

[Shri Rishi Kumar Mishra]

the pressures that are being exercised by the vested interests both in agriculture and in industry. I hope, Sir, very soon it will be possible for the Government to come out with a policy statement and at least to assure this country that economic independence will not be compromised and the problems which are going to arise in the immediate future will not be ignored. The Budget lacks completely a long-range perspective and from that point of view, it is very very disappointing. Thank you.

PROCLAMATIONS UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION—contd.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRI L. K. ADVANI): Sir, with your permission, on behalf of Shri Charan Singh, I beg to lay on the Table, under clause (3) of article 356 of the Constitution, a copy each (in English and Hindi) of the following papers:—

(i) Proclamation [G.S.R. No. 396(E)] issued by the Vice-President acting as President, under clause (2) of article 356 of the Constitution on June 23, 1977, revoking the Proclamation made by him on April 30, 1977, in relation to the State of Uttar Pradesh.

(ii) Proclamation [G.S.R. No. 397(E)] issued by the Vice-President acting as President, under clause (2) of article 356 of the Constitution on June 23, 1977, revoking the Proclamation made by him on April 30, 1977, in relation to the State of Madhya Pradesh.

[Placed in Library. See LT-487A/77 for (i) and (ii)]

THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1977-78 —GENERAL DISCUSSION—contd.

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I stand up not to speak as an authority on economic, financial or fiscal affairs because if I pretended to do that, I would only expose my technical ignorance. But I would like to speak on this Budget as a person who living in a society where the youth, where the working classes, where the agricultural labour and where the housewives have all pinned their hopes and aspirations on what was supposed to be their Budget and on what was supposed to be the culmination of their hopes and aspirations, their faith and their popular mandate.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Ranbir Singh) in the Chair]

They wanted to know what this Budget would have for each one of them what it would say about the bonus, what it would say about the Compulsory Deposit Scheme, what it would say about the promise made in the Janata manifesto about eradicating total unemployment within 10 years and what it would say about decreasing the rising prices. As has been pointed out earlier by different speakers of my party, excuses were given by both the Finance Minister and earlier this afternoon by the hon. Prime Minister about lack of time. Does it have a note of credibility? A Budget is presented every year. A certain amount of time is taken to present the Budget. The spade work is done by governmental machinery. It is only the idea of the leaders which need to be concretised in the form of words, clauses and articles. Surely, the leaders of the Janata Party and the members of the Cabinet do not mean to say that till they took oath of office, they had not even concretised their ideas as to what would be their financial and economic policies if they came into power. Do they mean to say that they never expected to come into power and that they

never thought about these things? This is the question which I want to ask here. Even the Prime Minister said: "Bear with us, give us time". We would like to know. Is the time really needed to give a new direction? Is the time which they ask for from all of us and from the people of this country needed to give a new dynamism to the economic policies or is the time which they ask for needed to sort out their own internal contradictions and radically contrary views on what they have in mind about the socio-economic transformation of this country? From what we read in the newspapers and from what we learn from the utterances of the Janata Party leaders, it does seem that their top leaders of the party have radically divergent views on what should be the policy of the Government on agriculture, on industry, on public sector, private sector, unemployment and so many other things? There seems to be a tremendous amount of confusion in their own minds and thus also in the minds of the people. If I begin to analyse, right from the beginning, all the broken promises starting from their manifesto upto their Budget, which like a syllabus, it would be an unending exercise. I would not like to do that.

Almost every leader has laid emphasis on agriculture. The other day Shri Biju Patnaik, while intervening in the debate, said how the economy has been left in shambles. Even the Prime Minister this morning very mildly conceded that some progress has been made, but that progress was inevitable in any economy which was not totally stagnant and was no credit to my party. I want to know whether they genuinely believe that the Congress paid no attention to agriculture? Do they think that people will believe every word of what they say? Do they not genuinely believe that agricultural reforms and the liberation of the kisan was one of the main pillars of the programme even during the independence movement launched by the Congress? Do they not

genuinely believe—or do they negate it—that the community development projects started in 1950 were important and beneficial programmes for rural upliftment? They have been recognised all over the world as a pioneering movement in this sphere? I would cite the example of my own State of Punjab. At the time of partition in 1947 the part of Punjab that came to us was much poorer. There the agricultural growth was much lower than the western part of Punjab which went to Pakistan. Today what does one see? Three months ago what did one see? The progress is not only due to the Herculean effort of the Punjabi kisans, but also due to the framework of the Congress policies based on their emphasis on agricultural progress. Now the agricultural growth rate is not only higher than in the part of Punjab which is now in Pakistan, but even than—I may say—in Taiwan which is of the same size of Punjab and which is often quoted in the world circles as an example of modern agriculture success. How and on what basis was this done? It is true that agriculture is very important. But the primacy of agriculture is not a new idea. Who does not know that 80 per cent of the population living in villages depend on agriculture? Who does not know that half of our gross national product is from agriculture and half of our national expenditure is on food? But no matter how much money you pump into agriculture or rural uplift, you can never get the desired result unless the progress and development take place in an integrated way. I would like to say one thing in this context. If it is pointed out that the Congress did not lay enough emphasis on education which is also very vital for national progress, or, if you say that enough has not been spent on industry, it can be accepted as partially true. But how can you say that Congress ignored agricultural development. On the other hand how can the country be only based on agriculture? Should one ignore industry only for the sake of agriculture and cottage industry?

[Shrimati Ambika Soni]

Cottage industry is to be promoted. Small-scale industry has to be encouraged, because besides producing vital consumer goods it will bring about more equitable distribution of wealth and avoid concentration of wealth. It has also tremendous potential for employment. But can you imagine agriculture going forward only with the help of small-scale industries? Agriculture necessarily needs water and increased agricultural production means provision of more water. Agriculture, modern agriculture, depends on the progress that we have made in the field of science and technology, it depends on water, it depends on fertilizers, and it depends on power. Irrigation needs a certain quantum of cement and the irrigation projects like dams need a great quantity of cement and steel. For good agricultural progress, you have an organised transport system, an organised railway transport system. It is important that for fertilizers, you have naphtha, which means development of our oil potential. Can we neglect any of these things and only put emphasis on agriculture? As Mrs. Alva said, you can expect us to believe in one wrong thing, but you cannot take everybody to be as naive and as uneducated about economic matters as probably I am. On the other hand, I would like to know, when you talk of agricultural progress and agricultural development and the allocations made, which are less than what they were in the previous Budget, what allocation you are making for social services? Do we expect our agricultural production to go up without our giving any consideration to raising the living standards of our farmers, without giving any consideration to greater medical facilities and without paying any attention to better educational facilities and better banking facilities? Besides the vital need of drinking water facilities are we paying any attention to the question of development of our co-operatives? If we want to help even those

people—though their number may not be as large as it should have been—who were able, after centuries of bonded labour, to call themselves as masters of small pieces of land, we have to give them many facilities. Now, what facilities are you offering these people in this Budget? What allocations are you leaving aside for those people who need all the infrastructure and who need all the facilities and means and material for developing their pieces of land? (*Time bell rings*). I think it would be very unfair if you keep on saying that the Congress Party did nothing and the Janata Party has to start from A B C, because nobody would believe this and the credibility of your party would be reduced.

Besides this, can you think that employment in the rural sector would provide us full employment considering the rate of growth of our population? In this decade which we would be finishing in a few years, you will have to provide employment to about 70 million people and you will have to look for other avenues of employment. I wish the Finance Minister, in accordance with the promises that were made in their manifesto and in accordance with what the Prime Minister said this morning—removal of unemployment in ten years—had given employment National Priority. Even last year, when I spoke on the Budget here, I had told the Congress Government that they should give national priority to the question of employment suggesting that in the Finance Ministry, at the State levels and at the Central level, a cell should be created to promote self-employment and to frame self-employment schemes. Revised Credit facilities should be given by the nationalised banks and more and more unemployed people should be assisted with loans and they should not be caught up in red-tapism, in paper work or in bureaucratic bungling. Similarly, I would like to ask one question. When you talk of removing unemployment, do

you think that by giving concessions to the industrial houses, to the big business houses, you can increase employment? You give them tax exemption on the additional machinery that they want. What does additional machinery mean? Each additional machine means less employment. Is this one of your ways by which you want to encourage more employment and remove unemployment? Why can't you give concession to big private industrial or business houses on the additional money that they pay to additional men employed? Concession should be on the money spent on creating more employment. If a private business house or industrial house employs about two hundred more people, on the salary which goes to these additional people there could be a tax exemption.

I would like to say that I quite agree with the announcement of the Commerce Minister, that they want to have Janata shops for essential consumer goods, this is something that should be welcomed in the larger context of a public distribution system. But these shops should not go out of the co-operate field and should not go to traders or those people who have already some sources of income. Let the idea of co-operative fair price shops be encouraged and be run by the unemployed youth, by the people who are in the age group of 18—21, who can work for minimum profit provide themselves with gainful employment and yet the public is benefited by essential goods at low prices.

A lot has been said about ignoring the public sector. I would also like to add my voice to make the protest stronger that the public sector cannot be undermined and cannot be allowed to be undermined. As we see in the Budget, there is no mention, leave alone expansion, of any particular schemes in the existing enterprises in the public sector. But what we see in the Budget is only a continuation of what is going on and is inevitable. Sir, the Prime Minis-

ter said a little while ago that he would like to see that all the economic disparities are removed. I would like to know whether this is possible if they pursue a policy of playing up the private sector at the cost of the public sector?

Mr. Biju Patnaik said that the Congress Government had made a 10 crore Birla to a 200 crore Birla. I want to know what attempts are being made by the Janata Government to bring the 200 crore Birla back to 10 crore Birla? What are they doing? By ignoring the public sector and emphasizing on the private sector, are they going to decrease the concentration of wealth in a few hands, or are they going to still increase it?

Again, there is the question of mobilisation of funds and better incentives for public savings so that you do not have to draw on your foreign exchange reserves for creating the rupee as was explained to us two days ago. You have increased the tax on *bidis* so that you can mobilise more funds. You have taxed the poor factory worker, the *rikshaw* puller, the man in the street, whose only solace is to have a *bidi* twice a day. On the one hand you tax the *bidi* of the poor worker, the *mazdoor*, the peasant of this country, on the other, you tell rich businessmen that they need not pay full dividends and they can increase their profits and investments.. (*Time Bell rings*).

One minute,, and I will sit down. This is not the way. Then, similarly, you have decreased the rate of interest on the savings account. Who has the savings account? It is the small people, the lower middle class people who....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): Please wind up.

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: Now, suddenly you reduce the interest. The result will be that they will go back to private money-lenders, and

[Shrimati Ambika Soni]

then this will become another form of bonded labour. So the poor man is taxed in order to better the life standard of the rich. This is not the Janata Spirit.

Before I sit down, I would like to touch upon a very important matter...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): You have already taken 23 minutes. Please wind up.

SHRIMATI AMBIKA SONI: We emphatically talk about a self-reliant economy. I think that the way this Budget has been presented would make us dependent on foreign capital. We will be sacrificing our national independence for which so much struggle has been there. If we do not adopt the concept of self-reliant economy, we cannot expect India to maintain its integrity and independence. And that will be a great pity for us, for our country and for all our people who have pinned such great hopes on the Janata Government only to find that some Capitalist countries will now decide what India will do. I only hope that the Janata Government will not conduct exercises of broken promises and assurances. Let them fulfil at least some assurances, whether they be to the Government employees, whether they be to the students or the youth or the housewife or the working class of this country.

श्री सुल्तान सिंह (हरियाणा) : उप-समाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो बजट वित्त मन्त्री जी ने सदन के सामने रखा है यह बजट न तो समाजवादी है और न ही गांधीवादी है बल्कि मैं कहूंगा कि यह बजट पूंजीवादी और प्रतिक्रियावादी बजट है। लोकसभा के चुनाव के बाद बड़े जोर से हमारे इन दोस्तों ने जिनके हाथ में आज देश की राजनीतिक सत्ता है कहना शुरू किया था कि यह चुनाव क्रान्ति है। इस चुनाव को इक्लाब कहते हैं। तो हम

समझते थे कि बजट भी शायद कोई क्रान्तिकारी बजट होगा इक्लाबी बजट होगा, लेकिन इस बजट को देख कर यह महसूस हुआ कि बजट एक रूटीन बजट है। उसमें कोई क्रान्तिकारी बात नहीं है बल्कि कुछ मदद दी है पंजीपतियों को, साहूकारों को, बड़े उद्योगपतियों को और जो यह कहा करते थे अपने चुनाव मैनिफेस्टो में और पब्लिक मीटिंगों में कि इस देश की 70-75 फीसदी जो आय है राष्ट्र की वह कृषि से होती है, एग्रीकल्चर से होती है और एग्रीकल्चर के ऊपर राष्ट्र के बजट का 70 प्रतिशत खर्च हो। तो यह बजट देखकर बड़ी मायूसी हुई। न खाद की कीमत घटी, न ट्रैक्टर की कीमत घटी, न इस देश में बिजली की कमी को दूर करने के लिये नये प्रोजेक्टों के लिये रुपया रखा और न किसी डम बगैरह बनाने की बात की। मैं इस नतीजे पर पहुंचा कि यह बजट किसी भी रूप में क्रान्तिकारी बजट नहीं है। उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, आप इस बजट के एक-एक आंकड़े को देख लें, एक-एक चीज को देख लें कहीं आपको ऐसी बात नजर नहीं आएगी कि कोई एग्रीकल्चर के लिये परिवर्तन की बात इसमें कही गई हो। बेरोजगारी हटाने की बड़ी लम्बी चौड़ी बातें कहा करते थे, आप खुद देख सकते हैं इस बजट के अन्दर थोड़ा सा पैसा घरेलू उद्योग के लिये रखा है। 65 करोड़ की आबादी के अन्दर बेशुमार बेरोजगार गांवों-गांवों में घूमते हैं, मैं नहीं समझता इतने थोड़े पैसे के अन्दर कैसे बेरोजगारी दूर हो सकती है।

आज इस देश के सामने सबसे बड़ी दिक्कत यह है कि इस देश की जो कृषि है जो एग्रीकल्चर है उसकी इतनी अर्थव्यवस्था बिगड़ गई है कि कोई एग्रीकल्चर का एम० एस० सी०, कोई एग्रीकल्चर का पी० एच० डी० जिसकी अपनी खेती के लिये जमीन होती है, उसमें खेती करने के लिये तैयार नहीं होता है और नौकरी तलाश करता है। आप देखेंगे कि इस कनाटप्लेस के अन्दर कोई

पी० एच० डी० व्यक्ति नौकरी करने को तयार नहीं है, बाल पन बेच कर अपना गुजारा चलाता है। एक आदमी जो किसी खेती के नीचे बैठ कर बाल पन बेचता है उसकी आमदनी उससे ज्यादा है जो अपनी जमीन होते हुए भी, पानी होते हुए भी, एग्रीकल्चर ग्रेजुएट होते हुए भी, एम० एस० सी०, पी० एच० डी० होते हुए भी कमाता है। इसीलिए इस देश का एग्रीकल्चर एम० एस० सी०, पी० एच० डी० व्यक्ति नौकरी की तरफ भागता है, खेती की तरफ नहीं भागता है। मैं सोचता था कि यह सरकार शायद इस व्यवस्था को बदलने की कोशिश करेगी लेकिन इस बजट में वह व्यवस्था बदलती दिखाई नहीं दी।

इसके अलावा मैं आपकी मार्फत सरकार से प्रार्थना करना हूँ कि आपने जो व्हीट पालिसी इस साल ली है उसमें आपने किसान की आंखों में धूल झाँकी है। आपने कहा है कि हमने गेहूँ के भाव 110 रुपये कर दिये हैं पहले 105 रुपये होते थे लेकिन मंडी में अगर आप जाकर देखें तो आप पायेंगे कि 105 रुपये से ऊपर कोई उसे खरीदता ही नहीं। मेरा तो यह अंदाजा है कि अगले साल इस देश के अन्दर व्हीट की प्रोडक्शन भी गिर जाएगी सरकार की गलत नीति की वजह से। सरकार की गलत नीति क्या है? आप बाजार में जाइये तो जिसे फार्म गेहूँ कहते हैं जिसकी वैराइटी कम पैदा होने वाली है उसके भाव डेढ़ सौ रुपये से ऊपर है और जो हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटीज का गेहूँ है जो कल्याण है और दूसरा गेहूँ है उसके भाव 105, 106 रुपये है और अगर कोई बहुत अच्छा गेहूँ होगा तो उसे 107 रुपये में कोई खरीदेगा। इतना फर्क आ गया है गेहूँ का फ्री ट्रेड करने में। आप जानते हैं कि किसान खेती में अपने इनपुट्स लगाना है, पानी देता है और खेतों में दिन-रात काम करता है। ऐसी हालत में अगर उसको इतना पैसा भी न मिले तो वह हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी को बोना क्यों पसन्द करेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर किसान को

हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी से उचित पैसा नहीं मिलेगा तो वह हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी को बोना छोड़ देगा। मैं आडवाणी जी से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि वे किसी भी मण्डी में चले जायें और वहाँ पर हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी के गेहूँ के भाव को देखें और साथ-साथ देशी गेहूँ के भाव भी देखें। वहाँ जाकर उनको पता चलेगा कि हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी के गेहूँ के भाव कहीं भी 107 रु० से ज्यादा नहीं है और देशी गेहूँ के भाव कहीं भी 130 रु० से कम नहीं है। आपको इस बात की भी जानकारी होगी कि हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी का गेहूँ एक एकड़ में 50 मन तक हो जाता है। इसके विपरीत देशी गेहूँ 25-30 मन से ज्यादा नहीं होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस गलत पालिसी की वजह से किसान लोग हाई ईल्टिंग वैराइटी का गेहूँ बोना बन्द कर देंगे और देशी गेहूँ की तरफ जाएंगे। इससे देश में गेहूँ का प्रोडक्शन गिरेगा।

इसके अलावा आप जानते हैं कि आज कल बिजली की बहुत कमी है। चाहे उत्तर प्रदेश हो, हरियाणा हो या दिल्ली हो, सब जगह बिजली की कमी है। पिछले दिनों जब त्रेनिंग का सीजन चल रहा था तो एक तरफ तो आसमान में बादल रहते थे, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ पूरे-पूरे दिन बिजली नहीं मिलती थी। मैं इस सरकार से यह प्रार्थना करना चाहूँगा कि हमारे देश के अन्दर खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने का सबसे अच्छा और सस्ता तरीका यही है कि किसानों को को समय पर बिजली उपलब्ध कराई जाये। हमारे पास बड़े बड़े फाल हैं, पहाड़ हैं और बेमुपार नदियाँ हैं। हमारे पास डेड-डेड जलनियर भी हैं और बेसगर मजदूर भी है इन सब के जरिए हम बिजली जेनरेट कर सकते हैं। इसलिए आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा बिजली जेनरेट की जाय। लेकिन इस बजट को देखने में मुझे बड़ी मायूसी हुई। इसमें खेती के लिए बिजली उपलब्ध कराने की तरफ कोई तबज्जह नहीं

[श्री सुलतान सिंह]

दी गई है। इसका नतीजा यह निकलेगा कि एग्रीकल्चर की प्रोडक्शन कम हो जाएगी।

इसके साथ-साथ मेरा गिला एक और भी है और खास तौर से हमका सम्बन्ध आडवानी जी से है। जिस वक्त कांग्रेस की सरकार थी उस वक्त जितने भी हमारे दोस्त आज ट्रेजरी बेंच में बैठे हुए हैं उनको एक शिकायत थी और वह शिकायत यह थी कि श्री संजय गांधी को रेडियो पर बहुत टाइम दिया जाता है और रेडियो पर उनका नाम बहुत आता है। हमसे वे पूछते थे कि चूकि संजय गांधी श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का बेटा है, इसलिए उनका नाम रेडियो पर आता है। लेकिन वही गिला अब हमारा इस सरकार से है। यह सरकार सब को आम सिटीजन मानती है। लेकिन अब हालत यह है कि अगर श्री संजय गांधी की किसी अदालत में अपील रिजैक्ट हो जाती है या संजय गांधी के घर में या मारुति कारखाने में कोई कंटेनर मिलता है तो उसका जिक्र रेडियो पर अवश्य कर दिया जाता है। हमारा गिला यह है कि श्री संजय गांधी कोई एक्स्ट्रा आर्डिनरी आदमी नहीं है, लेकिन फिर भी आप उनका नाम बार-बार रेडियो पर क्यों लेते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि इसलिए लेते हैं कि वह श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी का बेटा है। ऐसी हालत में आप में और हम में फर्क क्या है? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि अगर यह गलत बात है तो आप उनका नाम बार-बार रेडियो पर क्यों लेते हैं? हिन्दुस्तान में 65 करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं। हजारों की एन्टी-सिपेटरी बेल हुआ करती है। उनका नाम रेडियो पर नहीं आता है। कितने ही लोगों को पुलिस पकड़ती है। किसी का नाम रेडियो पर नहीं आता है। लेकिन श्री संजय गांधी को अगर छोक भी आ जाती है तो श्री आडवानी साहब अवश्य उसका जिक्र रेडियो पर करते हैं। यह किस लिये किया जा रहा है? यह इसलिए कि वह इंदिरा गांधी का बेटा है। मुझे अफसोस

होता है कि 62 करोड़ लोगो का रेडियो स्टेशन; जोकि इन्स्ट्रुमण्ट है इस देश का वह एक व्यक्ति के प्रचार के लिये इस्तेमाल हो रहा है और फिर यह सरकार मानती है कि वह व्यक्ति एक साधारण हिन्दुस्तानी है। इस देश के अन्दर कितने ही हिन्दुस्तानी ऐसे हैं।

(Time bell rings)

चौधरी साहब घंटी न बजाये।

मेरे खयाल में इस देश में . .

सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री (श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवानी) : उपसभाध्यक्ष कहिये।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : माफ करोगे उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, इस देश में हजारों लोग ऐसे हैं जो अपने मुकदमों में एन्टी-सिपेटरी बेल कराते हैं। आडवानी साहब, बतलाइये कि इनमें कितने नाम रेडियो में आते हैं। इसके साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम यहां पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर हैं। कई बार हम कागज भरने में, लिखने में अथवा पढ़ने में, फार्म की पूर्ति करने में गलती करते होंगे लेकिन कभी भी रेडियो पर यह नहीं आया कि फलां मेम्बर ने फार्म गलत भरा था, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने मकान का फार्म भरा था और उस में एक जमानत का खाना भूल गए उस में कुछ लिखना था। रेडियो के ऊपर अगले दिन ही यह समाचार आ गया। क्या इतनी छोटी छोटी बातें रेडियो के ऊपर लाई जाती हैं? बाहर के लोग क्या कहेंगे कि यह नेशन एक फोरमर प्राइम मिनिस्टर और उसके परिवार को 50 प्रतिशत समय रेडियो पर देता है। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं मैं आपकी माफत श्री आडवानी साहब से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे यह नोट कर लें कि आप का यह रेडियो सारे नेशन का है, संजय गांधी का नहीं।

श्री लाल कृष्ण आडवानी : कम से कम यह बात अब समझ में तो आ गई।

श्री सुलतान सिंह : यह मैं आप को समझाना चाहता हूँ। हम तो बहुत समझ चुके, कुछ गलतियाँ हमने कर ली हैं। लेकिन अब आप हमारी गलतियों को डुहरा रहे हैं।

इसके साथ साथ मैं एक बात और कहूँगा और वह यह कहूँगा कि दुनिया में पालिटिकल लड़ाई होती है। हमारी पार्टी ने डी० आई० आर० में लोगों को पकड़ा मेसा में लोगों को पकड़ा, परन्तु किसी को धोखा देकर नहीं पकड़ा खुल्ल-मखुल्ला पकड़ा। क्यों पकड़ा? क्योंकि हमारे कुछ दोस्त रेलों को बन्द कराना चाहते थे। रेलों को इसलिये बन्द कराना चाहते थे ताकि वह चल न सके। लेकिन आजकल आपकी पुलिस क्या कर रही है। संजय की मारुति कारखाने में टूटे हुए कटेनर पकड़कर चोरी का केस बनाती है। नेशन इस बात को समझती है कि इस प्रकार आप झूठा केस बनाना चाहते हैं। आप ने उस के ऊपर कमीशन बिठाया। यदि किसी के घर के अंदर अफीम रखकर पुलिस उस के विरुद्ध केस बनाती है तो उस की क्या जुर्रत है सरकार का मुकाबला करने की। यह कोई तरीका नहीं है लड़ने का। जिस प्रकार आप लड़ाई लड़ रहे हैं। आप के यहां से तीस हजारी कोर्ट से दिन में 5-5 अपराधी भगाये जाते हैं और 4-5 दिन के बाद उनको मार भी दिया जाता है। मुन्दर डाकू को मारा गया तो उस के ऊपर कमीशन बिठा दिया और यह तीस हजारी से भागे हुए को जो मारा गया, उस पर कोई कमीशन नहीं। फिर भी आप जूडिशियरी की बात करते हैं। जूडिशियरी की बात करने वालों से मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय आप के मार्फत से, कि इस देश का सबसे बड़ा व्यक्ति राष्ट्रपति है। जब वह राष्ट्रपति कोर्ट के सामने खड़ा हुआ, इस देश की प्रधान मंत्री कोर्ट के सामने खड़ी हुई तब भी आप में हिम्मत नहीं हुई कि आप अपने मिनिस्टर्स को कोर्ट के सामने जाने दें। आप ने केस विदड्रा कर दिये। प्रकाशसिंह बाद का केस विदड्रा कर दिया जार्ज फर्नैंडीज का केस विदड्रा कर दिया। आप में दम नहीं है

जूडिशियरी में जाने को और तिस पर भी आप जूडिशियरी की कद्र करने का दावा करते हैं। हिम्मत है तो चोरो के सामने जाते। और भी कितनी बातें हैं। आपकी तो वह बात है हाथी के दांत खाने के और दिखाने के और। जनता पार्टी जो बड़ी लम्बी चौड़ी बातें करती थी कि हमारी गांधीयन फिलास्फी होगी, हम गांधीयन तरीके का शासन चलायेंगे और अगर कोई कांग्रेस वाला मिल जाए तो उसे चोरी डकैती में पकड़ने की कोशिश करते हैं और हाजी मस्तान और यूसुफ पटेल से अब गले मिलते हैं जैसे कि अब वे बिल्कुल शुद्ध हो गए हैं। गांधीयन फिलास्फी वहां चलती है।

(Interruptions)

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपकी मार्फत इतनी प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस देश का जो उच्च स्तर है उसको नीचे नहीं लाना चाहिए। लड़ाई लड़ो पर लड़ो पोलिटिकल फ्रंट पर। अदालतों में जा कर किसी पर झूठा चोरी का मुकदमा बनाना, किसी के घर में अफीम फेंक देना और कहीं पर कटेनर फेंक देना, यह कोई हिम्मत की बात नहीं है। वैसे तो आप बहुत खुश होते होंगे। आज तो लोग यह कहते हैं कि कमीशन बैठाना, कमीशन बैठाना, अगर किसी ने झीक मार दी तो भी कमीशन बैठाना। इतना चीप कमीशन शब्द को आपने बना दिया है। फिर अगर आप कमीशन को मानने हैं तो बादल के खिलाफ कमीशन क्यों नहीं बैठाने, उसे वापिस क्यों लेते हैं। एक तरफ तो आप कमीशन विदड्रा कर रहे हैं और एक तरफ कमीशन बैठा रहे हैं। यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि कहां सरकार जाना चाहती है और किस तरीके से काम करना चाहती है। मैं तो इतनी प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ श्री आडवाणी जी से कि यह रेडियो 62

[श्री सुलता सिंह]

करोड़ लोगों का है, एक परिवार का नहीं है। इसे आप एक परिवार का रेडियो मत बनाओ। चाहे आप इससे जो भी मकसद हल करना चाहते हैं लेकिन इतना सोचना चाहिए कि ऐसी बातों से इतना बड़ा इस्टीमेशन चीप हो जाता है। यह झूठे चोरी-चकारी, डकैती के आरोप आप लगाते हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है आप पोलिटिकल फ्रंट पर लड़िए, अदानतों में लड़िए, कमीशनों में लड़िये। इससे हल्कापन महसूस होता है। बस इतनी मेरी प्रार्थना है।

DR. V. B. SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, probably I am the last speaker of the day, but I am not going to say the last word.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RANBIR SINGH): We will be sitting upto 6 P.M. After you Kamalanathan is to be called.

DR. V. B. SINGH: I do not stand to congratulate the Finance Minister, who is not present in the House, on converting the Budget as an instrument of deversing the priorities given by national movement and embodied in our Five Year Plans since 1956. The Budget is the first attempt in denouncing the national heritage of growth and social justice through planned economic development, of which the basic industries constitute the core, as without them modernisation of agriculture, which means mechanisation, chemicalisation and energisation, is not possible. Under the planned economic development that the country has evolved, it has not been a question of industry vs. agriculture, but both together. Industrial growth also has been clearly discussed in the Five Year Plan documents as integrated growth of the heavy, light, small-scale and cottage industries. Any statement to the contrary is just the opposite of truth and a demonstration of either ignor-

ance or Goebellian propaganda or may be both against the basic economic philosophy that the country has inherited from the national movement and has enriched it under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

In addition to the boost given to agriculture through land reforms in the Second Five Year Plan, 30.8 per cent of the total Plan outlay was allocated to agriculture and community development and irrigation and power. Those who have any doubt should read pages 51 and 52 of 25 of the Economic Survey (1976-77) prepared by the Janata Government, there is a tribute to the previous Government. It says—and I quote:

“Thus, the total allocation for development of agriculture in the Annual Plan for 1976-77 was estimated at Rs. 3471 crores as against Rs. 2565 crores registering an increase of more than 35 per cent.”

Again, there is priority for giving boost to the agricultural sector. The current Economic Survey acknowledges it on page 35—and I quote:

“According to provisional data available for the year 1976-77, gross non-food credit recorded an increase of Rs. 1667 crores as against the increase of Rs. 1140 crores during the previous year. Of this, Rs. 787 crores, or 47 per cent, was in respect of priority sectors including small-scale industry, agriculture and other neglected sector.”

This was the priority given by the previous regime to agriculture. Against this background, the claim of the Finance Minister that in the first Janata Budget, agriculture has been given priority, since 17.6 per cent of the Plan outlay for 1977-78 is allocated to agriculture, including water and power development, is unjustified.

It is a well-known fact that the Fifth Five Year Plan has been emphasising that the priorities in the Plan are food, fertiliser and fuel. But with the reduced budgetary allocation over the last year to mines and atomic energy, as is revealed in Statement III for the Plan Budget for 1977-78, the power generation will be retarded and the accelerated investment in tourism will help the forces of subversion, because it is the growing opinion among social scientists that tourism is an industry for subversion from abroad.

The Janata Government has inherited, in legacy, a buffer stock of food, unprecedented reserve of foreign exchange, 10.6 per cent rate of industrial growth and, therefore, it is not correct to say that the industrial growth has been sluggish. This has been made possible because of the excellent performance of the public sector, conceded in the Economic Survey on page 29, and, in spite of the poor show of the private sector, the infrastructure of steel and power built during the last 25 years and the Green Revolution which has helped us more than double the food production after Independence.

With such a strong base a powerful economy can be built. Of course, there are fluctuations, there are ups and down—that can't be denied.

The Janata claim for rural employment is deceptive if it is not meant to be productive. In the Fifth Five-Year Plan it has been emphasised that it is possible. With 18 million tonnes of buffer stock of food, to employ millions of people on the basis of payment in kind to make a garland of rivers through canals which will be multi-purpose, but primarily a source of irrigation, which will lead to triplecropping and labour-intensive employment in agriculture would have been a massive programme of employment. In my hand I have the statement of Mr. Lionel Stoler, French State Secretary for Manual Employment which was made on the

7th of March, 1977 in Paris on the question of employment, and there he concedes that even in an advanced country when the rate of growth is moderate, say, three to four per cent—and we have 3.5 per cent—employment is not possible unless a structural change is brought about in the economy—and this is more true of developing countries like India. What does he say here? I quote:—

“What we have to do, in fact, is to come up with an answer to the following question: How, with a given growth rate can one envisage an active Government policy of adjustment as between the demand for and supply of employment. In other words, it is a matter of analysing the structural determinants of employment and unemployment in order to identify the courses of action.”

But in the present Budget we find nothing of the kind. In the name of *kisans kulaks* are being pampered at the cost of small and marginal farmers and total neglect of the State Farms Corporation. The uplift of the landless is not conceived.

The Vice Chairman (Shri Loknath Misra) in the Chair.

Shri C. Subramaniam, the former Finance Minister, in the other House and Dr. N. V. Gadgil in this House had appropriately pointed out the dangerous consequences to the Indian economy of the concessions given to the corporate sector. Therefore, I do not want to repeat those arguments. But it is necessary to point out that the nonpoly houses are being encouraged in many ways. This is not the Gandhian path. Provision for the amalgamation of sick units will naturally lead to *Matsya Nyaya* or the logic of the Fish. This means the bigger fish will eat up the smaller fish in spite of the MRTP Act. This will also gradually lead to the denationalisation of the National Textile Corporation and put the Directive Principles of State Policy upside

[Dr. V. B. Singh]

down, as it will lead to concentration of wealth.

The restricted import of capital goods and reduced excise duties on power tillers will kill the incentive for indigenous growth.

Since capital goods are primarily produced in the public sector, in the next Budget the Finance Minister will declare them to be inefficient and in his third Budget he will propose that these public sector undertakings be handed over to 'efficient' private entrepreneurs like that of Mundhra.

There was much talk of Mahatma Gandhi during the elections. Mahatma Gandhi will be mentioned in speeches and quoted in seminars, but he is nowhere in the Budget. His idea of simplicity and austerity is not reflected in any policy contained in the Budget. Concession to T. V. and tape-recorders of certain value will only lead to 'demonstration effect' which has been decried by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech.

No indication is to be found as to how domestic savings are proposed to be augmented. More of contributory social security programmes and larger coverage of the workers and non-workers, is a sure method of mobilising small savings. But there is no mention of it.

One expects the Finance Minister to explain the premises on which he concludes that his borrowing of Rs. 800 crores against the foreign exchange reserves from the Reserve Bank is not a disguised deficit, because if the foreign exchange is going to be used for the import of consumer goods like watches, surely, domestic production, employment, investment and know-how will suffer and there will be inflation. The Finance Minister has started the process of reversing the march of independent India.

Will it be allowed by he janata? My answer is: No.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, first I thought of speaking in Tamil. I was being forced to speak in Tamil because, though Ministers like Mr. Advani and others know English, they are giving great importance to Hindi. Even this morning in the Lok Sabha there was a problem when some of us started putting supplementary questions in English and Mr. Raj Narain replied only in Hindi. The accepted convention is that if we put supplementaries in English, we are expected to get answers in English. But that was not there. So, sir, I thought of speaking in Tamil. But there is no arrangement here to translate my Tamil speech into English. When I contacted the office, they told me that there was no Interpreter for Tamil. I hope the Leader of the House will look into it.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Yes, the arrangement should be made.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Then, Sir, this Budget...

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: On a point of information. Is there not a tap-recorder so that it can be recorded now and got translated later?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Any speech made in the House is tape-recorded, and therefore whatever is necessary can be done. But what he wants is simultaneous translation from Tamil into English.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Sir, I can speak in Tamil now; the speech may be translated tomorrow. I seek the permission of the Chair.

DR. V. B. SINGH: That permission should be given. That is our request. Tamil is one of the recognised national languages.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKNATH MISRA): Permission is always given, but the difficulty is in finding the interpreter at this particular time.

DR. V. B. SINGH: The translation can be done later.

5 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): The arrangement is, if you speak in Tamil now and submit English translation of your speech, then it will be published in the official record, but if you don't give its translation and speak in Tamil only, then probably, the speech in Tamil cannot go on record.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Why is the privilege denied now?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): That is a question which can be gone into by the General Purposes Committee later on. This cannot be decided on the forum of the House.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): If the tap-recorder is there, it can be translated for recording in the proceedings books.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): I think that could also be done.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Then I will speak in Tamil, Sir.

*Respected Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister said in his Budget speech that because the time at their disposal was short and because the Planning Commission had been re-organised and they could not have proper consultations with them, he could not present a Budget which would completely transform the economy of the country. Not only that, the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, who spoke a little while ago, also said that the time given to them for preparing the Budget was only three months and in these three months, they could not prepare a

Budget which would meet all the needs of the people of India. And he said that in the next year, they would be able to present a much better Budget. I accept these reasons and so I will not try to find fault with the Budget but will only give a few suggestions. In the manifesto of the Janata Party and in their speeches during election time, the Janata Party leaders were saying that constructive programmes for the benefit of agriculture and those engaged in agriculture, who constitute 80 per cent of the population of this country, would be taken up.

AN HONOURABLE MEMBER: Please talk in English so that we can understand.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Sir, regarding agricultural inputs, the present budget is silent. There is no mention about the reduction of prices of fertilizer or pesticides. It is more important that the Government takes care to reduce the prices. The Finance Minister has announced a reduction of 5 per cent in excise duty on power-driven pumpsets. It has been reduced from 10 per cent to 5 per cent. This reduction is not going to make any visible impact in Tamil Nadu. The DMK Government, during its 9 years' rule, energised about 7,70,000 pumpsets. Now that is one-third of the total pumpsets in India. Now, we have to give connections to about 1,53,000 pumpsets. But if you want connections you have to go to the Ground Water Cell and get a Clearance certificate. Unless the clearance certificate is produced, they won't give any connection to any pumpset. Sir, in the last one year no pumpset was energised because the experts have given a report that the ground-water level has gone down and they have to maintain that level. In order to maintain that level, they cannot give any new connection, and if connection is not given, there is no use of giving this reduction; the poor agriculturist is not going to be benefited by this. In Tamil Nadu, for information, we have exhausted all the resources, and

*English translation of speech in Tamil.

[Shri M. Kamalanathan]

we have depend only on the ground-water. According to the experts we cannot utilise ground-water.

What is the alternative then? There is the Cauvery water dispute. So far it has not been settled. My humble submission is that unless you nationalise all the rivers, you cannot settle any inter-State river dispute. Sir, in the consultative Committee on Tamil Nadu Legislation, when we raised the question about the utilisation of Kerala river waters, which are mostly unutilised, it was said that they have set up a committee. I do not know what the committee is going to do. If the rivers are nationalised, we can get water from Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra also.

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI BIJU PATNAIK): You mean, centralise?

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Yes. The very super-structure of the Janata Party stands on the foundations laid by the poor people, and these very people have been taxed—I mean the tax proposal on biris. The money expected to be realised from this tax on cigarettes and biris is Rs. 45 crores. I would earnestly appeal to the Government to withdraw the levy on biris.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: It is only one paise per packet. Still they will vote for us.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: While welcoming the special provision of Rs. 5 crores made for the Neyveli Lignite Corporation for a lignite-based power plant with a capacity of 200 MW to augment the power supply position of Tamil Nadu, I would like to bring to the notice of the Government the Hoganekkal hydel project and the Kalpakkam project. Side by side they should also be taken up to ensure continuity of power supply and to avoid periodical power cuts in the State. I shall be glad if the

proposed super-thermal plant is set up in Tamil Nadu. So far as the Salem Steel Plant is concerned, the Budget provides for only Rs. 13 crores. This will only go towards establishment expenses and maintenance of the plant. There should be more allocation for this project so that it can achieve the purpose for which it has been started, namely, to provide employment as well as to produce steel which is necessary for the country. On the Sethusamudram project, the Government has not made any mention. The Government should take immediate steps to initiate action on this.

Sir, a newly elected Government is going to be formed in Tamil Nadu by the AIADMK Party. Yesterday, my hon. colleague, Mr. Lakshmanan, mentioned about the delay in the forming of the Ministry. The Centre has to intervene in the matter. Even though a party has been elected to form the Government yet President's rule is there. What is the reason? This must be taken care of.

Sir, during the election, the AIADMK leader made so many promises to the people. He said that if he was elected to power, he would reduce the postal rates, especially the rates of post cards and envelopes. I do not know when the leader of the AIADMK became the confidant of the Janata Party to give such a promise. (Interruption) The AIADMK leader, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, during his election campaign, promised that he would reduce the prices of the post cards and envelopes.

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHANDARI (Uttar Pradesh): A local delivery system?

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: If my hon. friend, Mr. Fernandes, does not oblige him, is the AIADMK Government going to subsidise it? If so, from where are they going to

generate the funds? It will mean increased taxes for the poor people in the State, particularly when the State's share in the Budget is six paise in a rupee.

The AIADMK also promised that there will be no one in the State who will be poor. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was also raising the slogan, only garibi hatao. This gentleman says that there will be no poor man in Tamil Nadu. He promised that all the villages will be abolished with the help of bulldozers and townships will be put up. I do not know from where he is going to get the money. May be, we, the Tamil people, are going to be taxed or you have to provide funds from the Centre....

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK. Communise.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Yes. Then, Sir, have you ever heard a political party having some funds for the party being taxed by the Income-Tax Department? DMK is also a political party. Last year during the emergency income-tax officials levied Rs. 13 lakhs or so towards income-tax on the party fund....

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: On party funds?

SHRI SUNDER SINGH BHAN-DARI: Was it on interest earned?

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Was it on the income earned on investment of the party funds?

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: No, it was the fund collected from the public....

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN (Tamil Nadu): He got Rs. 56 lakhs and we deposited the entire party fund in the Indian Bank. And the Income-Tax Department wanted Rs. 13 lakhs towards tax. Negotiations are going on, discussions are going on between our party and the Income-Tax Department....

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: I assure you that the Government will look into it.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Sir, no single man in Tamil Nadu realizes that there is a Government being run by the Janata Party at the Centre. Wherever you go—to a school, to a College, to a bazaar or even to Government offices—you still see the former Prime Minister's portrait and the 20-point programme. Even in the Secretariat you see this thing. They have not removed those things. Last week I went to meet the Governor. At the entrance there was a large photograph. That was a meeting addressed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi on the Marina Beach during the emergency. I asked the Governor why the photo was still there. But his reply was in the negative. Some ten days back I went to Jolarpet railway station. At the Jolarpet junction I saw the photograph—till today it is there—of Shri Kamalapati Tripathi...

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Not of Mr. Dandavate?

THE MINISTER OF RAILWAYS (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): My face is not that charming.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: When I enquired of the Station Master why the photo of Shri Kamalapati Tripathi was still there, he said, I received orders to put up that photograph here, but I have not received any order to remove it, and unless I receive orders to that effect how can I remove it? That was the reply I got from the Station Master. You were all aware, on January 31 our Government was dismissed. We were taken to jail; we were in jail for one year. My dear colleague Mr. Chittibabu, was beaten to death in the jail itself. We faced so many atrocities committed by the then Government. We thought Janata Party would come to power and we would get some relief. But I do not know why you have turned blind and deaf.

[Shri M. Kamalanathan]

There are criminal cases pending against Mr. Karunanidhi—not the wheat scandal—under 307 it is some murder case; and so many other cases are pending. No case has been withdrawn so far. But at the same time against Mr. Badal who was the former Chief Minister of Punjab—now he has gone there again as Chief Minister—there were some cases filed; some commissions were appointed; judgments were there. Yet, all of a sudden you have withdrawn those cases.

You have totally exonerated him. Why the same treatment was not given to us? Why adopt this double standard? Even a common man will ask you about this. I would request Prof. Dandvate to talk to his Prime Minister and get the Justice done in our case also...

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): People should go to the court to get justice.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): You have taken more than your time. You have taken 20 minutes.

SHRI M. KAMALANATHAN: Thank you.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: If there are no more speakers you can adjourn the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): There are one or two Members.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: Nobody wishes to speak. You may adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): If that is the feeling, I have no objection.

SHRI G. LAKSHMANAN: Normally you will call on a Congress Member to speak. There should be at least ten people here to listen to him.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK: We can adjourn.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): If that is the feeling of the House, we can adjourn. The House now stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at seventeen minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 24th June, 1977.