have? There might have been some restrictions during emergency. But before emergency, all sorts of freedom was very much there. If freedom means closure of universities and disturbances here and there and freedom from examinations, then that sort of freedom will be the cause of ruin of this country. But real free-

dom is economic freedom. Real democracy is economic democracy. I do not find that the Janata Party is paying any attention towards ensuring economic freedom and economic democracy. They are trying to take shelter behind a slogan as if that slogan will please the people for all times to come. That slogan worked in a particular situation. The Congress lost the elections. But it is not going to satisfy the people. People's main problem is economic problem. Now, there is an agitation in Bihar. Even the books Jayaprakash Narayan are reported to have been burnt. These are symptoms of a very deep malady. Very undesirable things have happened. But why have these things happened? We have tried to treat the symptoms and not the disease. We have not tried to root out the basic causes. That is why these things are happening. These things have happened in the past and these things will happen again. People will lose confidence in all political parties and all political leaders. I have no doubt that we have not risen to the occasion and we have not done things which may go to the root of the causes for which the people suffer in this country. Sir, I have seen two or three things in this budget. I would like to deal with them briefly. Firstly, the proposals for tax incentives will benefit the richer sections of people as higher the income bracket of an investor in equity share of a new industrial concern the larger his tax-benefit. There is no doubt about that. That will be against the policy of labour employment. That will be for employment of more capital. The Prime Minister has been saying that the Indian economy should be a low-cost economy. But how does he want to have a low cost economy. He has reduced the rate of interest and thereby he has made the capital cheap. He has made deposits unattractive. In this country, the capitalist also uses the institutionalised finances, the socialised capital. They have no money. They only take money from banks

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and other financial institutions. They will get money cheap from banks. But the depositors will not get a reasonable interest on their deposits. The depositors suffer in another way also. There is a constant erosion in the rupee value. They suffer from that also. Again the interest is low. But the capitalist who uses that money gets it cheap and he earns more profit. Then, Sir, a levy has been put on coal and on electricity. The Prime Minister said that the economy will be made a low cost economy. How is he justified in making this statement? One thing does not reconcile with the other. Sir, they have always been saying that there should be labour-intensive industries. But the incentive has been given for the employment of more capital but not for the employment of more workers. There has been a shrinkage in employment in the textile, jute, tea and other traditional industries. Nothing has been done to stop this shrinkage in employment. And those people who want to have new industries, they can certainly invest more money with reduced rate of interest and introduce more sophisticated machineries. It is not conducive for employment of more workers. It has always been said by the Janata party leaders that they want labour-intensive industries. But these two things—on the one hand encouraging capital intensity, and on the other talking of labour intensity do not reconcile. They say one thing and do something else. I am sorry, Sir, a whispering campaign has been carried on against the working class. It has been said from many platforms and also a hush hush campaign has been carried on that the workers in this country have got enough and now they must not make any more demands to increase their wages. As a matter of fact, in the public sector, the local management say that they can not do anything at all because there are some orders from above not to enter into any negotiations with trade unions to

increase the wages. Virtually it means that there has been a wage freeze. Some of them said that the Bhoothalingam Committee has been set up and until and unless that Committee gives its report, it will not be possible to consider the wage increase. But, Sir, as you know; wages in this country even now are very, very low. It has not been possible to give wages according to the norms fixed by the tri-partite Labour Conference so many years before in 1965. The 15th Indian Labour Conference decided certain norms to fix a need-based minimum wage. Even after so many years, it has not been possible to give wages on that basis. Even then some people go on saying that the workers are getting more and more. Sir, a recent study on the income distribution in the context of inflation has shown that there is a fall in the wages and salaries of workers to the extent of 0.8 per cent. So far as the agricultural workers are concerned, there is a fall of 1.8 per cent in their wages. And, during all these years from 1961 onwards, a study has revealed that there is only one per cent rise in the real wages of factory workers. This is the situation. Their real wages have not increased because there is a constant erosion in the value of the rupee but even then an atmosphere is sought to be created that the workers are better off and when the workers make some demands, they are at once told, look at the agricultural workers, they do not even get that much. Is it justifiable to bring about divisions amongst the working classes by this sort of a propaganda. In the case of the rural workers of course we have to see that they do get justice, social justice and economic justice. For that we are organising them. But that should not mean that we set one section of workers against the other section of workers. Workers as a class have been deprived of their legitimate benefits. That is why it is necessary that we all should think how their grievances can be redressed.

Sir, I would like to say that we have to tackle two major problems. The problem of high prices and the problem of unemployment. Who are the people who are most badly affected by high prices and unemployment. I personally know and a study has revealed that incidence of unemployment was the highest in the lowest income group and economy of those people who were working from morning till night were really unemployed because their income was the lowest. Some economists of this country, top economists, met in some meeting somewhere in Kerala. They could not find out a proper definition of unemployed persons. They asked who are to be covered by the definition of the unemployed? Those who do not get a job can certainly be termed as unemployed. But are who work for more than eight hours a day and cannot even earn sufficient money for two meals a day, are they unemployed? They are confused. As a matter of fact, many people in this country, millions of people in this country, work hardest from morning to night and yet they cannot earn enough income. They also should be treated as unemployed. That is why this problem is a very menacing problem. But what have we done? I had no mind to analyse the provisions of the Budget. I will only refer to one thing there. You will find that in this year's programme they have allocated very little amount for new projects. Whatever money they have allocated will be only for continuing the old schemes. Very small amount is there for new schemes of the total of Rs. 11,649 crores to be spent on the Plan during 1978-79, Rs. 10,465 crores will be on continuing schemes only the remainder being available for new starts. Then how can they say that unemployment will be removed in ten years. In their public speeches they say that the target has been fixed and within ten years unemployment will be removed. On the other hand, you will see that they have not put any money for new projects in this year's Budget, very little for the new pro-

jects. The number of unemployed persons is going up. It cannot be judged merely from what we see in the reports of employment exchanges. It can only be seen from the fact that the number of people living below the poverty line is increasing. That is why it is not very easy to understand the statement made by the Prime Minister when he says that he wants to solve this problem of unemployment within 10 years. As a matter of fact, the number of unemployed persons has gone up; it has increased under his regime, what to speak of the past. Sir, this problem of unemployment has hit the lowest most. If you go to a working class family in the tea estates, you will find that whereas previously, all the members of the family used to be employed, now only two members of that family are employed. Some of them are educated but they have no employment and no jobs. It is a serious problem.

Then I come to rising prices. Who are the people affected by it? Not we so much; though we are also affected to some extent, but not so much. Only those who are below the poverty line are affected the most. The public distribution system has been introduced because of high prices. But who are benefited by this public distribution system? We are benefited. We are able to get sugar at controlled price. But the person who needs the protection most does not get sugar at controlled price. National Sample Survey has shown that small and marginal farmers have to purchase cereals from the open market upto the extent of 50 per cent of their requirement. They do not get anything from the public distribution centres. Even the agricultural workers who are the poorest sections of the people in this country, get no benefit from this system. All these things put unbearable burden on the poorest sections of the people. During the election campaign, I went to a village,

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where I talked to a villager and his words still ring in my ears. He told me: "Whoever may come to power, what is that to me? Who will remove the load from my back? Members have changed; Ministers have changed; parties have changed; but I am carrying my load on my back." That hurt me. I thought he was speaking but his true feelings. What justification have I to ask him to vote for me? I could not say anything. I think we have got to see how this basic issue can be tackled.

I do not want to go into details. Hon. friends speaking before me have gone deep into all these issues. I only want to say that time has come when we have got to tackle the national problems, basically. We have to change the structure of the society. If we cannot bring about a structural change in the society, if we cannot treat the disease itself, simply treating the symptoms will not cure the ills from which the society suffered. The main problem is unemployment in the sense as I have said before. We have to do something for our own social responsibility in this regard. The West Bengal Government has introduced a system of unemployment doles. I think it is being introduced in some other States as well.

DR. V. P. DUTT: Kerala has introduced it.

SHRI B. C. BHAGAWATI: Yes, and Maharashtra has also introduced in a different way. Why not introduce this system in the country as a whole? Everybody has the right to work. If we cannot give them the jobs, we are morally liable to give them unemployment dole. We have responsibility to give them some income by way of doles, subsidies, whatever you may call. We have to give them some money till we are able to provide them with some

jobs, same work. This is very important. Sir, I would like to say—I have said this several times in this House as well as outside—that when we analyse the plan programmes, we have to analyse them from the employment point of view. For this, a watchdog institution is necessary. Now, there is no watchdog institution. Nobody is there to watch whether the Plan programmes have been formulated with an eye on increasing the employment opportunities. Many people, in their speeches, talk about unemployment. But while formulating the Plan programmes, they forget about it. Therefore, I would suggest that, in the Ministries, in the Government, there should be some cell, some high-powered Commission, to see that the Plan programmes are formulated with a view to increasing the employment opportunities. For this, I think there should be a regular system of inspection and supervision.

Sir, I do not want to take much of your time. You have already asked me to stop. Once again, I would like to say that it is hightime that we go deep into the cause of the malady from which we suffer. This is not merely a party question. We have talked about party positions sufficiently. But as parties, we have failed. I hope the Janata Party will go into the problem and see how they can really contribute to heal the disease from which the people suffer. The Janata Party, so far, could not show any sign of grappling with the real issues. They are far from it. The Congress could not do it properly. This was because, at a particular stage, there was deviation; there was deviation from the right path. That is why the Congress also could not do what was expected of it. I feel the Congress could have done it. But there was this deviation. Otherwise, the Congress did very well. But in regard to the Janata Party, I do not know what their ideology is. I do not know the direction in which they are going. As yet, they have failed to create any impact in the minds of

the people. They are not able to say what their philosophy is. They vaguely talk about Gandhian philosophy. I know what in this country the Gandhian philosophy is much talked of, but not followed. I know that people who have suffered much from "poverty" want material upliftment. We seem to suffer from 'mithyachar'. In the ancient days, Bhagwan Shri Krishna had also to complain that the learned persons, at that time spoke words of wisdom, but suffered from 'mithyachar' from hypocrisy. Even today, we are suffering from that. I would suggest that we should not drag in the name of Gandhiji unnecessarily. I hope after some time, when there is a better climate a new generation will think of him. Now, Schumacher has written that book 'Small is Beautiful'. So, I hope, it may not be in India. But I believe, in some other countries, somewhere, they will be adopting the Gandhian philosophy as their political concept. But I have doubts whether now here we have that mind. I have doubts. I am, in a way, a bit ashamed and cynical about it. You will excuse me for that.

Sir, in conclusion, I would like to pay my respects to you. I would also like to pay my respect and good wishes to all the other Members.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Thank you very much. I share your sentiments.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, after a careful scrutiny of the Budget for this year I find that there is not much for the common man in the Budget. It is a fact that some allotments have been made for agriculture and rural development, but I am afraid how these amounts will be able to reach the rural people. For instance, presently the rural people, especially the agricultural

labour form nearly 65 per cent of the population. They are the major chunk of the people. What has this Janata Government done for them? This is their second Budget. They have been telling that the Janata Government means the government of people. How are they going to help the people? Which people are they going to help? Are they going to help the rich people or the poor people? No poor man thinks that the Janata Government is going to help them. That is reflected in the last elections. In the 1977 elections people thought that the new party will be able to do something for them. So, they voted for them, but now they have learnt that the Janata Party is not going to do anything for them. Not only that, the richer classes are thinking that the Janata Government is at their back and it is doing everything for them. In villages the farmer has started crushing the agricultural labour. What is the condition of the agricultural labour today? They just work for three to four months in a year. For rest of the year they have to run from this place to that place to earn their wages. What are you going to do for them? Are you going to start some industries, small-scale industries to help them, to develop their economy or to encourage them to do something? What are you going to do? That is what I am asking. Leave aside the condition of the agricultural labour. What are you going to do in the field of the agriculture itself where you say that a lot of money has been allotted. In my State, in most of the districts tobacco is grown. Look at the tobacco price. Nobody is there to purchase tobacco. There is the tobacco Board but it is helping the private people. The private people have been exploiting the tobacco growers. For one acre cultivation of tobacco they have to spend about Rs. 2000 to Rs. 3000 from the day they transplant tobacco sapplings. They have to put manure. Are you offering manure to the tobacco growers? No. Recent-

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ly, I came to know that even the imports of DDT and other pesticides has been stopped. So, this year the tobacco crop has been completely spoiled. No pesticides have been given. The Government is in no way helpful to the farmers. Not only pesticides, these tobacco growers want manures also. Mostly, they want sulphur and ammonia. What is it that the Government is giving to them? Hardly 30 kgs. per acre. Unless 50 to 60 kgs. are put in an acre, no crop will come out. So, they get 30 kgs. from the fair price shops and the remaining 30 kgs. they get in black market. The differential cost between the price fixed and the black market price is nearly Rs. 80. So, at the rate of Rs. 120 they have to purchase ammonia and give it to the land so that they can get some crop. Sir, another thing is that these tobacco growers require coal. What is the price of coal? It is Rs. 50 per tonne. But at what price does the farmer get coal? Rs. 150. Coal is not distributed through cooperative societies. It is not distributed by Government agencies. The private persons and private agencies gather some licences, go to the coalfields and get tonnes of coal. And they get three times the profit. This is the condition of the tobacco growers. And when the tobacco growers, with all these difficulties, grow tobacco, there is no body to purchase it. STC never goes to them. The Tobacco Board never helps them. They have to depend upon the private traders. And the private traders are leeches. They pay Rs. 2 per kilogram and get Rs. 23 per kilogram. You can understand what is the margin of profit for them. If one starts a tobacco trading company, within two years one can become a multi-millionaire. We know that there are five or six companies which have got crores of rupees in black money. They do not know how to spend their money and they are killing the tobacco growers. When the price is fixed, no trader or big company goes to the farmer to purchase tobacco. They stop

purchasing it. Why? The farmers spend all the money for the sake of their land. They mortgage the jewellery of their wives and children with the banks to get money and produce tobacco. But nobody comes to their rescue. So in every district tobacco is lying there. The Board is not helping them and the big traders are not coming forward to purchase it. So when the farmer is in need, when he wants some money, they will come and offer a very low price. And the farmer has to part with his produce. So we can imagine the condition of the tobacco growers.

The condition of the sugarcane growers is also like that. In U.P. today the ordinary firewood is selling at a price more than that of sugarcane. It is selling at double the sugarcane price. And what are they giving to the farmers? It is all lying there in the fields. Nobody is going to them. Nobody is helping them. Every time we are increasing the price of sugar. Recently, it has been increased by 15 or 20 paise per kilogram. This will only help the industry. You are going to help the industry. You are going to encourage the big sugarcane industry. In what way are you helping these farmers? You are not helping the tobacco growers; you are not helping the sugarcane growers. You are helping only the industrialists and the big businessmen. This will not help the Janata Party to any extent. The Prime Minister said that within ten years he is going to remove unemployment. But what is the beginning. One year has passed. Is there any beginning? Have they started anything? There is no beginning at all within this one year to remove unemployment and poverty. So in ten years we can imagine what will happen. That is why I say that unless you take up some constructive work, unless you help the poor people who constitute a majority of the population, unless you remove unemployment, you will not be able to come into power next time. This will be the first and the last chance for the Janata Party.

I am telling you that people are already saying that they are for the rich and not for the poor. In our country, there are more poor people than rich people. Rich people, rich businessmen may help you with money, but the votes you will never get unless you take up some plans to adequately develop economically these poor communities. Sir, they have presented a deficit Budget. But why a deficit budget when the Janata Government has inherited lot of foreign exchange reserve? With great difficulty we could save some foreign exchange. But this Government is draining it out. And in two or three years we will be rowhere and will be paupers not being able to purchase anything from other countries.

Sir, we are also selling away our gold reserves. What is the use of selling the gold? We are not having so much gold as to sell it away. But we have got some gold in reserve. That is our only asset. It is the country's asset and we have to depend upon it, otherwise nobody will try to help us.

Then I come to some State problems. The first is the Vizag steel plant. This steel plant was started some ten years back. But so far nothing has been done. Ministries come and go but steel has not been produced there. We have got everything there. We have got coal. We have got dolomite. We have got manganese and everything necessary for the steel plant. We have got lot of iron ore. But nobody thinks of it.

Minister promises that he will do something. Normally they acquire thousands of acres of land and spend lakhs of rupees but project work never begins. Unless you do something it is no use. Everything is cheap there. There is no difficulty for anything there. Vizag is a proper place for a steel plant. I think this Government will come forward to allot some money for the steel plant.

Sir, another thing is Nagarjunasagar project. The project was started in 1956. No less a person than Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation of this project.

In 1956 it was started but only the dam has been completed now. Canals have not been completed. What is the use? Unless canals are completed and water is given people will not be able to cultivate their land. We expect some few lakhs of acres will be irrigated by the waters of Nagarjunasagar. I request the Government to spend more money for this Nagarjunasagar Dam to dig canals. It will be useful to farmers, especially to the dry areas of Guntur, Ongole and Nellore. They will produce more and if the project is fully developed you need not import any food. Our cultivators are the best in the country. They can produce anything, any amount of foodgrains, if you give them water and other facilities. So I request this Government to see to it that the Nagarjunasagar project is completed as early as possible.

Sir, there was another project for the supply of drinking water to Madras from the Krishna river. Till now only talk has been there. So far nothing has been done. People of Madras have been suffering for want of drinking water for many years. There was a proposal to give some drinking water from Krishna. This is not a project which can be taken up by one State or the other. Madras and Andhra Pradesh combined cannot complete it. Unless the Centre comes forward and does something we will not be able to save the city of Madras. So the Central Government should come forward to allot some funds for this project.

5 P.M.

Another thing is electric power. In Andhra Pradesh the rate for electric power is 75 paise per unit, whereas in Delhi we pay only 25 paise per unit. So in Andhra Pradesh people are paying three times more for electricity. Why? Because there is no aid coming from the Central Government. Even the Rural Electrification Department is not able to get many schemes sanctioned. They sent 16 schemes but got only 5 sanctioned. So in villages there is no electricity.

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Nobody thinks of electrifying the villages. And if there is any electricity in the main village, nobody thinks of electrifying the Harijan wada because for that they want some money from the Central Government. There are many Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people living in the villages. Everybody else enjoys the benefits of electricity, but not they. It is necessary that the Government should think of doing something for electrifying Harijan wadas. Especially for rural electrification, more money should be spent.

Then another thing is a super thermal power station. The talk is there for the past five to ten years where to fix up a super thermal power station. Andhra Pradesh has got every possibility of having a super thermal power station. In Kothagudem and Ramagundem coal is there which is a vital thing for producing thermal power. But, what have you done? So far nothing. The work is not completed. Every time the State Government says that they are short of electricity and they must have this super thermal power station. The Central Government was thinking of having a super thermal power station in the South. It does not mean anywhere in the South. It means a place where you can get coal, where it is easy to produce thermal power. When you think of starting this project in Andhra Pradesh, it is not going to benefit Andhra Pradesh alone. If you start it at Ramagundem, power is going to be supplied to every State. It will go to Karnataka. It will go to Kerala. It will go to Madras. It will go to Maharashtra. We are asking for this project only because we have got everything cheap there and we can produce it easily.

One small point regarding the National Highways. Andhra Pradesh has got 2340 kms. of National Highways, but not even a single yard of a new road has been built since, 1947. All these roads had been construc-

ted before 1947. After Independence, not even a yard of road has been built. For so many years our State Government has been asking the Centre to extend the National Highways. Take National Highway No. 9, It is already there from Hyderabad to Vijayawada. But from Vijayawada to Machilipatnam, a distance of 42 miles, there is no road. Even now, the State Highway is perfectly very good, but there is a heavy load of traffic on this road. So they have been asking for so many years to build up a road for those 42 miles and add it to the National Highway. But they never did it.

Another thing is with regard to the repairs.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think you will have to wind up now.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO: I may tell you that my place is on the National Highway. The road between Guntur and Ongole, a distance of about 70 miles, is not properly repaired. Nobody knows how much money is being spent for the National Highway. What is the amount that we are spending on it and what are we doing there? What is the Central Government doing about it? Whether you are spending the money or not, the road is worse than a *kutcha* road. A car will not go on it. It goes by the side of the road, not on the road. It cannot go on the road.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Kesava Rao, kindly wind up.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO: Just one minute, Sir. Sir, we have been collecting a lot of money on petrol. A central road fund is there. What are you going to do with that? Are you spending the money or not? Why do you not spend the money on construction of new roads and repairing of the old roads which are worst maintained. I want to ask the Government what they are doing with the money. In 1967 Transport and

the Shipping Minister was approached for some grant for the coastal road. We have no coastal road from Vishakhapatnam to Madras. The fishermen in the area catch the fish and send them to the towns. As no roads are there, the richer people, the traders exploit them. They give them some money and hundreds of rupees they earn. If there is a road, they can carry fish to the towns. They can send to other cities like Calcutta, Madras and Delhi. But there are no roads. One coastal road from Madras to Vishakhapatnam, parallel to the highway No 5 is very essential and should be built with the Central road fund to help the backward people like the fishermen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Please wind up, Mr. Kesava Rao because other Members are also there to speak.

SHRI V. C. KESAVA RAO: Just one point, Sir. If the Janata Government wants to help the rural people and especially the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the backward classes people, it should give more money to the Khadi Board. They are doing a very good work. They can start some cottage industries. Where there is no work for the agricultural labour, they will be able to start some small cottage industries. They can get some money on which they can fall back upon. Thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. E. R. Krishnan, the interpreter is there. You have got to take hardly five minutes. You have to wind up in five minutes because your party has consumed all the time available to it.

*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to say a few words on the 1978-79 Budget presented to the House by our Finance Minister. In his Budget

speech, the Finance Minister has claimed that his proposals are intended to give a practical shape to some of the broad objectives of the Sixth Five Year Plan, which comes into force from 1st April, 1978. Even while the framework of the Sixth Plan is not yet ready, I wonder how the wizard of our Finance Minister has prepared his budget proposals for the first year of the sixth Plan. The broad objectives sought to be achieved through this Budget are: eradication of unemployment, provision of basic and primary services like drinking water and medical and health care to 40 per cent of our population in the lowest income group and significant reduction in the widening disparities of income and wealth.

The tax burden of this budget is of the order of Rs. 550 crores, as a result of which the prices of cloth, kerosene, sugar, tea, matches—in fact all essential commodities—would go up. On account of the levy on primary fuels like coal and electricity, the prices of end products would definitely hike up. You add to this the huge budget deficit of Rs. 1050 crores. Is there any doubt that the poor will be further bled? Shri Patel himself says that the daily income of 20 crores of people in our country is 25 paise. But he himself, through his budget proposals, wants to reduce it to 20 paise.

The World Bank Model of Integrated Rural Development was introduced in 20 backward districts with an allotment of Rs. 20 crores. In 1977-78 a meagre sum of Rs. 8 crores was provided. In this Budget there is no mention about it. But in the first year of the Sixth Plan, a provision of Rs. 20 crores has been made for formulating Block Level Plans. I want to know to which kind of eye-wash this belongs. I am sure that this will aggrate rural unemployment.

Compare with this the concessions that have been offered to the indus-

*English translation of the speech delivered in Tamil.

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]

trialists in this Budget. The Industrial Policy of the Janata Government invokes the laudable ideal that the Big Business would not get assistance from public funds. But through this Budget, there is reduction in the Customs Duty for importing capital equipment. The Finance Minister has assured that they would get assistance from Consortium Bank from the accumulated foreign exchange reserves. The Reserve Bank has announced reduction in lending rates for them. As on 31st December, 77 the arrears of income tax and corporation tax were Rs. 1008 crores. The Janata Government has not announced any steps for recovering the arrears from the industrialists. In 1976-77 the external debt was Rs. 8976 crores and in 1977-78 it has gone up to Rs. 9809 crores. I would like to know the reasons for this phenomenal increase of 9 per cent in our External debt in one year. Last year the Janata Government allowed the import of watches and this year import of gold. Who is going to benefit from these things—not the poor by any stretch of imagination. This Budget will further widen the disparity between the rich and the poor. There will not be any significant reduction as is being claimed by the Finance Minister.

While I welcome the Finance Minister's statement that in 1978-79 the State Plans would receive more money than the Central Plans, I am not sure how far the State Plans will be successfully implemented within the framework of existing Centre-State Financial Relations. The Tamil Nadu Government wanted Rs. 130 crores for Cyclone Relief. The Centre condescended to give Rs. 30 crores and that too as advance plan assistance. So even the nature's fury has been brought within the authoritarian framework of the Planning Commission. The divisible pool of Central Excise was brought down from 40 per cent to 20 per cent by

the successive Finance Commissions. Under Article 269 the tax on passenger fare must go to the States. But the Centre has abolished the tax on passenger fare, depriving the States of their revenue. The income tax paid by the companies was in the divisible pool. In 1959 this was treated as Corporate Tax, and the States were denied their revenue. Till 1968-69 there was no share for the States from the advance collection of Income tax. The surcharge on Income tax is not shared with the States. While it is fluctuating, the additional excise duty which belongs entirely to the States is remaining static. The auxiliary duties of excise are increased. Slowly and steadily the States are being fleeced. In these circumstances how do you expect the States to successfully execute their plans?

The Janata Party is a party of 4 political groups. It is a party of different hues and varying voices. I wish that the Janata Party Government continues without getting broken by its own burden. I want that the Janata Party Government at the Centre as also in the States should have co-ordinated economy policy for the well-being of the people. It is also a fact that in some States other political parties are in power. The Centre should adopt a flexible, give and take policy in tackling issues with State Governments run by opposing political parties. Then only democracy will take deep roots in the country. I regret to point out that the Centre has levied a tax on electricity which is in the State sphere. This is in fact usurping the State revenues. The Tamil Nadu Chief Minister has demanded the withdrawal of this levy on electricity and he has always forwarded to this effect a Resolution passed unanimously by all the parties in the State Assembly. The goal of national integration will not be as elusive as an eel, if the Central Government shares its powers with the State Governments.

Sir, the restrictions on advertisements will adversely affect the interests of small newspapers, small industries and also tourism. I appeal to the hon. Minister to repeal this restriction on advertisement.

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to point out another regrettable thing. It was announced that the Postal Department will issue a commemorative stamp to celebrate the Centenary of Thanthai Periar Ramaswamy Naicker, who was the foremost patriot of the country, who propagated the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi, who sacrificed his life for the cause of establishing a classless society and casteless society, who till his last breath at the age of 96 worked ceaselessly for the good of the common people. I have heard that there is some re-thinking about the special stamp to be issued. I appeal to the hon. Finance Minister that he should prevail over his colleague in the Government and ensure the issuance of the special stamp to honour one of the greatest sons of India.

Before I conclude, I would suggest that a T.V. Relay Booster Station should be established at Yercaud which is at a height of 4500 ft. so that Salem District, Dharmapuri District, Coimbatore, Tiruchirappalli, Tanjore, South Arcot and Nilgiris district would have Television facilities.

As I have to conclude for want of time, I would only hastily refer to the economic necessity of Tamil Nadu for Sethu Samudram Project, which is being talked about for decades now.

With these words I conclude.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I oppose this Budget primarily because of its nature, as some of the distinguished colleagues of mine have point-

ed out very sharply. It is a directionless Budget; it is a characterless Budget. It has been a pro-kilak Budget prepared by a capitalist under the conflicting pressures of the traders' lobby and also aggressive kulaks, prepared by very badly cornered socialists and helpless Gandhians. Therefore, the Budget does not give any definite shape or direction. There is no focus of attention in it. But I do not like to deal with the different aspects. I would confine myself only to a few points. A Budget cannot have a shape, cannot have a character or direction, if there are five Finance Ministers preparing one Budget. The Prime Minister himself is pronouncing—and he has every right to—on financial matters. The Home Minister is pronouncing on financial matters. The Industry Minister is styled as a Finance Minister. The Commerce Minister is also issuing policy statements. And the Steel Minister is also deciding basic economic and financial matters from his Ministry. So, the other day also I said, it is a poly-headed, penta-headed, creature having five heads and different types of thinking. As a result of it, there is only confusion and no coherent policy direction. It has been said always that this is a Budget oriented towards rural peasantry and development of village and small-scale industries. If you take the trouble to look into the Budgets of the last three or four years you will find, Plan allocation for rural and village sectors was of the order of something like 36 per cent in 1975-76; in 1976-77 it was something like 38 per cent, and it was perhaps nearly 40 per cent this year. And the computation is very clever. At least for once the honourable Home Minister has been very right in criticising it that under the guise of different heads you have deceptively shown that enough has been allocated for rural and development sectors. This is, however, buttressed by the fact that almost all the money has been allocated for the on-going projects. Therefore, they could not do much about it. It is one

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thing to say that 'we could not do much about it because we have to carry on the on-going schemes', but it is quite another thing to say that this is a new orientation and a new direction. Nothing of that sort. At least facts and figures do not bear it out.

I am very much amused to find in the Budget Speech of the hon. Finance Minister a reference to the village sector, rural sector and many other things. But there is not even a one-sentence mention about the poor rural peasant. Not even one sentence on the poor rural peasant. They have referred to farmers. Yes. But 'farmers' has been funnily defined by the Janata Government. The rich farmer is a farmer. A landless peasant is also a farmer. Both the tiger and the deer, the eater and the eaten, are clubbed together. Therefore, the allocation shown thereunder will be eaten away by the tiger together with the deer. What sort of funny things are done by the Janata Sarkar should be seriously pondered over by those responsible leaders of that Party who want the people to believe that they are trying to bring about a new orientation.

The figures are somewhat like this. Fifty per cent of the rich farmers are controlling 65 per cent of the land available in the country. The percentage for landless peasants has risen from 18 to 25. It is no use saying that this has happened during our time. These are basic issues. At least on basic issues, let us not play about words. Let us agree on these basic issues. We should not be fussy about facts and we should not distort truth just to lure public opinion this way or that way. This is the basic thing that Shri Bhagawati was mentioning at the end of his distinguished career here. It is a question of making a basic, structural change in the economy. I am very grateful to the hon. Finance Minister for referring to

broad-based demands in paragraph 13. He refers to the generation of more broad-based demand. If somebody asks me as to what is the main malady of this economy. I would say that it is lack of broad-based demand or, in other words, dangerous erosion in the purchasing power of the people. Seventy per cent of the people living below the poverty line do not have the purchasing power. Where is the question of producing more? What do you produce? For whom do you produce? The hon. Finance Minister refers to more broad-based demand or, I should say, effective demand. This demand should be backed by capacity to pay. Landless peasants are increasing in numbers and becoming poorer and poorer. What is the use of opening more village industries? If you produce, who will purchase what you produce?

Then, we should bear in mind that hidden subsidies are given to the richer farmers. It has been very cautiously and very characteristically admitted by the hon. Finance Minister. This you can see in paragraph 24, page 7, where he has said that the policy of pricing fertiliser involves subsidy from the Central Budget which is much more than revenue from import and excise duty on fertiliser. This is tiger's share in the farmers' lobby. This is not for the poor deers landless peasants. But I must thank the officials responsible for preparing the Economic Survey because there I find elements of truth. On page 9, paragraph 23.4, the Economic Survey state:

"There is increasing pressure that fertilisers should be provided at prices below cost. Already irrigation water is being made available in many States at prices which do not even cover the cost of maintenance and repair let alone the interest charges on funds used in the construction of irrigation projects. Such concessions are certainly not the right policy in an economy like ours in which resources are so scarce. Resources used in the deve-

development process should yield a return which can then be used for financing further investment in the economy, particularly for the benefit of these hitherto untouched by the development process"

Sir, who are the untouched people? The poor peasants. Now, where has this Budget deviated from the previous one? It is precisely in this sector. In the next five years, they propose to bring under cultivation an additional 17 million hectares. If this analysis by the distinguished officials is true—I think it is true and I have reason to believe that it is true because the document is an authoritative document—and if an additional 17 million hectares are brought under cultivation and if the policy remains unchanged, then it is the tiger's share and it is the rich farmers' share and it is the kulak lobby which will be satisfied. Sir, I find some sentences in the Budget speech of the honourable Finance Minister and I find such words, "I am satisfied, I have additional reasons for satisfaction," and words of this type. I wonder what could be the reason for this satisfaction. The prices are going up. The wholesale prices are going up. What do we do with the Wholesale Price Index? It is the Consumer Price Index that the people are concerned about. The gap between the Wholesale Price Index and the Consumer Price Index is everybody's knowledge and the everybody who goes to the market knows what it is and this gap between the Wholesale Price Index and the Consumer Price Index is the cause for delight for the traders and that is why the traders' lobby has reason to be happy about this Budget.

Sir, the unearned income of the rich peasants is going up. But, proportionate to that income, there is nothing. How could this economy be restructured unless we do something about it? Sir, the Raj Committee looked into the matter and it pointed out that the agricultural sector should be taxed properly. But I am afraid.

this is not being done which is contrary to the policy of the Janata Party economists, because they have said—and you may also recall that—that the people of the country have to accept the burden of higher taxation needed for investment in the future. The people who are to bear the burden are the rich peasants? Don't try to protect them under a very convenient and ambiguous, deliberately made ambiguous, definition of farmer. They have also said—it is the second Janata policy and I am quoting from page 18 of the Budget speech of the Finance Minister—that their policy must simultaneously aim at redistributive justice and must take into consideration the capacity to pay. But those who have the capacity to pay have been allowed not to pay. Therefore, if an additional 17 million hectares would be brought under cultivation and if the policy remains unchanged and if the practice remains what it is and if the practice remains what it had been, then it will be nothing but transfer of resources from the poor to the affluent. Now, Sir, this is not perhaps what the policy makers intended.

Now, the rural banks are forming capital. But the capital is not being used in the rural areas and it migrates to the urban areas because the rural people have not the capacity to invest them. So, it is a very curious paradox that capital is formed in the rural areas, but it migrates to the urban areas where it is used. Therefore, policy guidelines should be there so that the capital that is formed in the rural areas, at least a definite or a major part of it, is used in the rural areas. I think I am only expressing my pious wish that it should be there. But I would also like to say that unless the necessary conditions are created there and unless the infrastructure facilities are provided, this cannot be done and this pious wish will not help and the capital that is formed there will not be used there itself. That sort of condition should be created, otherwise what we hear these days is even

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more dangerous. Sir, in the fifties the tenure system in middle peasantry has been abolished but land reforms have not been undertaken. Sir, the basic question is that if you want to bring about structural changes in our economy, if you want to make, what the hon. Minister wants, an effective demand broad-based, then what is legislated upon should be implemented and these poor people should be helped effectively by the State Government or local Government. But instead, we hear of upward revisions of land ceilings. This is a dangerous thing, Sir. We know from Japan's experiments and from others that from the production point of view, small holdings can yield a lot. And from the per acre point of view, our performance is not very interesting. Therefore, any talk of upward revision of land ceilings will create fire because already you have been hearing on the floor of this House and seeing the Press reports that the Harijans, Girijans and Adivasis are perplexed, and a deeper economic reason now is that in the changed circumstances of the Janata Government, some people, rich farmers, are feeling emboldened to snatch back the lands already distributed. These things should be looked into.

Sir, I remember, in 1969 we organised in Jadavpur University a seminar on land reforms and Jayaprakashji was called there. I called on him and told him, among others, that the 'Bhoodan Movement' would not be successful. With his copious statistics and very convincing arguments, he tried to make the point that it will be. But by 1974, a disillusioned J. P. told that the 'Bhoodan Movement' and voluntary land reforms had not yielded the results he expected of them. And in 1971, I remember, Mrs. Gandhi said that if we could not bring about a change in a peaceful way that would come in another way; obviously she meant—but left it unsaid—in a bloody and revolutionary way. Now, Sir, we do not see the revolution around the corner, but we find a lot of confusion,

a lot of tension, a lot of conflict which may engulf us. What happened in Bihar the other day which has been under-reported in the Press, may take a very serious form tomorrow; it is not unrelated from the movements of suppressions, exploitations and, therefore, possible explosions in the village areas.

I have some suggestions for the Minister's consideration. Agriculture should be brought on the Concurrent List. This is what we tried, but we could not do it. Where we failed, we wish the Janata Government to succeed. And there should be a policy of co-ordination and more finances to State Governments. Sir, I was looking into the big dump of figures. I find that only Rs. 20 crores have been allotted for Block Development Plans. This is in paragraph 3 of this document. This is the allotment made for rural development. Elsewhere I find in the Budget that for land reforms there are Rs. 17.50 crores. This really is once more a confirmation of the fact that they are following only on-going projects. And the new projects they are talking of, are for public consumption, for image building, but not for implementation. Sir, the Raj Committee Report on Taxation and Agricultural Wealth was prepared after a lot of hard work in depth, and the Raj Committee has suggested the setting up of a Land Commission. People may accuse the Janata Government of many things. But its worst enemy will not say that it is shy of forming committees and committees, and commissions and commissions. But where the commission is most important for the poorest man, they have not formed this land commission as suggested by Raj Committee. They rely more on the people like Bhoothalingam. I will appeal to the Minister to reply less on Bhoothalingams and more on the people like Rajs. (Time bell rings) I will say a word or two more. I recall here that Nehru is a very hated name these days. People have started a conspiracy of silence to erase the Nehruvian era. But I

remember that Nehru told a National Development Council's meeting which he last addressed as early as 1964 that "we always pay lip service to agriculture". But when it comes to the question of taking the portfolio of agriculture, I find that no Chief Minister is taking agriculture and everybody is after Home, Industry and General Administration. I would appeal to the Chief Ministers that if they want to help the country and the poor, they should take the portfolio of agriculture and Irrigation." I think what Nehru said in the National Development Council in 1964 is relevant even today.

Sir, I must say that the performance of this Ministry on the export front is alarming. From a growth rate of 27 per cent, it has dropped down to 9 per cent. Sometimes, I find that it is said that export-led growth will not do for this country. It is not Taiwan or Korea. I have been the Commerce Minister of this country for 4 years. No fool will say this. Less than 5 per cent of the industrial production of the country is exported. On that 5 per cent base, you cannot stimulate the industrial production policy. The question is that you cannot have this sort of market always. Some people ask as to what the social cost of having a high export trade is. Sir, the social cost is because of the poor demand in the country. You export steel not out of love for the foreign countries. You export steel because you cannot use it in the country. The purchasing power of the country is less. It has been admitted by the hon. Minister that to sustain a production level and to sustain an employment level, you have to produce certain things and export is the second line of providing employment. Now, we are having extra liberal industrial policy. No licence is required. We think that perhaps it will be announced on the 1st of April I do not know whether it is to befool us. What is the implication of this extra-liberal import

policy. What is the meaning of extra-liberal import and industrial policy? It is corollary of beginning of *laissez faire* economic policy. Its implication would be to say good-bye to self-reliance, good-bye to import substitution attempts and the beginning of the transference of resources to the developed countries. If you import more, you have to pay more and the rich people get richer. So, it is not within the country that Janata economic policy entails transference of resources from the poor to the rich. In the international field also, the policy will imply transference of resources from the poor countries like ours to the rich countries. Multi-national bosses are coming here. Not for public relations. They are brushing shoulders with the Minister and the business magnates of the country. Again not for public relations. They are for business. That know that a climate has been created. Multi-nationals can come. Extra-liberal import policy and extra-liberal industrial policy is there. Rolling plan is again a beginning of rolling up planning altogether. Therefore, these things are really alarming, alarming not only from a party's point of view, but alarming from the nation's point of view. We are all equally concerned and right-thinking Janata leaders and Members should also be serious about it. Sir, some sick industries are there—textile, jute, sugar, engineering, etc. are there. And something should be done about them immediately. I think, Sir, there was a scheme of the previous Government for taking over certain mills. And they did take over some. We should not be in principle averse to the takeover when the takeover is necessary. Merger should be allowed and, I think, it is being allowed. Public sector units should also be allowed to merge, and take over the new units. Why should the sick units only and why not the healthy units also be taken over in some cases? Sir, there should be a policy of indexation of prices. There should be a rational and economic nexus between the pri-

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mary producer, the agricultural producer, the middleman, the mill and the consumer as regards price. There should be an indexation of prices. As we are demanding in the world forum, we should demand it within the country and practise it. Otherwise, the farmers, the sugarcane growers, the jute growers, the cotton growers etc. will always rightly say that they are not getting a proper price for their produce. This exercise was initiated a few years back and that should be followed up. But, Sir, because of various pulls and pressures, conflicting views in the Ministries and because of the spate of commissions and demoralisation of the officials, things are moving very slowly, awfully slowly. There are delays decisions and sometimes no decisions at all. Sir, as Commerce Minister, I heard of a term and you must have also heard it. It is 'UNCTAD'—the United Nations Committee on Trade and Development. Now I hear that a new interpretation has been given to it in the official circles of the Delhi Secretariat. "Under no circumstances take any decision". That is the interpretation now given. The result is that decisions are not being taken.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You may conclude your speech with that.

PROF. D. P. CHATTOPADHYAYA: I am just concluding, Sir. Files are moving from here to there and from there to this place but nobody is taking decisions because everybody is afraid of future Shah Commissions.

Lastly, Sir, quite consistently with the Janata policy and not inconsistently with what we have been saying, the Centre-State relations so far as economic affairs are concerned deserve very badly re-look if not a redefinition. Sir, I am for the unity of the country very much. Our country is unitary and politically it must remain so. But economically, in the matter of power, policy and resources distribution, the

principle of federalism should have a bigger say. The whole part XII of the Constitution, particularly articles 269, 272, 274, 275, 280 and 282 should be relooked into. I am not just saying that there should be an immediate change in the Constitution. But, I think, nobody should feel that whoever speaks of a re-definition of Centre-State relations in economic matters is a disintegrationist or a disruptionist. As a Minister here I saw and I was very painfully aware how the Ministers and the Chief Ministers of the States were coming here every day for petty things, for small things. And they could not do anything. Even the best of the Ministers cannot do anything, not that they lack imagination or they lack the initiative. But they do not have the power. So, also the agricultural tax. They can get it but at the cost of some popularity there and votes there. Therefore, Sir, let the Centre and the State think about putting agriculture in the Concurrent List. The Finance Commission does its work very perfunctorily. There is the NDC—the National Development Council, the highest policy-making body. I have the experience of sitting in it for 6 or 7 years. For a day or half a day it meets and all the things are approved. It is like sitting in the Parliament of a country—and I do not want to name the country—which is called after five years, and which sits for 6 or 7 days only to endorse what has already been decided. So, the Finance Commission and the National Development Council should be more functional and their functional duration should be much more than what it has been. Otherwise, Sir, the Centre-State relations controversy cannot be set at rest merely by moral appeals or rational persuasions. Some hard thinking and rethinking is absolutely necessary.

SHRI K. S. MALLE GOWDA (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, speaking on the Budget I would like to stress here that there is imperative need for the Janata Government to

achieve a high rate of economic growth in the country during the remaining short period of four years, before it faces the next Lok Sabha election. Only a high rate of economic growth during the next four years and higher incomes for every family in the lower income and below the poverty line masses, and better living conditions for them can give confidence to them in the performance of the Janata Party, which has replaced the Congress at the Centre in its unbroken rule of 30 long years.

Sir it must become a great subject of study for the Indian statesman including the Finance Minister and all patriotic Indian people who passionately desire peace and prosperity for each and every family in this country, to see how the Indian National Congress and the Janata Party were defeated by the Indira Congress—a party named after its leader Shrimati Indira Gandhi in Andhra and Karnataka in the recent elections in spite of all that is written and harangued about personalism-cult, dictatorship *versus* democracy lost moral values, Himalayan political corruption, hired political *melas*, all eating into what each family in the country earned and disturbing the peace of the families.

The Indian patriots, urban policy makers and urban citizens should take a lesson from the voting pattern in the elections to the State Legislatures in Karnataka and Andhra. The city voting families which are much better off economically than the rural people and are literate, enlightened and discriminating have, by and large, understood what free democracy means and what utterances of politicians are truthful and what are lies, and, therefore, have, by and large, voted for the Janata Party in preference to the Congress (I) Party. Especially the Harijans and the Girijans have voted almost solidly for the Congress I Party. Gandhiji who was the truest friend of the Harijans and did all for the Harijan cause, won their hearts and they put their total

faith in him and the Congress Party he fathered. And, the Congress, whether it was the undivided Congress of the Nehru era or the split and the re-split Congress of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's time continued to have the same attachment and faith of the Harijans, the tribals, whether the Congress remained democratic or not and whether the Congress men turned very corrupt or not.

It is crystal clear now for a student of Indian Politics that during the last thirty years since Independence the short-sighted, urban-oriented Indian politics has increased inexorably the urban and rural socio-economic gap. The Indian politics with political ends had been demolishing the rural middle class which is not only the bulwark of democracy but also the essential base for savings-generation and now investment. The tragic and shocking result of these perverse fiscal policies for the nation has been that rural masses are left or kept poor and illiterate and there is no real rural uplift. Poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and cynicism of a large part of the people has a direct bearing on the strength or weakness of our democracy.

To strengthen democracy in this country there is an imperative need for the Janata Party to win over the Harijans and tribals who number more than a hundred million, without their vote on the side of truth, collective leadership, human freedoms, fundamental rights, democracy in this country can be weakened, nay felled by ambitious and ruthless people by fanning class-antagonism, by dividing our people and setting one against the other by fanning casteism in our thousand and more castes filled society.

Sir, I would appeal to the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to adopt and implement the following economic measures with a sense of urgency to win the confidence particularly of the Harijans and tribals in

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the country who constitute a big segment of Indian society. We all realise that the Indian society as a whole owes a heavy debt to this segment of exploited section and the whole of the Indian society should feel very happy and relieved to redeem this age-long debt.

Firstly, the Prime Minister may declare in Parliament that no land, the ownership of which is given to a Harijan under the tenancy reforms, will be taken back from him as a big propaganda is being made in the South that the Janata Party will take away the land confirmed to Harijans.

Secondly the Prime Minister may declare that the much-published bonded labour is illegal in whichever small pocket it may be existing.

Thirdly Sir, there are about 100 million Harijans and tribals in our country. It can be computed that at least 80 millions of them are poor, without land or cattle or cottage industries and they live mostly in slums of thatched huts and hovels. If during the last 30 years, the Congress which was in power has given them only sites and some small doles of building materials, I urge upon the Janata Government to construct pucca houses costing about Rs 3000/- each and gift them to the Harijans and tribals. As separate Ministry of Housing for the Harijans and tribals should be constituted at the Centre and the houses should be constructed by the Central Public Works Department. At least, 16 million pucca houses should be built for 80 million Harijans and tribals in the next 10 years by the Central Government. This calls for spending only of Rs. 480 crores annually, during the next 10 years, that is, Rs. 4800 crores in total.

Fourthly, Sir, drainage scheme and water-supply schemes should go in search of the Harijan colonies and completed within the next 10 years at Government cost.

Fifthly, 30 per cent of the cottage industries to be sanctioned in rural areas hereafter should go to the Harijan co-operatives or individual Harijans.

Sir, these positive economic measures would raise the status, dignity and living standards of a big segment of Indian society and give them new faith and hope in the new set-up, that is, the new Government at the Centre.

Sir, I want to urge upon this Government that they have totally failed in the family planning programmes. Without a serious and total effort to bring down the population growth rate to 1 per cent from the present 2.4 per cent, no Government and no party can eradicate poverty in this country in the next 9 years as promised by the Janata Party. The whole economic growth rate will be swallowed up by the demon of increasing population. As the President had suggested seriously in one of his speeches, the population explosion should be discussed by the national parties in a spirit of patriotism and with love for the living humans and radical steps should be taken to make the family planning programme reach every eligible couple in the country so that no couple will have more than three children in future with a package programme of incentives and disincentives determinedly and dynamically implemented. If this does not give the desired result, the national patriotic political parties must be persuaded to agree to bring about statutory family planning in the country and cry a halt to this on-rushing menace of the unborn to the living.

Lastly, I would appeal to our good and venerable Prime Minister and the Janata Party to study the realities of the situation, changed attitudes of the people and feel their pulse and go slow on the big question of prohibition. I would appeal to Shri Morarji-bhai to extend the time to bring total prohibition in the country to 9 years instead of the present 4 years.

This course is necessary if the Janata Party is to realise its dream of building a great, prosperous and strong democratic country as its opponents will use every single opportunity to incite the gullible and affected section of the people against the policy of introducing total prohibition in four years.

With these words, Sir, I thank you very much.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think we will have to sit beyond six because there are quite a few speakers left. Mr. Goswami, can you finish in ten minutes?

SHRI SHRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: I am an Independent; I have got more time. My date was 15th or 16th and I opted for today. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, last March, when the Janata Government was formed, I welcomed it because we wanted a change. I welcomed it although I was in the Congress at that time. But I said that I did not find any difference between the Janata and the Congress. In course of time and due to the various events in politics, I retired on 2nd February, 1978 from the Congress after about 47 years of my association with it and active work and became an Independent. I did not join the Janata or any other Party. In my own State, I worked for the defeat of the Congress Party because I found that Congress leaders were preaching one thing and practising another. When the twenty-point programme was announced, we all sincerely believed that this would be implemented effectively. But this was not to be. I am not critical of the Budget only today. When I was in the Congress, at the time of Budget discussion every year, I used to criticise the Finance Minister. If you go through my speeches, you will find that the year before last, I was vehemently critical of the then Congress Finance Minister. I worked against the Congress in the recent elections. Of course, I do not have any love for the Janata. I said one year before that the Congress and the Janata are

working under the same pattern. The Congress was adopting the bourgeois strategy and it was under the bourgeois leadership for a number of years. But today, I find that the Janata is also adopting the same kind of bourgeois strategy and the same kind of feudal approach. This is not good for the country. Sir, ever since I entered the legislature in 1952, I have been laying emphasis on the administrative machinery. We have inherited this bureaucratic system from the British imperialists. Because it was a peaceful transfer of power, the bureaucratic system remained intact. During the course of these years, it has increased its strength by leaps and bounds under the Parkinson's Law. Last year or the year before last, I said that the bureaucracy in this country had increased its strength not only at the top, but at the middle as well as at the lower levels. So many Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Additional Secretaries, office assistants and even Class IV staff have been taken into the bureaucratic set up. I said one year before that this bureaucratic system which is the hangover of British imperialism would eat us one day. Today, I am happy to see that the people in this country have awakened. They have been able to overthrow the Congress rule which has been there for the last 30 years. Once the Janata Janardhan, as they say, awakens, he will not tolerate anybody, any of us, politicians. We are hypocrites. We preach one thing and practice another. We have been seeing this during the last 30 years. Once a person becomes a Minister, he wants to build up his empire. His son wants to be an MLA or MP. There emerges a second generation of politicians, sons and daughters of politicians and so on. They do not want to become scientists and technocrats. They see all these luxuries and the ostentatious living and, therefore, they want to become politicians because this is very easy. Then, they build up their own empire. This is going on in India. Today, the common man is frustrated and he is desperate. The scientists

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and technocrats are frustrated. We are proud of our scientists and technocrats. On the other hand there are large number of students who copy the vices of the hippies. They do not want to face the realities. They copy the hippies and they indulge in quarrels and so on.

What do we see in Bihar today? There is caste conflict; caste strife. This is more than feudal. In this modern age, we have this caste strife. I am unhappy at this. This is also a matter which is revolting to me. Today, in this poverty-stricken country, caste riots are taking place. I do not blame the Janata or the Congress Government. But this is a manipulation of the capitalist class to divert the class war and the class consciousness towards caste conflict. What about this reservation? There is a caste conflict because of this. We have gone to primitive age. Even in the primitive days, the conflict was on village-to-village basis, not on caste basis. This is very shocking. The leaders should take note of this. I do not mind if there is a class war and all of us are swept away by that. I prefer chaos to this sort of caste conflict. This is all due to the manipulations of the capitalists. What is this Budget? I have criticised the Budgets of the Congress Governments 6 P.M. also. And today I find the worst budget. It reflects the Finance Minister. The Finance Minister is absent, I do not mind. He was the bureaucrat. He entered politics in the last stage of his life and he has produced what the bureaucrats used to produce for our former Ministers. Now he has produced it. I do not go by mathematics. What is this deficit financing? Deficit financing is sometimes necessary in a developing country, but what is this? Deficit financing is going on and going on. Today we find the highest deficit financing. This is nothing but deceiving the people. How long can you deceive the people? The Finance Minister and the leaders can deceive themselves for sometime,

but not the people. Now the people have risen. I read in the newspapers that Shri Morarji Desai did not want deficit financing, but again his Minister has produced the highest deficit financing.

The Janata leaders and the Congress leaders used to quote Gandhiji. The Janata leaders went to Gandhiji's samadhi, and what is this Gandhism? Gandhi was physically murdered, physically assassinated, I do not mind but today everytime these leaders, whether the Congress leaders or the Janata leaders, are murdering him. We talk of Gandhism but do not follow that path. If Gandhiji were alive they would not have taken his name, because Gandhiji would have immediately contradicted them and protected Harijans. Where is self reliance? What about multinationals? Where is your help to the village agriculture and poor handloom weavers? You are giving aid to the rich farmer. Where is the marginal farmer? What programmes are you following? What is your direction in this Budget? I am in this Parliament, not for revolution, but for my subsistence allowance. If there is any other anarchy, anything similar I do not mind. I am here because I have been sent by my Legislators. I have come because I am a fulltimer, I have no other business. We joined politics in the prime of our youth. It was not our last resort, it was our first resort. We made sacrifices. Whenever I speak I speak by conviction. I do not go by mathematical budget. The year before last I said that the budget is a mathematical jugglery of bureaucrats. Whether it is America or India it is a mathematical jugglery and calculation. I told the Congress Finance Minister, Shri Subramanian, that his budget was nothing but a product of bureaucracy. But today's budget is not even that jugglery. There is no direction. Where are your pledges? I do not go by mathematics. What is the direction, where is your implementation programme? If you do not have programmes, what is your political leadership in the country?

All the leaders—I do not accuse the Janata leaders alone—are after power. They are trying to stick to power, or regain power or to become Minister or Prime Minister again. Those who have become Ministers, they want to retain their position through out their life time. But the people will not tolerate this. If I live, I will see that the young generation, the landless labourers and all these people will revolt against our hypocrisy. How long will they tolerate? Shri Morarji Desai said: I will take 10 years to remove unemployment. I do not know whether he will live for ten years or not, but will the people give ten years? That is a very wrong slogan. Nobody can remove unemployment unless there is a pattern of Soviet Russia or Marxists pattern. In capitalist and other countries there is unemployment and you cannot remove it altogether. Even in America unemployment problem is there. Therefore, that slogan is wrong. If you build up a society based on Communist nor the Marxist nor the Gandhian pattern, then there may not be unemployment. But here you have neither the Communist nor the Marxist nor the Gandhian pattern. It is a mixed consideration. I have kept myself in touch with the people. I meet people; I see them. We are freedom fighters. I am not like Mr. Bhagwati. I am not frustrated. I am disillusioned. He is not disillusioned. He said, he is repentant. I am not repentant. I know how to work at this age. I do not care whether the Congress Party goes or not, or the Janata Party comes or not. I am with the people. I am with the poorer sections. The Janata Government is always blaming that the Congress Government has left all this. After five years another Government will come by this very democratic process and say that the Janata Party has left this mess. This is not the way. If you want to improve and raise the moral standard, the ethical standard of the political leaders, clean the politicians, clean the political life.

If Mr. Charan Singh wants to do that, let him first clean his own Ministers and his own M.Ps. I am not afraid of Indira Gandhi. Indira Gandhi will die after 10 years or 15 years. Indira Gandhi is not a menace. The real menace is every politician who is corrupt, who wants to build his empire. That is the menace. Firstly, the politicians should be honest. The MPs, the MLAs, the Ministers should be clean. They should not try to build up patronage. What is going on? Many Members speak about regional imbalance and ask: What about the North-eastern region, what about the Andhra region? Every time one becomes a Minister, he wants to patronise. He wants to develop his coterie. This is not administration of justice. If you want to keep the unity of India remove regional imbalances, look at every State instead of looking to your satellites, to your patronage. Only then India will be united; otherwise frustration will come. Mr. Bhagwati said just now that when he went for campaigning, one cultivator told him that everytime he voted for whoever went there, but his burden, his *bojh* is not removed. Why is that? You may say patriotism. That is not patriotism. In this budget, there is an increase in defence expenditure. The leaders profess by Gandhism but they have increased the defence budget. Why? Defence there must be. But that defence does not and cannot come by imitating America or Russia who have got atomic energy, a com bomb and nuclear bomb. We should not go for that defence effort. And what is this? You are not able to give even primary education to our village boys. You cannot give even one school. That is the situation. There is power shortage. Many of the mustard oil mills are starving because of power shortage. And you are illuminating Delhi with power. I told earlier the Congress Ministers, "You are wasting water in the fountains in Delhi and drinking water is not available in our village". This is hypocrisy. Once I told my Congress friends, "Make Delhi smaller. All

[Shri Shriman Prafulla Goswami] office Assistants and others are going in buses. Delhi is growing the way Calcutta is growing. You are imitating America and other advanced countries. In Calcutta, the previous Government introduced the tube railway. Dr. B. C. Roy wanted to build another Calcutta at Kalyani. Do you know the moral standards of India? The tube railway may be completed but nobody knows whether that tube railway will be original or not. Instead of that you have a plan which suits us. If there is congestion, remove congestion. Build another Calcutta instead of building the tube railway. I think we want to catch the imagination of people and say, "We will also have a tube railway". That pride will not help you unless you can remove poverty. Poverty has increased. Poor people are starving. Beggary has increased. So poverty must be removed. Coming to administration—I am sorry you have not given me my time.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: I have given you extra time.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: Previously concentration was due to the Congress Government. Now concentration of wealth is going on because of the Janata Government, because of their fiscal policies. The growth of multinationals must stop. Gandhiji always pleaded for self reliance and swadeshi. If the country goes on borrowing from foreign countries what will become of this country? Why should you go for foreign collaboration and foreign technology. We have got enough of technology. Of course, whenever we need a certain technology we can borrow. I am afraid these foreigners give us obsolete technology. I was a Member of Committee on Public Undertakings and I know. As of today, we can produce all our necessities. Our technocrats and our own scientists can produce all that is needed by the public sector.

What about essential consumer goods? You are producing luxury

goods instead of producing essential consumer goods mainly food and clothing. You are now producing nylon, terylene and other luxury goods. Produce standard cloth. What is this nylon and terylene? During the British Government time also they used to produce standard cloth. Today people are starving. They are not interested in your terylene and nylon. They should get cheaper cloth. Because of this terylene and terrycot mill-owners have become millionnaires. If you want democracy to succeed go to the grass root. Remove poverty. Bring a plan which will strengthen democracy otherwise this democracy will not remain democracy. This parliamentary democracy is in name only. They come and build empires. People become Ministers and M.Ps. and build empires. This sort of democracy will not last long. Sir, I think you have read the law of dialectics. History does not wait. People will wait. You may win today through manipulation but for all time you cannot come to power. People will revolt. Instead of dying of hunger they will take to armed insurrection. This is world history and history will repeat itself. You want democracy. But you cannot have it at the cost of starvation for millions.

About administration I have my own experience of how it works. There is the Horticulture Department. Since I became an M.P. I came to know how it works. There are Directors and Deputy Directors, all plundering. I have a kitchen garden. I look after it myself. Bungalows are provided with malis. I have never understood the need for these Directors and Deputy Directors for Horticulture. Let there be part-time Malis. I do not want Mali for all time. Let him come once a week for two hours or four hours. I want a jasmine tree. Instead they give me a rose garden. It is all rotten. They are doing their job very efficiently in the Ministers' bungalows and here in the rose garden. I do not want a rose

garden. I want a kitchen garden which I am doing myself. Abolish this Horticulture Department. Give a mali and we will supervise ourselves. I wrote to the Chairman House Committee. Somebody should go and chuck up these Directors and Deputy Directors of the Horticulture Department. Let a Mali visit once a week for four hours. That will do. And supervision? That we will ourselves do. This bureaucracy should go. These Ministers when they become Ministers do not see with their eyes.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Goswami, you will have to wind up. Already it is 6—15.

SHRI SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI: Just one point. Where is the Gandhian principle? I told earlier the Congress Ministry also that we should begin with austerity in public expenditure. One told Mr. Morarji Desai who was the Finance Minister then—I know this is the language I used—"I know Mr. Morarji Desai is a man of austerity, but I am not not concerned with his personal austerity. I am concerned with the austerity of the administration. Where public money is not wasted". One can be austere; one can be miser also. Pirla and Tata have also very simple dress, but they exploit others. Therefore, I am not concerned with austerity by a Minister in his personal life. Let him indulge in luxury if it is with his own earnings. But if he leads a luxurious and ostentatious living with the Government money when our people are starving, he is criminally and morally guilty. Of course, under IPC he cannot be prosecuted for it, but it is definitely immoral. Immorality should go. The defence of the country is dependent on patriotism and morale, not on sermons and all these things. Vietnam fought the United States, the greatest and the mightiest power, with their high morale and not armaments. Armaments we should have, but no so much. Build up mo-

rale, build up patriotism. Yesterday somebody shouted and called me a Chinese as if Chinese are the only patriots. I do not like that. Every Indian is a patriot. But I must go through a person's life and find out whether he serves the people or not. What kind of life he lives. Somebody may abuse me also Foreign agents, are there to North-Eastern India. All chauvinistic ideas are spreading and foreign multi-national people and CIA and all other types of people are there in Assam. The smaller newspapers are patronised by them and they create frustration in the minds of the younger generation. Character assassination of leaders is going on. Therefore, I hope our leaders will correct themselves or they should vacate. If they do not vacate, the French Revolution type of thing will come. You may consider that you are safe today, but the next morning you will find a complete change.

SHRI CHARANJIT CHANANA (Delhi-1): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Janata Budget for 1978-79 is an exercise in deception. Mr. Patel is resorting to disguised deficit financing" to the record tune of Rs. 1050 crores. He did indulge in a similar exercise to the extent of Rs. 85 crores to be drawn on the country's foreign exchange reserves—which have now worked out at Rs. 975 crores i.e. eleven times the estimate. If the arithmetic of total prohibition is also worked out, the Budget would have to bear an additional cost of Rs. 1000 crores—thus the deficit financing might cross Rs. 2,000 crores.

The second source of deficit financing, sale of gold from Government stocks, would lead to diversion of investible resources into unproductive hoards. It appears a paradox, if not a joke, that the former Finance Minister, who happens to be the country's Prime Minister to day, who was once as much allergic to liberal sale of gold and deficit financing, is heading such movements which should not fit in his economic philosophy. The Government, a trustee of people's hard

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earned foreign exchange reserves and gold stocks, would be indulging in a criminal utilisation of the same.

To come to the economics of the release of gold for sale, the proposed gold policy would not only contradict the once upon a-time obstinate slogan of Mr. Morarji Desai but also would be a highly anti investment move. Gold production in the country stands at 3 tonnes a year only, whereas the total demand in the country for prime gold is 75 tonnes. The Budget which claims to fill in this gap would require 72 tonnes of gold every year in terms of hoards, either by smuggling or leakages out of the gold meant for export into the domestic market. The price argument does not fit in the law of supply and demand unless the Government is serious in promoting hoardings alone at the cost of investments. The smugglers also cannot be stopped till this gap remains.

The "London Economist" has summed up its reaction on the Budget thus:

"India's budget combines a record tax increase of Rs. 560 crores. The Finance Minister, Mr. Patel is courting unpopularity all round—with the tax payer and with his boss, the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, who hates deficit financing as much as he hates alcohol."

"But he cannot claim great progress. Investment spending is scheduled to rise by 17 per cent, the lowest increase for three years, and the share of rural development to rise, feebly, from 37.4 per cent to 40.3."

Now here, there is a comparison of the Government's investment in the rural sector between the Sixth Plan and the Fifth Plan, they have forgotten to mention or they have deliberately done so—that the Fourth Plan allocation for the rural sector was even higher than 40.3 per cent.

Nor has Mr. Patel worked out any convincing strategy to tap India's burgeoning foreign exchange reserves and end the paradox of a desperately poor country which is in effect—that is what the rise in the reserves amounts to—lending abroad."

Another Asian journal, the "Far Eastern Economic Review" sums up its reactions on the Janata Budget thus:

"The Janata Budget seems to contradict many of the conservation fiscal policies the party has been following since it came to power last March. Despite a wracking dose of fresh indirect taxation of Rs. 550 crores, the Finance Minister has still left a deficit of Rs. 1050 crores."

"The 5 per cent excise surcharge would mean that the consumer will have to pay more for every article he uses, from sugar and soap to textiles and cement, tea, cigarette and petrol. The inflationary effect of these measures is not discussed in the budget."

This would in fact mean a very high cost escalator which would increase the price level for the ultimate consumer. The resource mobilisation is meaningful in a developing economy only if there is positive correlation with optimum utilisation of the same. Sheer mopping up of liquidity would be inflationary, and we should not afford, even if we can, to do the same. The black money operation in fact has been unfortunately the highest during the last one year. It has reached the highest level simply because the net returns on the same are higher than any other investments.

Now the investment climate has been accepted to be what it is. The Finance Minister has admitted many a time that the investment climate has been unhealthy. In fact that has been a puzzle for him. Various estimates of black money were made

from Prof. Kaldor who was invited by Pandit Nehru to Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, Wancho Committee and Prof. Khusro. The figure four years ago stood at Rs. 40,000 crores. We have made estimates once again and today this money comes to Rs. 60,000 crores. To this the Janata Party's contribution is not less than 25 per cent. The Budget should have hit at this sources. This amount can infact, finance the whole of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The Congress Government did initiate converting these funds into investment through the voluntary disclosure scheme.

The J.P. bag to Rs. 90 lakhs should provoke an in-depth study of its contents and the complexion of the funds in that bag—whether they are black or white. Should we promote such bags to attract the black money in the country. One of the earliest slogans of the Janata leadership was to baptise the smugglers.

Corruption has unfortunately become a part of the system in the country. There is an urgent need to break the corruption nexus of traders—I am referring to corrupt traders only—corrupt industrialists, corrupt bureaucrat, and corrupt politicians. If we realise our responsibility to the tomorrow, to come for a sound future for our children, we must be honest to break this nexus.

The Janata slogan of priority to the rural development and agriculture is another fiction. The allocation has been increased from 37.5 to only 40 per cent. Total are meaningful only if they are seen in details and in depth. The details have not yet been worked out beyond the manifesto which was meant only for the election and has lost its credibility now with the people. Wherever plans for rural development have been announced, they lack planning and co-ordination. The cost benefit analysis unfortunately shows that the so-called rural bias is an effort to build an economy for the agricultural tycoons only. This would relate to two to three per

cent of the landlords and exclude the landless tillers and the small and marginal farmers.

Rural development without land reforms can only be a hollow slogan. Land reforms is a *sine qua non* for the economic development of this country. This institutional change alone can bring the rural sector to a take-off stage. The Janata Government, besides other things, has also inherited an economic infra-structure from the previous Government which has been giving rich inputs to the rural sector, including electricity, water, fertilisers, pesticides and other things.

The slogan-raisers of agriculture and its development, while accusing the 30 years of Congress rule, must also admit that between 1950-51 and 1975-76—I am quoting from Dr. Swaminathan's address to the Indian Agricultural Economic Society—wheat productivity went up 6.6 to 14.1 per cent, rice productivity from 6.7 to 12.5 per cent, cotton productivity from 88 to 139 per cent, and sugarcane productivity from 33.4 to 51.4 per cent—touching and crossing 100 per cent rise. If you take the figures of 1964-65 and 1975-76, the contributions of area and yield increases to the absolute gain in production were 34.4 per cent and 65.6 per cent respectively in rice and 38.7 per cent and 61.3 per cent respectively in wheat.

The Budget has failed to spell out plans for total employment. They have not given allocations and their resulting employment generation. You must build up a correlation between the additional investment that you will make to promote employment and the results that you expect to get out of it. The Budget does not blid a correlation between additional investment and additional employment. Unfortunately Janata models are nearer Hongkong, Taiwan, Singapore and South Korea which do not resemble the infra-structure of our economy. I would only draw your attention to

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an open letter which appeared in the *Indian Express*, written by a former Swatantra leader, Mr. Minoo Masani, to the Finance Minister. They want India to copy these three or four pockets which do not resemble our economy at all. The Chinese total employment or zero unemployment or human settlements, both rural as well as urban, should be our model study. We may not copy out that but we can study it. I have personally, observed those villages and their growth. They are nearer the Gandhian model than the Western model or the things that we talk of which do not have a base. Each human settlement must, therefore, aim at creating economic, social and cultural viability. Fortunately in our rural areas our socio-cultural viability is very rich. It is only the economic viability that is to be added to these settlements.

Now, they talk of price escalation. I would just give one instance of the price escalators introduced by the Budget. And that is by increasing the prices of the basic industrial and agricultural inputs like power, coal and other things. The hike in the price of coal might convert the happy surplus of the Railway Minister's Railway Budget into a said deficit Budget. I was talking to a medium-sized industrialist coming from one of the industrial town of Punjab, who told me that for producing one tonne of steel — that is, a mini steel plant—he consumes 900 units, per tonne which means nowonwards he incurs an additional cost of Rs. 45 per tonne, and the raw materials that he gets for all these things, including electrodes, etc. which are produced through electricity, again add an additional cost of Rs. 35. Such are the examples. If it goes on increasing like that, you can imagine the fate of the ultimate consumer.

The wholesale price index is a meaningless thing for the common man. Only a situation will understand the weightage diagram of the

wholesale index is entirely different from the weightage diagram of the consumer price index. The poorer the consumer, the higher the weightage given to his essentials. And the honourable Prime Minister gave a very interesting recipe for escaping the price rise. He suggested to the poor people that they should shift to cheaper alternatives. But then, what about a person vegetarian whose only dish with rice or chapati is dal? If he is to shift to any other thing, the only alternative for him is salt alone. And I understand the price of salt is going up too . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think you will have to wind up.

SHRI CHARANJIT CHANANA: I will only wind up with this remark that this Budget deserves strongest opposition. But this opposition of mine should be taken as a constructive opposition. Let us not repeat what happened yesterday and all that. Let us learn from yesterday's. Let us not say the Congress Government did this and that. I personally feel the Janata Government has inherited a sick lot from the Congress Government. They in fact helped the Janata Government to stay on for all this time; otherwise, in a developing economy like India's uneconomic factors alone create a crisis, and you are seeing what is happening today in Bihar. I will wind up opposing the Budget but my opposition is again a constructive opposition.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Now Shrimati Ratan Kumari. There is hardly any time left now. I am sorry, the lady Members will have to take five minutes each and finish.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH (Bihar): No. You have given so much time to the men, and you do not have some time for women. We should also have our share . . .

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

clarify the position. All the party speakers have been put up and all the time has been utilised. There is hardly any time left now for your party or her party or the Janata Party. So what can I do?

SHRI NAGESHWAR PRASAD SHAHI (Uttar Pradesh): Then extend the House by a day.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): That is in your hands. You ask the Chairman, you ask the Business Advisory Committee and others. But so far as what is on the Agenda is concerned, it is not possible.

श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, पिछले कुछ दिनों से इस सदन में जनता सरकार द्वारा उपस्थित किये दूसरे बजट पर चर्चा चल रही है। यह मेरा सौभाग्य है कि मैं भी अपने विचार इस बजट पर रखने जा रही हूँ।

पुरानी कहावत है कि राजा को प्रजा से कर इस प्रकार लेना चाहिए जैसे मधुमक्खी एक एक फूल से मधु का संचय करती है। परन्तु यहाँ तो जनता रूपी फूल को एक डंक मारा गया है जिससे यह फूल ही तड़प उठा। मैं कोई वित्त मामलों की विशेषज्ञ नहीं हूँ। एक साधारण भारतीय गृहिणी के नाते यह जानती हूँ कि इस बजट से घरेलू बजट अव्यवस्थित हो जायेगा। जनता पार्टी के एक वर्ष के शासन काल में उसकी आर्थिक नीति की समीक्षा के प्रकाश में जब हम बजट को देखते हैं तब निगाशा ही हाथ आती है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि पहली सरकार ने इतना कोष जमा कर रखा था कि उसके आधार पर यह सरकार अपनी आर्थिक नीति को बिना विधन बाधा के तेजी से सफलता की ओर बढ़ा सकती थी परन्तु हुआ क्या? पाँच प्रतिशत उत्पादन क्षमता इस साल बढ़ सकेगी, ऐसा कहा जाता था जो कि खाद्यान्नों

के बढ़े हुए उत्पादन पर अवलम्बित था। इस लक्ष्य पर जो हरित क्रान्ति जो 1964-65 के बीच हुई थी, पहुँचा जा चुका था। 15 प्रतिशत बढ़े किसानों का 60 प्रतिशत भूमि पर अधिकार है। भूमिहीन मजदूरों की संख्या 19 प्रतिशत से 26 प्रतिशत हो गई है धनी किसान साहूकार और थोक व्यापारी बने हुए हैं। वे कानून अपने हाथ में लेकर गरीब ग्रामीणों पर अत्याचार करते हैं। इस संवध में क्रान्तिकारी कदम उठाने की तुरन्त आवश्यकता है। तभी उत्पादन पर असर होगा और गरीब किसान को उसके उत्पादन का उचित हिस्सा मिल सकेगा।

मैं इस महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य पर भी इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहती हूँ कि जनता पार्टी के एक वर्ष के शासन काल में गरीबी से नीचे की जीवन रेखा में गुजर करने वाले वर्ग में 130 लाख व्यक्ति और जुड़ गये हैं। उद्योगों के विषय में बढ़ोत्तरी की बात थी परन्तु नवम्बर, तक उत्पादन पिछले साल से कम रहा और नवम्बर के बाद तो जैसे ब्रेक ही लग गया। इस क्षेत्र में अनिश्चय की स्थिति है। असतोष पूरे देश में व्याप्त है। कामकाज ठप्प होने लगा है। हिंसा को प्रोत्साहन मिलना आरम्भ हो गया है। यह स्थिति क्या इसलिए ही है कि चुनाव के समय घोषणा पत्र में जनता पार्टी ने अन्धाधुन्ध वायदे किये थे और अव्यावहारिक होने के कारण अब वे पूरे नहीं हो पा रहे हैं। उसका फल है यह असतोष और अनिश्चित स्थिति। वार्षिक योजना की 11649 करोड़ की कुल रूपरेखा में 10465 करोड़ रुपये जारी योजनाओं पर 150 करोड़ ६० नई विद्युत परियोजनाओं पर तथा 1034 करोड़ रुपये अन्य क्षेत्रों की योजनाओं पर व्यय किये जावेंगे जिनमें प्रायः 80 प्रतिशत ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों पर व्यय होंगे। यदि केवल 20 प्रतिशत राशि उद्योगों पर निर्धारित की गई तो देश का औद्योगिक विकास कैसे हो पाएगा।

[श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी]

मैं यह कहना चाहूंगी कि जनता सरकार अपनी अस्थिर योजना नीति की तरह स्वयं अनिश्चित और अस्पष्ट है। जनता के सामूहिक हित के वायदों को पूरा करने के लिए यह पार्टी बाध्य बनाई जा रही है जब तक व्यावहारिक रूप में इस ओर नहीं बढ़ा जावेगा तब तक यह उत्तेजनापूर्ण वातावरण आर्थिक क्षेत्र में बराबर बना रहेगा, बल्कि बढ़ता जावेगा और उत्पादन पर इसका बुरा असर पड़ता रहेगा।

औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में नये पूंजी निवेश के लिए सरकार के प्रयत्न करने पर भी नये उद्योगों के स्थापन में सफलता नहीं मिल रही है। इस दिशा में सरकार की नीति स्पष्ट होनी चाहिए कि लघु उद्योगों, कुटीर उद्योगों और मध्य उद्योगों को सरकार किस प्रकार किस नीति पर आगे बढ़ाना चाहती है। साधारण जन मंहगाई से त्रस्त है। मंहगाई कम करने के आश्वासन दिये गये, परन्तु उपभोक्ता तक पहुँचते पहुँचते मंहगाई कहां कम हुई? मंहगाई की कमी से ऐसा लगता है कि व्यापारी लाभान्वित हो रहा है न कि परेशानी में पड़ा हुआ उपभोक्ता। सरकार को उपभोक्ता की कठिनाई पर विशेष ध्यान देकर उसे सुविधा देनी चाहिए तभी सरकार स्थायी हो सकेगी। साधारण जनता बड़े बड़े आर्थिक सिद्धान्तों को नहीं जानती और न उसे उनसे तात्कालिक लाभ मिलता है। दैनन्दिन जीवन में दो ही बातें उसे त्रस्त करती हैं — मंहगाई और बेरोजगारी। बेरोजगारी को हटाने की कोई व्यावहारिक योजना बजट में नहीं दिखती जनता सरकार अपने दिए हुए वचनों को पालन करे और देश की इन दोनों समस्याओं का हल जनता के सामने प्रस्तुत करे।

वित्त व्यवस्था में घाटे की जो रकम अन्दाज से सोची गई थी उससे घाटा प्रस्तुत बजट में दस गुना अधिक दिखाया गया है। अप्रत्यक्ष कराधान से मूल्य वृद्धि अवश्यमेव है। कोयला,

बिजली आदि रोज काम में आने वाली वस्तुओं की मंहगाई तो गरीब वर्ग को ही विशेष त्रस्त करेगी। यह बजट विकास की ओर अग्रसर नहीं है, यह तो प्रत्यक्ष हो गया है।

अन्त में मध्य प्रदेश की कुछ समस्याओं पर सरकार का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। मध्य प्रदेश भारत के बड़े प्रदेशों में से है और काफी पिछड़ा हुआ है। इस समय केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में दो कैबिनेट स्तर के बारे में और दो तीन राज्य मंत्री इस प्रदेश का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे हैं। मैं उनसे आशा करती हूँ कि वे इस पिछड़े प्रदेश की दशा सुधारने में अपना पूरा सहयोग देंगे।

जबलपुर के पास बरगी प्रोजेक्ट नर्मदा नदी पर है जिसके चालू किये जाने में विलम्ब हो रहा है क्योंकि इसे नर्मदा नदी घाटी परियोजना से जोड़ा जा रहा है। इस बरगी प्रोजेक्ट का इस परियोजना से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है और इसे तुरन्त चालू किया जाना चाहिए। केन्द्रीय जल विद्युत आयोग इसे शीघ्र स्वीकृति दे क्योंकि जबलपुर की जल समस्या और उद्योगीकरण दोनों इसी से जुड़े हैं।

इस समय भारत के सभी प्रमुख नगरों के लिए सीधी रेल गाड़ी दिल्ली से चल रही है परन्तु अफसोस है कि जबलपुर के लिए कोई सीधी गाड़ी अभी तक नहीं चलाई गई। जबलपुर मध्य प्रदेश का एक प्रमुख नगर है। यहां अनेको सुरक्षा संस्थान, हाई कोर्ट, दो विश्व-विद्यालय हैं।

मध्य प्रदेश कई प्रकार के खनिज पदार्थों का भण्डार है जैसे राक फास्फेट, बाक्साइट, कोयला एवं लौहा आदि। भारत सरकार को खनिजों की खोज का कार्य और तेजी से करना चाहिए। जो खनिज मिल चुके हैं उनके आधार पर मध्य प्रदेश में उद्योग स्थापित करने पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिए।

मध्य प्रदेश को आयरन और, मँगनीज और कापर और आदि खनिजों से जो रायल्टी मिलती है, वह बहुत कम है। खनिजों का

मूल्य कई गुना बढ़ गया है, वहां रायल्टी की दर भी अवश्य बढ़ाई जानी चाहिए ।

प्रस्तुत बजट में चुंगीकर समाप्त करने का प्रस्ताव भी है । तो क्या केन्द्रीय सरकार उन राज्यों की क्षतिपूर्ति करेगी जिन्होंने जकरिया कमेटी और सेन्ट्रल काँसिल आफ लोकल सैल्फ गवर्नमेन्ट की अनुशंसाओं के आधार पर चुंगी कर समाप्त कर दिया है ? ऐसा ही एक मध्य प्रदेश भी है जहां 1-5-76 से चुंगीकर समाप्त कर दिया गया है और उसने 50 प्रतिशत क्षति पूर्ति भारत सरकार से मांगी है, जो तुरन्त दी जानी चाहिए ।

इतना कहकर मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Yes, Shrimati Pratibha Singh. I think you will have to fight with your Whip for putting the male speakers first and the female speakers at the end and for giving low priority to you.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH): I entirely depend upon the Vice-Chairman, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You must strongly fight with them. I think they are not chivalrous.

SHRIMATI PRATIBHA SINGH: I will try to finish my speech quickly, Sir. Sir, the Finance Minister ends his Budget speech by saying that he is leaving an uncovered budgetary gap of Rs. 1,050 crores which will be reduced by the receipts from sales of Government gold. He, further says that this will prevent resurgence of gold smuggling. Sir, I am no economist. But, as a lay person, I fail to understand these two facts, even if we argue that the modern thinking of having the backing of gold reserve is out-dated. Today's monetary system does not require the gold cushion to back it for stability. But, Sir, this

is so on the condition that the currency itself is rightly and efficiently managed. The whole question, therefore, turns round this important consideration: Can we say that the currency has been efficiently managed? The fact that the deficit financing of last year, which was to be of the order of Rs. 84 crores, has been enhanced by more than ten times to the order of Rs. 975 crores, suggests that there has been a gross failure to manage the currency properly and to check wasteful expenditure and this has tended to cause serious concern among all sections of the people.

Sir, we have followed the unhealthy practice of deficit financing as the developing countries have to resort to this method and of issuing more currency than is required with the consequence in this circumstance that gold proves to be the most important hedge against inflation. Sir, this Budget has the biggest deficit financing and hence, as a lay person, I have doubts about the sale of gold reserve in the market to facilitate thereby the export of gold jewellery in the Gulf countries. Sir, I may bring to the notice of the Government that the All India Handicrafts Board is already exporting jewellery, not the pure gold jewellery, but the stone-studded jewellery, silver jewellery and mixed-metal jewellery. Only pure gold jewellery was not encouraged as gold reserves were preserved. There was a time, Sir, when some of the eminent members of the present Ministry, including the Prime Minister, advocated a strict gold control and we were told the virtues of this kind of control. It is surprising that these very members have swung from that extreme to the opposite extreme to advocate a complete freedom of the movement of gold. In India, gold is deeply connected with the social habits and traditions and has a special lure in women, as its sale helps them in times of need and distress. Even there came restrictions on them. Millions of goldsmiths were made

[Shrimati Pratibha Singh]

jobless and had to suffer badly. And now we are reversing the whole process. We are going to import gold to stop smuggling. How shall we differentiate between the imported gold and the gold that is sold from the stocks of the Government? Would there be any special marketing to differentiate the two types? Sir, import of gold is smuggling when such import is not legally allowed. When you allow it legally, smuggling ceases to be smuggling in technical term. It legitimises the transaction of the gold import. Sir, we have to look into the wider question of the advisability or not of a free import and export of gold in and out of our country. It has been said that some economists like Dr. P. R. Brahmananda and Shri C. N. Vakil have advised the Government that such a freedom is in the interest of the country's currency situation. But there are other views on the subject also and these come from the other set of economists. In any case, even those economists who are in favour too have not indicated that the transactions will be capable of covering the huge deficit that has been proposed in the Budget and is bound to be much bigger by the end of the year.

Another point the Government has in support of the sale of gold from the Government gold reserve is that the unaccounted money lying idle may become active and boost up the economy. Sir, as other Members have expressed their doubts, the sale of Government gold will bring people's savings, whether accounted or unaccounted, in circulation and they will invest this idle money later on in new industries. Sir, the whole scheme is too complicated for the common man to understand people will have more confidence in holding gold rather than having some share in the new companies as the profits and future of the new companies are uncertain, unless the Government has some idea to facilitate the monopoly houses and multinationals to float, new companies

and people invest in their shares, what are the safeguards for this type of situations?

Sir, we want to give gold from the Government stocks at the international price. Will it not mean transferring resources from this country to other countries in different form? Some financial exercise is necessary to assess the gains and losses in the larger interest of the nation.

Sir, the Minister has time and again mentioned in his speeches that the state of investment in general is very sluggish and we are forced to ask as to what has been proposed to attract investments. It has been claimed that the concessions given by way of exempting investment in equity of new companies from capital gains tax will do the trick. But this is not convincing. The concessions which have been proposed are very small and we know that the new companies cannot start giving dividends in the initial years and so even with good concessions they do not easily attract investment. Besides, are we sure that the proposed concessions are not calculated to help the multinationals? If so, what will be the net gain to the national economy. It has also been claimed that the Government is anxious to reduce the expansionary effect of budgetary transactions. And as the proposal of sale of Government gold is designed to fulfil this aim, even so on the same reasoning the Government have been anxious to deploy a part of our foreign exchange reserves to offset the expansionary impact of larger Plan and investment outlays. And in this connection. It has been suggested that the steps initiated to liberalise imports and the major investment programme that has been proposed to be undertaken will lead to a significant draw down of foreign exchange reserves. On paper these promises sound plausible, but we have heard the Finance Minister saying too often that the investment market continues to be sluggish. There is no

doubt deeper reasons for this situation, and hence the Government may go deeper and propose new measures to improve the climate, inspire confidence in the potential investors and try to evolve methods so that they may have profits, short-term and long-term. The facts, Sir, that too many ideologies are being aired by eminent members of the Government and there is no consistency either in the goals that are proposed or in the methods which are advocated. The stability of wholesale price index gives to the people no guarantee that the retail prices will be really controlled. There is no plan for the public distribution system. The so-called stability is a result of favourable weather and the grain stock and huge foreign exchange reserves left by the previous Government. There is no certainty that either of these three factors is going to be ever lasting. Added to this uncertainty, we have in the present budget a high dose of indirect taxation which will shoot up the cost of production and further rise in prices will be the result. There is no definite measure which will significantly contribute to the relief of the poor on the one hand and increased production and investment climate on the other hand.

Not long ago, it was asserted that the new budget will be a man-power budget. Survey reports in respect of hundreds of blocks are already available. It was claimed that an additional investment of Rs. 2 crores per block for a period of five years would fill the Bill. But now we told that the necessary information is still not available with the Government and that, therefore, all that has been done is to allot a token provision of just Rs. 20 crores for the purpose in the new budget. The question is, is this any way even a partial or initial fulfilment of the promise that was held out? It may even be questioned whether it can even be regarded as a meaningful beginning in the right direction as we have 5500 blocks in

the country. We feel that the Government is moving tardily and inefficiently. Wheels of industry and commerce are allowed to remain stagnant and the poor men in the street is left to find out for himself what profit he can harvest out of the sluggish market and uninspiring atmosphere. People expect from the Government basic reforms in tax laws, agrarian reforms, industrial managements bettered with labour co-operation, accountability of State-owned undertakings etc. We must ask if these great and urgent tasks are being attempted and if there are any indications in the budget to ensure that Government is capable of meeting the demands of these great and urgent tasks.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Shahi. Strictly five minutes please.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, "जाकी रही भावना जैसी सो प्रभु मूरत तिन देखी तैसी" हमारे दोस्त लोगों को बजट में सर्वत्र दोष ही दोष दिखाई दे रहा है। तीन अंधे गए एक हाथी को देखने के लिए कि हाथी कैसा होता है तो एक ने पूछ पकड़ी और समझा कि यही हाथी होता है, दूसरे ने पैर पकड़ा तो समझा यही हाथी होता है, तीसरे ने मुंड पकड़ी तो, समझा यही हाथी होता है। ये लोग जो आंखों पर पट्टी बांधों हुए हैं, बजट में सर्वत्र इनको दोष ही दिखाई है... (व्यवधान) इस बजट में तीन गूढ़ बातें हैं। एक तो यह बजट प्रोडक्शन ओरियेंटेड है, उत्पादन उन्मुख है। उत्पादन जब तक नहीं बढ़ेगा तब तक चीजों का दाम नहीं घटेगा, मंहगाई नहीं घटेगी। इस बजट में उत्पादन बढ़ाने का बहुत प्रयत्न किया गया है।

दूसरे यह बजट इम्प्लायमेंट ओरियेंटेड है, इसमें रोजगार के विस्तार की व्यवस्था ज्यादा उद्योग धंधों को खोलकर और विशेषकर गांवों में उद्योग धंधों को, छोटे उद्योग धंधों को खोलकर लाखों लोगों को रोजगार देने की व्यवस्था है।

1. [श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद साही]

तीसरे श्रीमन्, यह ररल ग्रोरियेंटेड बजट है। ग्राम उन्मुख बजट है गांवों के लोग जिनके लिए 30 साल में कुछ भी नहीं किया गया, केवल शहरों को बसाया गया और शहर के लोगों को खुशहाल किया गया, गांव के लोगों की ओर ताका भी नहीं गया। उन गांवों के लोगों के लिए प्रथम बार इस बजट में हजारों करोड़ों रुपए की व्यवस्था है, कृषि के उत्थान के लिए व्यवस्था है। श्रीमन्, आप सुन रहे थे, हमारे मित्र डी० पी० चट्टोपाध्याय साहब को उन्होंने स्वयं शाह कमीशन के सामने जो बयान दिया है उसे आप जानते हैं। आज उनको कमीशन का फोबिया हो गया है, उन्होंने स्वयं बयान दिया यह समझकर कि बंगालियों को भर्ती कर दिया, यह समझकर कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी की समधिक के एक्सपोर्ट के मामले में ज। इन्सपेक्टरों ने जांच की, और उनको गिरफ्तार किया गया। ऐसी चीज होगी ही उनकी जांच नहीं होगी तो क्या होगा...

(Interruptions)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): That we will discuss separately. You kindly discuss the budget now.

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : उनको फोबिया हो गया है... (Interruptions) मकवाणा साहब शांत रहें, उनको फोबिया हो गया कुलक के बारे में, पांच बार उन्होंने कुलक कुलक कहा। श्रीमती इन्दिरा नेहरू गांधी ने 18 एकड़ की सीलिंग बांध दी, कुछ राज्यों में 10 एकड़ की सीलिंग बांध दी। अब कहां कुलक है? अगर कोई कुलक है तो केवल पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी हैं। आज मैं अपने दोस्त मकवाणा जी को निमंत्रण देता हूं, पासवान साहब भी चले और चौधरी रणवीर सिंह साहब भी चले और भीष्म नारायण जी भी चले, साथ में पत्रकार भी चले, उनको पता चल जाएगा कि आज देश में सबसे बड़ा फार्म

पंडित कमलापति का है — यू० पी० में सीलिंग है और 7000 एकड़ का फार्म मिर्जापुर जिले में पंडित कमलापति त्रिपाठी का है। तो मैं आपको इन्वाइट करता हूं और कहता हूँ कि अगर देश का कोई कुलक है तो पंडित कमलापति है। आप क्यों कहते हैं कुलक, कुलक...

(Interruptions)

श्री योगेन्द्र मकवाणा : शाही जी, अभी तो आपकी गवर्मेंट है आप क्यों नहीं उसको लागू करते हैं?

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : यह सरकार 1 लाख 70 हजार हैक्टर के लिए इरिगेशन का इन्तजाम कर रही है। उस पर यह आरोप लगाया गया कि इस इरिगेशन के इन्तजाम से कुलक खुशहाल होगा। अगर देश के खेत सिंचे जाएंगे और सिंचाई की व्यवस्था होगी तो उससे कृषक खुशहाल होंगे, देश का उत्पादन बढ़ेगा। 30 साल की प्लानिंग के बाद भी पिछली सरकार इरिगेशन के अन्तर्गत जो भूमि लाई वह 20 परसेंट के कम है। तो इरिगेशन के सिवाए कोई रास्ता नहीं है जिस से देश की उन्नति हो सकती है, खेती की उन्नति हो सकती है और गरीब किसानों का भला हो सकता है, धनी किसानों का भला हो सकता है तो द्यूबवेल लगाने से हो सकता है और वह लगे हुए हैं। गरीब किसानों के लिए तो इरिगेशन चाहिए, उसके लिए इस बजट में व्यवस्था है 5 करोड़ रु० की।

श्रीमन्, हमारे दोस्तों ने कहा कि फारेन एक्सचेंज यह सरकार फेंक रही है। 3000 करोड़ का पिछला फारेन एक्सचेंज इस समय 5000 करोड़ का हो गया। फारेन एक्सचेंज कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं कि पोटरी में बांध कर रखी जाए; उसका इस्तेमाल होना जरूरी है। उन्होंने कहा, गोल्ड बेच रहे हैं। स्मर्गलिंग का जो गोल्ड पकड़ा गया वह बेचना नहीं जाएगा तो क्या किया जाएगा? वह 500 करोड़ रु० का है, इसको बेचना वाजिब है।

दूसरी एक बात कह कर मैं खत्म कर दूंगा। मैं चाहता हूँ, मंत्री जी इस पर ध्यान दें कि बेकारों को 50 रु० माहवार, कम से कम भत्ता, मिलना चाहिए। इसका प्रावधान बजट में होना चाहिए।

श्री रणवीर सिंह (हरियाणा) : काम कराना चाहिए।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही: इसके अलावा..

श्री भीष्म तारायण सिंह : फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर भी नहीं हैं आपकी बात सुनने के लिए।

श्री नागेश्वर प्रसाद शाही : दो दो मंत्री बैठे हुए हैं। तो कोयले और बिजली के ऊपर जो नया टैक्स लगाया है वह समाप्त होना चाहिए क्योंकि कोयला और बिजली के ऊपर सरचार्ज लगाने से एक्साइज ड्यूटी बढ़ाने से उत्पादन प्रभावित होगा; उत्पादित वस्तुओं का दाम बढ़ेगा और मंहगाई बढ़ेगी। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करता हूँ कि कोयले और बिजली के ऊपर से एक्साइज ड्यूटी समाप्त होनी चाहिए। 50 रु० माहवार बेकारी भत्ता मिलना चाहिए।

मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे अवसर दिया प्रश्न चंद सुझाव देने का।

7 P.M.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1975

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha;

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill, 1978, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 16th March, 1978.

The Speaker has certified that this Bill is a Money Bill within the meaning of article 110 of the Constitution of India."

Sir, I lay the Bill on the Table.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 a.m. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at one minute past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 17th March, 1978.