

Singh said, he would not answer questions put during the interruptions”.

Sir, for us Members of the House, the only mode of communication to the people outside is through the press. Therefore, it is necessary that our press reports the facts of the proceedings and the proceedings of the House should not be misreported. This misreporting has a three-fold effect. One is, I would say, I have been wrongly represented; number two is that the Member who was really responsible for what happened on that day in this House has been denied publicity, and thirdly, the proceedings of this House have been misreported which I think is a serious matter. I would request this House to take necessary action so that the proceedings of this House are not misreported henceforth. Thank you.

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

श्री उपसभापति : बजट पर चर्चा प्रारम्भ होने से पहले मैं माननीय सदस्यों से यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि वे कृपया अपने भाषण संक्षेप में दें ताकि सभी माननीय सदस्यों को बोलने का अवसर प्राप्त हो सके। जो सदस्य बजट पर बोलना चाहते हैं उनकी काफी लम्बी फहरिस्त है। लगभग 5 बजे वित्त मंत्री जी बहस का उत्तर देना शुरू करेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण संक्षेप में दें ताकि अधिक से अधिक सदस्य इस चर्चा में भाग ले सकें।

श्री जगदीश जोशी (मध्य प्रदेश) : मान्यवर, वित्त मंत्री जी ने डेढ़ खरब रुपये की इस देश की वसूली और इतने खर्च का हिसाब किताब का लेखा जोखा पेश किया है। कांग्रेस के 30 वर्ष के राज के बाद एक गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार केन्द्र में बैठी है। बजट ही किसी सरकार की मूल नीतियों का आईना होता है। इस बजट में मैं इस बात की खोज कर रहा था कि आखिर कौन सी नीति विषयक मुद्दा है, जिसके आधार पर बजट का निर्माण किया गया है, या फिर यह बजट पूर्णतया पुराने ढर्रे पर

चलने की प्रक्रिया मात्र है। क्या नयी सरकार में कोई नीति का भेद है या व्यक्ति का भेद है यह प्रश्न भी बहुत साफ होना जरूरी था। एक चीज मैंने देखी, जो कि वित्त मंत्री जी के भाषण के दूसरे पराग्राफ में है, जो उनकी नीतियों की तरफ दृष्टिपात करती है। वह यह है :

“We seek to accelerate the pace of economic progress and to distribute its fruit equitably in a framework of democracy and individual freedom.”

जहां तक लोकशाही का सवाल है, उसमें किसी को कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। लेकिन इन्डिविजुअल फ्रीडम जब आर्थिक स्थिति में शुरू हो जाती है और इक्विटेबली ही केवल फल मिलता है, तो दब्रा हुआ वर्ग सताया जाता है। सवाल यह है कि समान अवसर की जरूरत है या विशेष अवसर की। मैं यह सोचता था कि अगर आप समान अवसर का सिद्धान्त रखेंगे, इक्विटेबली के आधार पर तो जो पुराने सुविधा प्राप्त व्यक्ति हैं, उनके पास बराबर की सुविधा जायेगी। अगर आप, जैसा कि आपने वायदा किया है, इस देश की गरीबी को 10 साल में मिटाना चाहते हैं—जिसका कि आपने संकल्प किया है तो जब तक आप छोटे मोटे दबे हुए, सताए हुए वर्ग को विशेष अवसर नहीं देंगे तो समान अवसर के सिद्धान्त के आधार पर वह वर्ग तरक्की के रास्ते पर नहीं आ सकते और इस देश में यह समता का मानदण्ड नहीं बन सकता। लेकिन यह जो वाक्य है, यह इस दिशा की तरफ ले जा रहा है, जिसके बाबत कई लोगों की अलग-अलग धारणायें हैं। लोकशाही और व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता के आधार पर बजट की आर्थिक नीति का विनियोजन इस बात का संकेत करता है कि वह नीति पूँजीवाद की तरफ जा रही है। मैं इस दिशा में गैर-कांग्रेसी राज के अर्थशास्त्री, बड़े प्रणेता और इस देश के एक बड़े विचारक डा० राममनोहर लोहिया का एक वाक्य आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ :

यह पुस्तक मार्क्स-गांधी सोशलिज्म के बारे में है, जिसको मार्क्स के बाद का अर्थशास्त्र

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

कहा गया है : पूजीवाद व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति और उन्मुक्त व्यवस्था का आधारभूत सिद्धान्त है। यह व्यवसाय और खेती में विज्ञान द्वारा साधनों का सतत प्रयोग करता है। अपने आर्थिक उद्देश्यों को यह ढूँढता है। बड़े पमाने की पैदावार, कम लागत और मालिकों के लिये मुनाफा, इसके सामान्य उद्देश्य है। प्रजातन्त्र ऐसी नैतिकता जो विभिन्न स्वार्थों के सामंजस्य से कायम हो और शक्ति संतुलन के लिये आश्रित शांति।”

अगर यह मतलब है, माननीय वित्त मंत्री का, तो निश्चित तौर पर यह दिशा जो जा रही है, पहली गैर-कांग्रेसी सरकार की — वह बजाय समानता के विषमता के पथ की ओर अग्रसर हो रही है। मैं सोचता था कि बहुत से मुद्दे हैं जो इस देश के सामने घूम रहे हैं, दाम का मामला, समानता का मामला, उपभोग का मामला। पर इन सब प्रश्नों पर क्या कोई मौलिक देन बजट में आ रही है या नहीं आ रही है? श्रीमन्, मैं निवेदन करूँगा कि दामों के बाबत कई बार प्रधानमंत्री जी तथा अन्य मंत्रियों ने कई बयान दिये, निवेदन किये, व्यापारियों से और अन्य भिन्न-भिन्न वर्गों के लोगों से कि दाम न बढ़ने दिये जाय। यहां भी माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी ने बड़ी सख्ती से कहा कि हम दामों को बढ़ने नहीं देंगे। मैं इस बजट में ढूँढ रहा था सरकार की दाम की नीति का इसमें कोई उल्लेख है या नहीं है। कहीं भी दाम की नीति की तरफ कोई संकेत नहीं है। केवल प्रार्थना करने से या डंडा चलाने से दाम का संतुलन नहीं होगा। अगर दामों के बारे में कोई नियम या कोई नीति नहीं बनती है तो फिर दामों का जो बढ़ाव है, उसको रोकने में सरकार असमर्थ होगी। मैं वर्तमान सरकार के वित्त मंत्री जी को इस बात की सूचना देना चाहता हूँ कि बहुत से दल जिनको ले कर जनता पार्टी

बनी है, उन्होंने कालान्तर में, पिछले दिनों में दामों की नीति बनाई। जैसा कि मैं आपको एक उदाहरण दूँ अनाज के दामों का क्या आधार हो। दो फसलों के बीच जब फसल आती है उस समय अनाज के दाम गिर जाते हैं क्योंकि उस समय छोटे किसान अपना अनाज बाजार में ले आते हैं और उनका अनाज सस्ते में बिक जाता है और वही अनाज सितम्बर-अक्तूबर में जब लीन पीरियड होता है क्योंकि वह अनाज उस समय किसान के पास तो होता नहीं है, वही अनाज जखीरे-दारों के पास चला जाता है और उसके दाम मंहगे हो जाते हैं। इस प्रकार पैदावार करने वालों को कम दाम और छोटे उपभोक्ता को मंहगे दाम, यह क्रम एक अरसे से चला आ रहा है। यहां तक कि भारत सरकार भी जो अनाज खरीद करती है, जिस दाम पर वह खरीद करती है, फिर जिस दाम पर उसे बेचती है, उनमें ओवरहैड इतना हो जाता है कि लगभग 40-50% का फर्क पड़ जाता है। मैं चाहता था कि जनता सरकार एक ऐसी लोक-कल्याणकारी दाम नीति सामने रखती जिसके आधार पर दो फसलों के बीच अनाज के दामों में 6% या एक आने सेर से अधिक का फर्क न हो। हो सकता है वर्तमान वित्त मंत्री जी इन सभी चीजों से संबंधित न रहे हों लेकिन जनता पार्टी का एक बड़ा हिस्सा इस प्रकार के आन्दोलनों से संबंधित रहा है जिन्होंने अपने काल में सदैव एक लोक-कल्याणकारी दाम नीति की व्याख्या की है, उसके लिए संघर्ष भी किया है। इसके साथ-साथ जो उपभोग की वस्तुएं हैं, आवश्यक उपभोग की भी वस्तुएं हैं, उनकी बाबत कोई नियम बनाना चाहिए।

आज अगर आप बाजार में दवा खरीदने जाएं तो आप देखेंगे कि दवा में जितना सामान लगता है, उन सब पर अलग-अलग टैक्स, फिर सब मिला कर टैक्स, फिर पैकिंग का अलग टैक्स लगता है। इसका परिणाम

यह होता है कि दवा अपने लागत खर्च से कई गुना महंगे दाम पर मिलती है । अगर लागत खर्च और बिक्री दाम में कई गुना का फर्क रहा तब तक इस देश में कोई भी सस्ती या समानता आनी सम्भव नहीं है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी आर्थिक नीति आप सामने रखें कि जितना लागत खर्च हो उसके डेढ़ से अधिक दाम में कोई भी सामान बाजार में न बिके, उसके दाम निर्धारित हों तथा लागत खर्च और बिक्री दाम के डेढ़ की सीमा के अन्दर हों । इसी सीमा में आपको टैक्स, उत्पादक का मुनाफा, बीच का कमीशन और जो कुछ भी चंदा वैगरा छोड़ना हो, उसके डेढ़ के बीच में आना चाहिए । आप किसी भी आवश्यक वस्तु के दामों की बाबत देखें उसमें कई गुना का फर्क रहता है । तो आप पहले यह प्रयोग तो करते, मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि आप उसमें सफल हो जाते लेकिन पहले प्रयोग की दिशा का दर्शन होता लेकिन आज एक विपरीत स्थिति हो रही है । आपने कुछ ऐसी वस्तुओं को सस्ता करने की कोशिश की है, कुछ ऐसे आयोग बनाए हैं जिससे बात कुछ समझ में नहीं आती है । आज ही मैं पढ़ रहा था कि सीधे कर जो आदमी पर पड़ते हैं, उनकी बाबत आपने एक आयोग बैठाया है और उसके मुखिया श्री नानी पालकीवाला है । नानी पालकीवाला की काबलियत और योग्यता के बारे में मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है परन्तु उनकी जो नीति का दिमाग है, उसमें मुझे जरूर संदेह है । नानी पालकीवाला बहुत ईमानदारी के साथ निजि क्षेत्र पूर्ण मुक्त, मुक्त व्यापार की, पूँजीवाद की मुक्त स्वरूप की हिमायत करते हैं ? मैं आपसे कतई सहमत हूँगा अगर आप यह कहते कि हम मुक्त व्यापार के हामी हैं । हम इस देश को अमरीका की तरह पूर्ण सम्पन्न बनाना चाहते हैं, हम मुक्त चलना चाहते हैं, मुझे इस में कोई असहमति नहीं है । परन्तु आप इस दुविधा से निकलिए अगर पालकीवाला की सारी नीतियाँ आपको स्वीकार है तथा उनको ईमानदारी के साथ आप लागू करते हैं,

उत्पादन अभिमुख हो कर चलते हैं, चाहे वह पूँजीवाद के माध्यम से हो, व्यक्तिगत व्यापार के माध्यम से हो, व्यक्तिगत उत्पादन के माध्यम से हो लेकिन सामान्य आदमी को चीजें सस्ती मिलें, सामान्य लोगों के अन्दर असमानता न बढ़ने पाए तो इसमें मुझे कोई असहमति नहीं होगी । लेकिन एक तरफ तो आप उन सारी चीजों को रखते हैं, दूसरी तरफ आपका जो स्वरूप दिखाई पड़ रहा है, उसमें आपने पालकीवाला के नेतृत्व में डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज के ऊपर कमीशन बैठाया है । लेकिन डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज में अधिक । डाइरेक्ट टैक्सेज किस पर असर डालते हैं ? इन्कम टैक्स देने वाले हैं, कैपिटल टैक्स देने वाले हैं, वैल्यू टैक्स देने वाले हैं, इन्ही सब बड़े बड़े अभिजात्य वर्ग के लोगों को प्रभावित करते हैं । लेकिन जो परोक्ष कर हैं, वे किसको प्रभावित करते हैं ? आप इन्कम टैक्स की दरें और बढ़ा दें मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं होगा, आप वैल्यू टैक्स की दर और बढ़ा दें, कैपिटल टैक्स की दर और बढ़ा दें मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं होगा । लेकिन आप जो सामान्य उपभोग की चीजों पर परोक्ष कर लगाते हैं, चुंगी वाला आदि, इनका अनुपात कहां से कहां चला गया ? एक सामान जैसे अगर यह माइक्रोफोन का डंडा है इसमें जितने सामान अलग अलग वने हैं उन पर अलग अलग एकसाइज ड्यूटी लगी है और जब सम्मिलित रूप से बनकर आया तो फिर उस पर ड्यूटी लगा दी । इस प्रकार कितनी बार के चक्र में फँसकर यह परोक्ष टैक्सेज साधारण आदमी की जब पर हमला कर रहे हैं । इस बात का अंदाजा आपको करना चाहिये था ।

मैं समझता था कि आप परोक्ष टैक्सेज की बाबत कोई आयोग बैठाते जिससे जो साधारण आदमी पर असर पड़ रहा है यह दूर होता ।

[श्री जगदीश जोशी]

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता था उसके साथ साथ कि आपने तांबे पर एक टैक्स बढ़ाया, आयात टैक्स को घटाया, यह अच्छी चीज थी। आप साधारण आदमी के लिये काम करना चाहते हैं। आपने ड्यूटी किस पर से हटायी? स्टेनलेस स्टील पर से। इसकी उपयोगिता इस देश में कितने प्रतिशत है? स्टेनलेस स्टील दुर्गापुर के कारखाने में बनता है, आप उसका विकास करते आपका कारखाना था। अगर आप नहीं कर सकते थे, अगर आप सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र को बढ़ करना चाहते हैं तो देश के किसी दूसरे उद्योगपति को देकर आप स्टील बनवाते। इससे देश में चीज बनती, स्वदेशी भावना पनपती। दुर्गापुर का जो एलाय स्टील का कारखाना है वह ठप्प हो जायगा, अगर आपने आयात शुल्क को कम कर दिया। इसका सीधा दबाव दुर्गापुर के स्टील प्लांट पर पड़ने वाला है मेरा यह निवेदन बिल्कुल साफ है।

मोरारजी देसाई इस सरकार के प्रधान मंत्री हैं। उनसे हमको बहुत बड़ी अपेक्षाएँ हैं। वह देश के स्वदेशी आंदोलन, राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन के अग्रणी नेताओं में से रहे हैं। लेकिन जब ये असहाय होकर यह कहते हैं कि चूंकि घड़ियों की तस्करी होती है इसलिये हमने घड़ियों के आयात को सरल कर दिया है, तो आदमी का सिर फिर जाता है। एक बिल्कुल धक्का सा लगता है आदमी के संस्कार को कि जो आदमी कर्म के क्षेत्र में कुछ मान्यताओं की बाबत अडिग रहा हो, जिसने जीवन की जवानी इनके लिये बितायी हो, वह आज देश का प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद इतना कमजोर हो जाय केवल तस्करों से डरकर—जबकि तस्करों को काबू में लाने के लिये आपने 2 प्रयोग किये हैं, एक तो नैतिक प्रयोग भी आपने किया है जय प्रकाश नारायण जैसी शक्ति का इस्तेमाल आपने किया है, हृदय परिवर्तन किया है और वह शक्ति काफी कारगर हुई है, मैं उससे असहमत नहीं

हूँ क्योंकि डकैतों के मामले में जय प्रकाश जी ने जो प्रयोग किये हैं उसका असर पड़ा है, काफी बड़े डकैती के इलाके में पड़ा है और इससे मैं समझता हूँ कि तस्करों के दिमागों पर भी काफी असर पड़ा होगा। आपके पाम कानून भी है और नैतिक अस्त्र तथा आत्मिक साधनाएँ भी हैं। फिर आप एच० एम० टी० के कारखाने को क्यों नहीं बढ़ा सकते हैं या इस देश के अन्दर दूसरे निजी उद्योगपतियों से घड़ियाँ क्यों नहीं बनवाते हैं? लेकिन स्वदेशी के देश में जिस विदेशी चीजों की होली जलायी गयी हो वहाँ आप घड़ियों का आयात केवल इस डर से करें।

मोरारजी देसाई जैसा मजबूत आदमी जिस देश का प्रधान मंत्री हो, जो अपने निर्णयों, अपने लक्ष्यों, अपने आदर्शों से कभी झुका न हो, भले ही टूट जाय, वह आदमी जब कमजोर होकर यह कहता है तब लगता है कि देश कहाँ जा रहा है, किस संकट में जा रहा है। मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था आपके सामने कि आप इन आदर्शों के संकट से निकलिये, अपनी छवि को साफ करिये। कांग्रेस ने जो गलतियाँ की हैं उसका प्रायश्चित्त कांग्रेसी सरकार भुगत रही है, कांग्रेस दल भुगत रहा है परन्तु आप उन गलतियों को दोहराने की चेष्टा न करें, आप इस देश में एक नयी प्रक्रिया बनायें।

आपने लोगों को रोजगार देने की बात कही, लम्बे चौड़े वायदे किये लेकिन रोजगार किसके लिये, रोजगार कहाँ है? मैं उम्मीद करता था कि आज इस देश में कम से कम 10 लाख लोगों की अन्य सेना बनाने की योजना होती, 10 लाख न भर्ती कर पाते तो एक लाख से आप शुरू करते जो कि नहरें बनाते, सड़कें बनाते। आप कृषि उत्पादन को प्रमुखता दे रहे हैं या आफिसरों को? आप 10 लाख लोगों की नयी सेना बना करके

नहरें, सड़कें, बंध और प्लांटेशन इन चारों पांचों चीजों पर यदि इस सेना या भूमि सेना को प्रयुक्त करते तो देश के करोड़ों गरीब असहाय, बिना पढ़े लिखे वर्ग के लोग आपके साथ जुड़ते और इस देश के नव-निर्माण में भागीदार होते ।

मैं अंत में समाप्त करने के पूर्व केवल दो या तीन ही बातें कह कर बैठ जाऊंगा । समय मुझे बहुत कम मिला है । मैं उम्मीद कर रहा था कि आप अर्थ सत्ता के विकेंद्रीकरण पर कोई पहल करते कि आप ग्राम पंचायत को, जिला परिषद को, राज्य को कितना-कितना प्रतिशत देंगे । चौखम्भा राज्य के सिद्धांत पर जनता पार्टी के घटकों में से काफी लोगों ने संघर्ष किए हैं, वे जेल गए हैं, उन्होंने इस बात का अहद किया था कि इस देश में चार खम्भों का राज्य बनेगा—गांव, जिला, प्रांत और देश और उसी प्रकार से आर्थिक सत्ता का भी विकेंद्रीकरण होगा । मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि कांग्रेस सरकार की पुरानी परंपरा की नकल करके एक बार फिर अर्थ-सत्ता का केन्द्रीकरण करने का जो निर्णय कर रहे हैं, इस देश के माध्यम से, वह आपके लिए बहुत ही घातक होगा । तीस वर्षों में अगर कांग्रेस अनपापुलर हुई है अपने किसी और एक्स्ट्रा कांस्टीट्यूशनल अधिकारियों के माध्यम से, तो आपके सामने आदर्शों का संकट आपके आड़े आता है ।

मैं अंतिम बात कहने से पूर्व इतना और निवेदन करना चाहता था कि भोग की वस्तुओं पर रोक लगनी चाहिए, विलासिता के साधनों और सामानों के उत्पादन पर रोक लगनी चाहिए थी । मोरारजी देसाई जिस देश के प्रधान मंत्री हैं उनका विश्वस्त व्यक्ति जब बजट के कागज प्रस्तुत करे, तो इस देश में शराबबंदी का उल्लेख न हो, यह बिल्कुल आश्चर्यजनक है । मैंने अभी कुछ ही दिन पूर्व मोरारजी भाई के प्रधान मंत्री बनने के बाद उनसे बात की और पूछा कि क्या शराब

बंदी पर आपके विचार वही है । उन्होंने कहा, बिल्कुल है वही मैं पूरे देश में काश्मीर से कन्याकुमारी तक और कच्छ से लेकर मणिपुर तक शराबबंदी को सख्ती के साथ लागू करता चाहता हूँ । मैं कहता हूँ कांग्रेस कम से कम जो इस आदर्श से कमिटेड रही है, भले ही उसने इसको पूरा लागू न किया हो, आप सविधान में चाहें तो सगोधन रिय और शराबबंदी को देशव्यापी करिए, हमारा समर्थन भी आपको निस्संकोच इस मामले में रहेगा । लेकिन आइए, जिन मूल्यों के लिए इस देश का प्रधान मंत्री जिदगी भर लड़ा है और जिया है, उन मूल्यों को स्थापित करके इस देश की लोकशाही पर जब एक नया वजट, जब एक नयी दिशा, जब एक नया कर्म का साधन आपके सामने होगा

(Time bell rings)

मैं अंत करने के पूर्व एक बात और कहना चाहता था । न तो आपने सट्टेबाजों पर रोक लगाई है । जुआ-चल रहा है, शराब चल रही है । कम से कम जो नैतिक आधार पर मजबूत लोग सरकार पर बैठे हैं, उन्हें सट्टेबाजों और शराब पर रोक लगानी चाहिए थी । और उसके साथ साथ

श्री उपसभापति : यह बहुत गलत है ।

श्री जगदीश जोशी : ट्रस्टीशिप के आधार पर आपने गांधी जी

श्री उपसभापति : आर्डर प्लीज ।

श्री जगदीश जोशी : ट्रस्टीशिप के आधार पर आप

श्री उपसभापति : बातें तो कहने को बहुत हैं, समय का भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए माननीय सदस्य को । मैं शुरू में निवेदन कर चुका था कि इतनी लम्बी लिस्ट है बॉलनवालों की और आखिरी दिन है अगर माननीय सदस्य पांचपांच मिनट, दसदस मिनट बोलें तो और भी बोल सकते हैं ।

श्री जगदीश जोशी : मैं एक मिनट लूंगा । ट्रस्टीशिप के आधार पर आपने गांधी जी की समाधि पर शपथ ली है और ट्रस्टीशिप के आधार पर दो विधेयक भी लोक सभा में भूतपूर्व डा० राममनोहर लोहिया और अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी ने दिए थे । उन विधेयकों के आधार पर आज आप उद्योगों का संरक्षण करते तब भी बात समझ में आ सकती थी ; उनको भी नहीं किया है ।

अंत करने के पूर्व मैं एक श्लोक सुनाता हूँ :—

“अजरामरवत् प्राज्ञो विद्यामर्थं च चितयेत् ।

गृहीत इव केशेषु मृत्युना मृत्युना धर्ममाचरेत् ॥”

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA (Karnataka): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, within the short time at my disposal I would like to make my brief comments on the Budget. This being the first Budget of the party which has just taken over the Government and with the Congress Party as the principal opposition party, it is natural that we expect generation of a lot of heat and controversy over every one of the policy matters and also the proposals there in the Budget.

Sir, to start with I would like to say that it is wrong to come to the conclusion that everything that the Congress Government had done in the past had gone away, wrong, landed the country in difficulties and that there has been no development.

Actually, Sir, there has been considerable development—everyone of us will have to accept that—during the rule of the previous Government over a couple of decades. There might have been shortfalls; there might have been some defects; something more might be needed. But it is not correct to say that everything that has been done, has not been in the interest of the country, that no development has taken place, and that everything

should be reversed. I do not think, Sir, that that is the attitude of the new Government either. There have been developments in the public sector, in the private sector and in, what we call, the mixed economy—that is where both the private and the public sectors have been functioning—and those have been to the benefit of the country. Sir, to say that nothing has been done to agriculture, is also not correct. But, what has happened in several Plans is that agriculture has not received its due. In view of that, the Janata Party has now come out with a Budget with an accent on agriculture. We must all accept that. It does not mean that they have given a go-by to the Public sector. No where has it been stated and I am glad, Sir, the honourable Finance Minister has stated in the Lok Sabha that that was never the intention.

Sir, in the past more than 60 per cent of the national savings and foreign aid were allotted to the public sector and a major portion of the balance to the manufacturing sector; and only what was left over was given to the agricultural sector. Now, it is in the fitness of things that more allocations should be made for agriculture and accent should be on the development of agriculture. Sir, just the other day, the hon. Members on that side, particularly a lady Member, stressed the need of modernising agriculture. Nobody will deny that unless we modernise agriculture, it will not be possible to meet the demands. Sir, agriculture accounting for half the national output, any increase there will naturally add at least to 50 per cent of the savings and development in the country.

When we look at the allocations we find that the present Budget has provided substantial allocation for agriculture. It is a very commendable effort. The allocation of Rs. 3024 crores for agriculture is 30 per cent of the Budget. Irrigation is also included and they propose to provide water supply to the villages in a period of

five years. It might be a very enthusiastic project, but it is a commendable one. And, also, so far as agriculture is concerned, they have made a sufficient allocation for doubling the acreage which is under irrigation. And that is the main base where you can increase the agricultural production in the country because, as is well known, a major portion of the land in the country is arid.

Sir, so far as the tax effort is concerned, it has been stated that it is a Swatantra Budget and a capitalist-oriented Budget. If we just look at it, we find that, as compared to the previous years, there has been a mobilisation of tax effort to the tune of Rs. 92 crores. Wealth tax has been increased, surcharge on income-tax has been increased. Not that I support all these measures, but it has been done. And, even so far as the corporate sector is concerned, the facility which was made available for them to deposit 5 per cent surcharge in the Industrial Development Bank of India has been withdrawn and that money has accrued to the Exchequer. Speaking on this, I would like to say here that the wealth tax which during Shri Chavan's time was 8 per cent on the highest slab was slashed to 2.5 per cent last year. Even though I agree that the wealth-tax rates I P. M. should be reasonable, as the

Wanchoo Committee has recommended, the marginal rate of taxation should be moderate, otherwise it will lead to tax-evasion. Taking that into consideration, it was brought down and now it has been increased over the second and the subsequent slabs. I feel, Sir, that at least over 2½ lakhs up to 10 lakhs the 1 per cent increase should have been less.

So far as the income-tax is concerned, Sir, the main position is, after providing for an exemption limit up to Rs. 10,000, now the Finance Minister has gone to calculate the tax from the previous exemption limit of

Rs. 8,000. In my view this is taking away by one hand what you have given by the other. Actually the benefit should go to the salaried and lower income groups who come within the tax net. That is why, not only this year, at the time of the interim budget, but previously also, I have always advocated that the exemption limit should be at least Rs. 10,000, so that it would leave away a large number of these people being brought into the tax net. Here, Sir, I would urge upon the Finance Minister to consider accepting the Rs. 10,000 limit for the starting point of taxation.

Sir, so also I would just like to refer here to what has happened in the case of the wealth-tax. Before the amendments of 1975-76 and earlier years, a specific Rs. 1,50,000 exemption limit was provided for agriculture and subsequently Rs. 1,50,000 exemption limit was provided for savings in bank-deposits and others, and then for the dwelling house it was provided to the tune of Rs. 1,00,000. Now, the non-agriculturists will get the exemption benefit of Rs. 1,00,000 for the dwelling house and Rs. 1,50,000 for deposits, but if he is an agriculturist, the exemption limit of Rs. 1,50,000 which was earlier provided in the subsequent amendments, intentionally or unintentionally, have got lost, and he gets an exemption of Rs. 1,50,000 only. This is a matter which should be looked into and this special exemption limit for agriculture should be accepted.

In the case of private agro-industries, where plantations are the main source of wealth-tax, all agricultural properties, even the buildings for housing of workers, hospitals, schools are not exempt. They were brought under the tax net when agriculture was brought under wealth-tax in 1970. At that time, the honourable the present Prime Minister was the Finance Minister. He did not accept this suggestion and later on I think it was accepted. That is a matter which

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

is of primary importance where you are covering the agricultural properties under the wealth-tax.

Sir, now, certain tax reliefs have been provided for both corporate and other sectors. I welcome this. One is the investment allowance. It is a good thing. It has now been allowed to cover all the industries except the luxury and consumer goods industries which are listed and number 34. It is wrong to say that it is meant only to encourage capitalists because it has been provided that such investment allowance and relief will be provided only for the priority industries. This is a welcome feature. But, Sir, what has happened? In the case of tea plantations, which is 40 per cent industry and 60 per cent agriculture, this benefit will be available only to the extent of 40 per cent of the tea incomes which is central income and not for the other 60 per cent, which is state income. For the development of plantations, whereas in the case of coffee, rubber and other items being entirely under the State sector and coming mainly under the agricultural income, they cannot avail themselves of any of this relief. Since the Finance Minister has said that he would be having discussions with the State Governments with regard to several other proposals, I would urge upon the Finance Minister that this proposal must be taken up and it must be seen that the plantations, the main agro-industrial sector, are helped to develop. This will help the generation of employment in the rural areas which, I am sure, is the intention of the present Government; and their emphasis is on that. The plantations cover many hill areas of States like Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Assam, West Bengal and, I think, Himachal Pradesh also. So, if you want to generate employment in the rural areas, one of the most labour-intensive agro-industries is the plantation. Yet, for their development none of these in-

centives is available. For example, there is no development rebate on plantations because they are living plants; you do not get any depreciation on planting assets. Compared to an industry where you get substantial depreciation on the equipment or the machinery and buildings, nothing is available for plantations. So if you calculate the tax on gross profits, you will find that the engineering and other industries, or the general industrial sector gets a much greater relief than the plantation sector. This should also be looked into.

Another point that should be taken into consideration is that many of the engineering goods and other items are being subsidised. But in the case of agricultural products, mainly plantation products, not only no subsidy is available, but whenever the prices in the international market are considerably high, you always find any Government, whether it is a Congress Government or a Swatantra Government or a Janata Government, levying an export duty. This has relation to the recent controversy over the very high rise in the export duty on coffee. I must now congratulate the Finance Minister when he came to know how the international prices had fallen, he reduced the duty from Rs. 2,200 to Rs. 1,600 and then from Rs. 1,600 to Rs. 1,100. Even though much more consideration is necessary, at least I must congratulate him on immediate action. Otherwise, the return to the producers of coffee would have been very much hit.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you would take a long time.

SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA: Another two or three minutes. That is why I am saying that so far as the agro-industry of plantation is concerned, special consideration should be given to see that more development takes place. I am sure that my friends like Mr. Kali Mukherjee of West Bengal and other friends from Assam and Kerala will support me

when I suggest that a discussion should take place between the Finance Minister and the State Governments on how they can rationalise the agricultural tax structure because agricultural income-tax in Karnataka is at a flat rate of 65 per cent over Rs. 1 lakh, in Kerala it sometimes reaches 75 per cent, which is unheard of and also in Tamil Nadu. So I would like this to be taken into consideration that when incentives are provided, for industrial sector these industries also should be in a position to take advantage of them.

Some mention has been made about unemployment. Sir, how do we solve the unemployment problem? By just making speeches and then making a budget allocation for solving the unemployment problem, we cannot do it. The crash programmes have not worked. We have seen in this House how many crash programmes have come in and how they have crashed. When Mr. Mohan Dharia, who is now the Commerce Minister, was the Planning Minister, certain crash programmes were mentioned and all of them crashed. So the only way is generation of wealth by increased production. From that point of view, I support this Budget and command it, for they have made 25 to 27 per cent. more allocation for expansion of industries in the rural sector and in the urban sector and provided incentives so that there will be more production and generation of wealth, which will naturally help to a great extent to solve the unemployment problem.

If expansion takes places especially in the rural agro industries—transfer of small-scale industries, giving incentives for large industries to go to backward areas and so on—it would naturally provide more employment. From this point of view I support all those concessions which have been provided in the Budget. You said straightway they have done away

with the public sector. No, let us watch the situation. This is the first Budget that they have given. The honourable Prime Minister said the other day they were short of time, they would improve upon this in the next Budget. So I have not lost hope. I have great hope. And I had hope with the previous Government also. There have been many changes, many policy changes, cross-purposes, first in agriculture, then the accent was shifted to heavy industry, then again there was a change-over to agriculture. These are things which we have to take in their stride. I am not so pessimistic about the results.

Sir, one or two things were said about amalgamation of companies. There was criticism of the amalgamation of companies which are in difficulties with the more profitable and well-run companies—that is amalgamation of sick mills, etc. I think this is a very good idea. In the past we discussed here many times when our friend, Mr. Chattopadhyaya, was dealing with sick textile mills and sick tea gardens. What happened? At that time the accent was on merging them with separate corporations in the public sector. It gave us a negative relief. The National Textile Corporation, after it got all the sick mills forced on it, ended up with an accumulated loss of Rs. 110 crores and it has ended up with another Rs. 30 crores or so loss this year. Therefore, Sir, not only will such a thing bring a bad name to the public sector, but it will be wrain on the Exchequer. So, why not as an experiment find out if these sick mills could be absorbed by more prosperous ones? Of course, there will be a little less tax revenue. They will be allowed to write off the tax. But an effort should be made without taxing the common man to increase the efficiency of the sick mills, to bring them to production. Why should we cry hoarse about it? We had aried one experiment. Let us now try this experiment also, and if we succeed, it

[Shri U. K. Lakshmana Gowda]

will be very good. And I think that this is a much better way than tagging the sick mills on to new public sector undertakings and then expose the public sector undertakings to criticism saying that these public sector undertakings have made losses? And why make a common man pay for these losses (*Time bell rings.*) Only one more thing Sir, and that is with regard to public sector trade organisations like STC, MMTC, etc: I read that Mr. T. A. Pai, former Industry Minister, during his speech in the Lok Sabha, said that in the name of autonomy these organisations have grown to such a size that they are losing in efficiency. If anybody else had made this statement, it would have been said of him that he wanted to encourage the private sector and that was why he was making such a statement. But our experience has shown that this is what happened. Therefore, Sir, I want greater efficiency to be brought into these organisations. It is not enough if we have huge autonomous organisations. In many Consultative Committees criticism was made, charges were levelled against these organisations. It was even suggested that STC was thinking in terms of taking over all the exports of traditional items. If this is the comment of Mr. T. A. Pai, I do not know what would happen. I do not want this organisation to be wound up. I would like this and such other organisations to remain, but work in competition with private exporting firms, because they are handling tea, coffee and so many other items—including minerals. Therefore, I want more efficiency to be brought in and there should be more control over them. Sir, I do not want to take more time. I thank you for giving me his amount of time. In view of what I have said earlier, in view of the allocations they have made in this Budget for more planning, particularly agricultural planning, I feel they have made a good beginning and they will be in a position to im-

prove upon it. I hereby give my support to the Budget proposals. Thank you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2 P. M.

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

2 P.M.

The House reassembled after lunch at three minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

SHRI KALJ MUKHERJEE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am a social democrat and as such I welcome the new Government, and pay my respect to the people for the way they have expressed their right of franchise fearlessly and courageously. I accept the verdict with all humility.

Sir, as usual with the other Finance Ministers of the past, during the last few years, there is nothing extraordinary in the speech of our present Finance Minister. His is also a routine annual exercise. The Ministers of the previous Government, I found, after listening to their speeches very carefully and patiently, were very critical about this Budget. But I am sure that they would have produced the same kind of Budget as the present one though there might be a little difference of emphasise here and there.

I do agree with the Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai when he said that it all depended upon how you looked at the Budget and I also agree with the Finance Minister when he said in his Budget speech that "the Budget was an exercise for shaping the country's social and economic policies". He further stated that the Budget "reflects faithfully the philosophy the programme and the principles of the party". Their manifesto promises to eradicate poverty, ensure full employment and stabilise prices within ten years. Sir, due to the short time at my disposal, I will not go into the details of the

sectoral allocations in the Budget made here and there. But I would only venture to deal with the approach of the Budget towards the socio-economic problems which it wants to solve and the approach of the party or those people who are committed to solving them through this Budget. First of all, Sir, let us try to understand what the socio-economic problems are which the Budget is trying to solve. According to me, Sir, the same problems were prevalent in the past and still persist in our society and during the last thirty years, since independence. The infrastructure of a capitalist order of society has been pursued to be built up and developed in our antiquated feudal society of India. Ours is a developing country with a backward social system and the country suffers from a Brahminical hierarchy. As has been mentioned quite often during the Zero Hour, when special mention is made the minorities and others suffer a lot. Sir, you have been hearing what the Members have been saying so pathetically about the minorities, particularly the Harijans and the other downtrodden, about the rigidity of the caste system that is there, about the non-acceptance of the minorities by others and about the refusal to recognise the different linguistic nationalities which form part of the fabric of our whole national system and the society. To keep the country integrated proves to be a difficult task and it is also proving difficult to provide for the integrated growth and development in the country. No budgetary provision is there to reduce the disparities, the economic disparities, and to uplift the downtrodden and to save these people from assault by the haves and the upper-caste people. There is nothing in it and there is no provision for this and there is no mention of this question at all.

Sir, economically our country has committed a crime by indulging in pursuing a policy of construction of a four-pillar superstructure for the exploitation of the sixty crores of people while two percent are asso-

ciated with them as beneficiaries. What are the four pillars of this structure, standing as the Ashoka pillars, for exploiting the people?

Firstly, the multi-nationals constitute one pillar, with their operating branches of about 500 in India, with an estimated capital and assets of about 15,000 crores, an amount equivalent to the total annual receipts in the Budget of the Finance Minister.

More are coming to flood the country with dollars to upset the total economy of the country so as to seize political power whenever they deem it fit. The history has told us a number of times how these monopolists and multi-national corporations behaved in other countries.

The Budget, unfortunately, has no provision to stop it. Rather it is inclined to enhance it through various allocations. One, for example, is to hand over the sick industries to a rich and viable industry which is normally held by the monopolists. Therefore, it will enrich the monopolists one after the other, because they are not taking over any sick mills. That gives an impression how they are going ahead and helping these types of monopolists and multi-nationals. Sir, the multi-national corporation and the International Monetary Funds are in collaboration and in league with indigenous monopoly houses who have increased their assets 20 to 30 times since Independence at the cost of the people. Sir, the Finance Minister's budget has given them incentive to exploit the country much more than restraining them throughout his budgetary provisions.

Thirdly, Sir, the big traders are either related to or integrated with monopoly houses who supply the capital, intelligence and black money to the mercantile community to corner the essential goods of the society, so as to get quick profits and quick returns, which lead to constant price rise. Every month we are getting a rise of 2 per cent. I am afraid, there will be an increase of

[Shri Kali Mukherjee]

1 per cent every week. In the Budget there is no scheme to restrain them. They are looting the people in an unrestricted way.

Fourth—last but not the least—the rural rich, the remnants of the feudal system, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the landlords, the money-lenders and the rich peasants are in constant league with the above-mentioned exploiting groups. They manage the rural exploitation very nicely. They fire them, they kill them, burn them and they do as they like as has been stated during the zero hour by some friends here. They are the enemies of land reforms and merciless exploiters of the rural poor. Is there any provision in your Budget for land reforms and land distribution? No. Nothing is found.

Sir, the country started with one bureaucrat in the beginning, just after Independence, as a Finance Minister. Here is the ninth Finance Minister of our country. And he is also a bureaucrat. Sir, I find that the Finance Minister's budget never touched this octopus who are sucking the very blood of the people of the country by their well-identified tentacles mentioned earlier. My answer is clearly negative, and your Budget has positively helped, encouraged and indulged in certain steps through sectoral allotments to this Hydra-headed criminal gang—these exploiting agencies. Through this Budget, I agree, the Finance Minister has achieved his first step, that is, the "free enterprise" which they have developed as a philosophy in the country. And that philosophy of Swatantra Party has been infiltrated, consciously or unconsciously, inside the Janata Party. Now, Sir, I beg to remind you that in between 1951 and 1977, successively 8 Finance Ministers ruled this poor country and the people lost 75 per cent of the purchasing power of a rupee on the basis of 1961-62 price index figure=100 of these great 8

contd.

Finance Ministers—really speaking 6 because 2 appeared twice on the stage—one is our great Prime Minister of India today, Shri Morarji Bhai. He appeared on the scene twice. He was the Finance Minister under the Nehru family twice, once under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as Finance Minister and then again as Deputy Prime Minister-cum-Finance Minister under the former Prime Minister of India, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. There he had successfully taken away 30 per cent from the rupee by his own actions. Out of the 75 per cent erosion of the real value of a rupee, Morarji Bhai alone has taken away the lion's share of 30 per cent. I believe that the 9th gentleman, the Finance Minister now will take away the entire value of the rupee during his regime if he is tolerated and is allowed to continue for a year or two years or 5 years. Thanks to the Janata Government. It is well known that the vested interests and the lobby for free enterprise have been trying to get rebates and tax reliefs. Now, they have succeeded in getting so many concessions whereas the consumers' interests including the interests of the toiling poor, the poor middle class and the fixed income groups have been clamouring for lower excise duty have been ignored. The Finance Minister has obliged the rich and the vested interests since he belongs to the gang of a few. He has refused to oblige the latter, the toiling people, the fixed income groups and the consumers as a whole. The Finance Minister said during the elections that he would withdraw the C.D.S. and pay the D.A. instalments. I do not mean only the Finance Minister, but the party of the Finance Minister. I personally listened to a speech delivered on 2nd March last at Boat Club where the present Foreign Minister spoke and Babu Jagjivan Ram presided. He assured the Central Government employees and the working classes that the C.D.S. would be withdrawn as soon as they came to power. He also assured the working classes and the Government staff that the dearness allowance due to them

would be paid straightaway. I personally listened to that. But, as soon as they came to power, within a few weeks they have violated what they had promised to the working classes and the toiling people and the fixed income groups. This is shame violation. This is a betrayal to the voters and to the working classes and the poor middle classes. Sir, is it the Gandhian behaviour that Gandhiji practised? I do not know whether Jana Sangh believes in it. Nevertheless, our Prime Minister does believe in that. Did Gandhiji practise that? I am sure that your holding the position as the 9th Finance Minister is gradually reducing the rupee-value and eroding it, as I stated earlier. That will create a serious crisis in the national economy. I am afraid that will also create a great political impact on the national politics and the country as a whole. The first disintegrating conglomerate, the *morchha*, the Janata Party of yours, will be cracked down by the socio-economic pressure and may bring about chaos since a large political vacuum will be created in between the people and the Government. I am afraid the totality of the democratic rights that are earned by the people as a whole through various movements, thanks to JP, will end in futility. I am afraid of that. I beg to remind you the lessons of history—which you need very much now—which we must not throw in the oblivion, particularly in the present day Indian conditions. It is an axiomatic truth that a despot or a dictator emerges in a society only when a person is surrounded by with arrogant and greedy ministers, along with greedy politicians, corrupt astrologers and medicants, corrupt businessmen and bureaucrats, smugglers and sycophants. Once that happens to a country, it becomes reduced to authoritarianism, sometimes leading to a dynastic system. That did happen to our country, unfortunately, during the last emergency. Let that not be allowed to be repeated again, and that will be disastrous to our nation, not temporarily but for good.

Sir, I am sorry to state that the fiscal policy of the Finance Minister as exhibited in the Budget and the behaviour pattern of your 'Morchha' Government, the Janata Government, as demonstrated during the past few weeks of its existence are indicating a direction to disintegration of the country. Whether a Harijan will become the Chief Minister or a Koiri will become the Chief Minister or a Gwala will become the Chief Minister or a Brahmin will become the Chief Minister, has become a problem now. Sir, all the Janata talk of the Gandhian way in 1977 has become a mockery as Indira's 'Garibi hatao' in 1971. There is no difference between the two.

Being a born optimist, Sir, and passing through the freedom struggle and various struggles of the toiling people, I do visualise a third viable alternative despite the dark phenomena stated earlier. Since the Congress has nearly been rejected by the people, the Janata, I am sure, shall shortly meet the same fate. I say this against this background of the Janata Party's failure to meet the basic challenge of the agrarian front, the incapacity to tackle the problem of huge unemployment of a crore in the urban areas and many crores in the rural areas, the refusal to appreciate the economic stringency that the fixed income group, the poor middle-class and the Government servants and the employees of the public sector enterprises and the toiling millions, are confronted with. The Janata Budget has not recognised the fact that 70 per cent of the population survive below the poverty-line and consequent eruption of chronic dissension will ultimately paralyse the present system and the structure itself. Under the circumstances, Sir, one has to look forward to the significance of the left alliance Government in West Bengal. It seems, its stability is assured by the objective condition of support from the rural and the urban poor. If this Ministry with that foundation and with a national outlook can consolidate its

[Shri Kali Mukherjee]

position through persuasion and without the use of violence—please note, without the use of violence—and only through persuasion and in a democratic process, then it can attract all sections of the community who matter, from the enlightened industrialists to the middle-class intelligentsia and workers in the factory and *kissans* in the field. The left alliance may function as a catalyst for a social change in the entire country in due course through radical democratic processes, since others are bound to fail in the present feudo-capitalist set-up of this country. The Congress and the Janata are bound to fail to cope with the situation that we are confronted with. That is why the suggestion, Sir,—in this feudo-capitalist set-up they have failed and they are bound to fail—that the left alliance must build up an ideal character.—I am talking about the future, the past is a record for history. They must take lessons from the past. They must build up ideal character for their Ministers, their constituent party units and cadres, unlike the Janata and the Congress, so that it may draw the other left democrats and progressive elements from amongst the Janata and the Congress who are suffering the domination of the exploiting caucuses of the dominant party. That is the only silver lining in West Bengal which may usher in a dawn and may help to emerge a new national radical left democratic force in the country.

Sir, then and then only, your budget, which serves the vested interests only, can be replaced by a budget of the poor who constitute the 95 per cent of the population of this great, vast antiquated country. Till such time, Sir, I am sorry to say, we are to tolerate this Finance Minister and the Janata Budget.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI SWAMI DINESH CHANDRA (Rajasthan): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, it would be an ante-diluvian idea

to think that the Budget is the charisma of the Finance Minister and to judge it as one man's performance. The Budget is the index of the mind of the Government as to how it proposes to deal with the problem of the people over whom it rules. The Budget that we are discussing today is very very disappointing.

When one thinks about the reaction this Budget will create in the financial circles all over the world, the very thought of it is alarming. The basic question to be answered is, does the Budget create a hope in the minds of the people or leaves them as despondent as ever? I simply cannot understand the philosophy behind this Budget. A Budget is not simply an exercise in addition or subtraction; it ought to be something more than that. An emaciated country like ours cannot do with a routine Budget.

I am sorry to say that I do not find anything in this Budget except a little addition here and a little subtraction there. The hon. Finance Minister's exercise is a futile exercise in abortion. It is an abortive Budget. The hon. Finance Minister took quite long in the hope that he would be able to deliver a mature creature but, gentlemen, I am sorry to say that the Budget that he has given us is a still born child. To 95 per cent of the Indian people, this Budget does not mean anything at all. Those who need our attention first and foremost are the teeming millions who have no jobs. The number of such persons comes to about 10 crores. If the number of those registered with Employment Bureaus is about 10 million, it is as sure as anything that the number of those who are not registered is in no case less than 90 million adults. One-third of our population are idlers per force.

Late Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia reminded us again and again that the average daily income of an Indian comes to about 15 np. Now that there are many followers of late Dr. Lohia amongst the Treasury Benches, I

think, I was not too imaginative if I hoped something radical to emerge out of the Budget. But I must confess that the result is very, very disappointing.

Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, all that Shri Patel has to say on the question of unemployment is:

"The accelerated growth of agricultural production will in itself increase the scope for employment in the rural areas. It is interesting to note the labour input per acre of land in Japan is four times the corresponding level in India. This is an indication of the scope for generating new employment opportunities in the process of modernising our agriculture. More irrigation, better cultural practices, double-cropping, increased use of fertilisers and wedding will certainly create more jobs..."

Here the hon. Finance Minister becomes a little self-conscious, lest he should commit some mistake. By way of abundant caution, he further says:

"...but it will have to be ensured that premature mechanisation does not affect this process adversely."

Hon. Members, I have failed to visualise what the hon. Finance Minister has up his sleeves, mechanisation, no mechanisation, no premature mechanisation; God knows what his dilemma is?

"Faster agricultural growth will offer greater scope for employment in such ancillary activities as repair-ing, servicing, transportation, etc."

Obviously, the hon. Finance Minister, or for the matter of that, his Government is depending on their kulak friends in the countryside for eradication of unemployment. I feel he is being much too optimistic to the extent of deceiving himself, or, perhaps, all of us here, and the broad masses of India outside the Parliament.

Since Indian testimony may be discarded, I will quote here a renowned author who, in turn, is quoting another very distinguished writer on economic matters. Rene Dumont in his book *Socialisms and Development* says:

"All the measures taken since independence have ended by strengthening the wealthy strata in the village, and weakening the position of share croppers and landless labourers. City dwellers who own land support the privileged villagers, in their defence of the *status quo*, and furiously oppose any far-reaching reform. The growth of inequality is also part yldue to normal evolution, since the peasant land-owners and privileged farmers are in a better position, than the poor to avail themselves of modern techniques. Myrdol concludes that 'as long as working and earning an income, jeopardise status, while land holding and partial and complete absention from productive work raise it, aggregate output is held well below its potential'. The promotion of social and economic equality is a precondition for attaining substantial long term increase in production."

What the same author says further is rather instructive:

"In India socialism was and still is, the official doctrine of the Government and most of the political parties, many businessmen even, claim to favour a socialist economy. They vie with one another in urging the socialist model of society, but are not in hurry to define it. Some of them simply equate it with social justice and planning, or understand it as a mere ideology of modernisation.

Myrdol also proposes that every landless labourer should be allotted a small piece of land; this would give him dignity, a new concept of life, and an independent source of income. A limited redistribution of this kind could begin by sharing

[Shri Swami Dinesh Chandra]

out the more valuable uncultivated fields near the village, expropriated without compensation. These would bring a minimum of social security and above all, by eliminating the chief ground for contempt in this way, the traditional basis of status would be attacked at its very root. The employee would then have the prospect of both economic and social advancement before him."

This is how the Finance Minister has to proceed if he is at all serious in tackling the problem of rural unemployed and not merely in phrasemongering. We have to give the unemployed status and dignity side by side with work so that they create more work in turn. While you want to preserve all the kulaks, do not think, that the poor village will be contended with such jobs as servicing, repairing, transportation etc. Thousands of top bureaucrats, industrial executives, industrialists, their kith and kin have become large farm-owners in the run. Most of them are absentee landlords employing sharecroppers and are busy exploiting them. Break these big farms, to begin with, and distribute them amongst the rural poor and the urban educated unemployed. With this, they will get a piece of land, a little bit of property, which will give them the status and dignity they deserve along with work. This is what has been denied to them so far and that is why they have remained neglected, whereas, the parasites have made away with crores and crores of good money in the name of industrial production and have been successful in turning it into the so-called, black money. I for one, hold that money that cannot be controlled is black money. I know of no other definition.

Let us turn to the unemployed and the semi-employed, and let us give them petty sums a few thousands so that they may get employed. In order to give a man employment, you have

to give him investment. In no other country in the world it is so easy, as in ours, to give a person employment. Give an Indian sufficient money to buy a camel and he will get usefully employed. Give a villager enough money to buy two bullocks and he will get employed by turning his idle cart into a useful means of transportation. Give a person money to buy five donkeys and he will get employed.

It is obvious from the hon. Finance Minister's Budget speech that all this will not please him. What he has taken to his heart is:

"How modern organisations and marketing methods can breathe life into labour intensive industry."

Talking about the problem of unemployment in the urban areas, particularly among the educated persons, he has told us something about the magic formula. The hon. Finance Minister further says:

"The House will be happy to know that we are working on the details of a specific scheme designed to create opportunities for the educated unemployed. Under this scheme, we shall provide through the banking system 'seed' money and other finance at relatively attractive rates of interest to enterprising young men considered eligible for assistance."

I would like to know from the hon. Finance Minister the number of youngmen that would be considered eligible for such assistance now many thousands, lakhs or millions. Even one out of a thousand engineering students coming out of our engineering colleges every year can possibly be considered eligible for such assistance. When the engineering concerns run by the industrialists are in complete disarray and are on the verge of going bankrupt after devouring crores and crores of rupees, how can the scheme of the hon. Finance Minister instil confidence and raise a

ray of hope in the minds of the educated unemployed? Parrot-like repetition of old formulas won't do. The talk of the massive mandate with which the speech of the hon. Finance Minister opens calls for massive responsibility also. Where is the reshaping and reorientation of the economic policy so as to bring about speedy elimination of destitution and poverty? What the Budget indicates is that the hon. Finance Minister and his Government are thinking of reshaping and reorientation in favour of the privileged few only. The enterprising young men considered eligible for assistance as referred to in paragraph 24 of the hon. Finance Minister's speech would be among the top bureaucrats and the upper strata whose parents have already robbed the national Exchequer to the fullest extent possible. Has the hon. Finance Minister given a thought to the problem that while the Government would be drawing plans to provide seed money to the fortunate few, the industrialists in the private sector would have, in the meantime, thrown on the streets ten times or hundred times the number of educated youngmen, depriving them of their jobs in the name of disciplinary action. I would like to put a straight question to the hon. Finance Minister. What is the difficulty in bringing forward a legislation forbidding the dismissal of an employee in consequence of a disciplinary proceeding? This would be in consonance with the legal theory, also. In law, you cannot terminate a contract unilaterally. I would call upon the hon. Finance Minister to bring forward a suitable legislation forthwith, and I can assure him that he will find the hon. Members sitting on this side of the House ready to support it.

If the hon. Finance Minister and his Government has no audacity to bring forward such a legislation, I am constrained to say that there is much dismay and disappointment in store for teaming millions, as long as this Government is in the saddle.

The industrialist is day in and day out practising the implementation of the famous Ramayanic dictum:

“जस जस सुरसा बदन बढ़ावा ।
तासु दुगन कपि रूप दिखावा ।”

While the scheme to provide employment to educated youngmen, as indicated by the hon. Finance Minister, is underway, during the same period the employer in the private sector will have dismissed twice the number of employees already employed. This is no innocuous exercise on the part of the employer in the private sector; this is his guru mantram. If there will be more people thrown on the streets hankering after jobs, this will be the employers' labour market, and he can well negotiate and lower down wages, bringing it to the lowest level—level of semi-starvation.

The minimum wage in many an industry today is not above Rs. 5 a day. While a bus or a truck driver gets seven to eight thousand rupees a month, a person doing the same job in India gets only three to four hundred rupees a month. If there is no purchasing power in the hands of the millions, what is our hope to build industries?

If you go through the speech of the hon. Finance Minister, from one end to the other, you will find that the hon. Finance Minister had discarded the Marxian way. I want to ask you in all humility: Are you prepare to accept the Keynesian way? The only way suggested by Keynes to get out of morass is to increase wages. Nothing else can give a fillip to the economy in an under-developed or a developing country like ours. Unless we choose one of the ways, God forbid, we are doomed.

Let us not build our hopes on a novel 'sarvodaya' method to meet a crisis such as we are in. It will be a hope like that of the ancient gold diggers. It may be possible to keep a person going on dialysis but a nation cannot be kept alive and thriving

1977-78—

contd.

[Shri Swami Dinesh Chandra]

on dialysis. I know the government is in dilemma. What the employer in the private sector feels helps him, the Government being the largest employer also believes in helping them. The tragedy lies in cohesion of thinking. We have to give up unity of thought with the employer in the private sector if we want to survive as a nation.

13 Cutting down wages is no sound national policy, for the wages form a meagre part of the inputs. If any revision in the wages is called for, it has to be upwards.

Our direct-tax net is so small because we pay very low wages. Bring the national wage level to such a plinth that every industrial worker comes within the direct-tax net, each one getting wages above Rs. 10,000 a year and you will find there is a steep rise in the national income.

There is no other way to curb inflation. Wage rise is the only panacea which may put an end to inflation. At a time when the hon. Finance Minister was the Principal Finance Secretary, the Minister for Finance was late Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. The late Shri T. T. Krishnamachari had to resign, for reasons best known to Shri Patel. Shri T. T. Krishnamachari then told the country: Beware, the tiger is at large. Hon. Members will excuse me if I feel bound to raise the cry again, beware, the tiger is at large.

The tiger is an illegitimate child, I do not know who the father of the child is. The child is before us all in the shape of a new formula. The slogan raised by the hon. Finance Minister is : "Let the bigger fry eat up the smaller fry and all will be well."

Hon. Members will permit me to draw their attention to para 19 of the hon. Finance Minister's speech. He has said :

"Some of our large industries, such as textiles, are today in a

serious trouble and are in a particular need of replacement and modernisation. Therefore, adequate resources will have to be provided for investment in these sectors...

I believe it might be a good idea, if the managements of more efficient mills were to be prevailed upon to take over, as an act of social responsibility, some of the sick units and nurse them back into sound health under conditions to be laid down by Government."

Here comes the tiger out of his den. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI KRISHNA KRIPALANI (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, not committed to this side or that, and being a watcher rather than an active participant of the game that is played here, I do not feel called upon either to boost the Finance Minister's performance or to belittle it. For me, his budget proposals have the merit of being simple, modest and wisely cautious. The Minister may gloat in denigrating all past achievement, but he cannot help benefiting from it and cannot extricate himself from its commitments. That is as it should be. The nation is bigger than the party.

Sir, the assurance of the Finance Minister, reinforced repeatedly by the Prime Minister and the Home Minister, that the Government aspires to incorporate in its long-range programme some basic tenets of Gandhian economic philosophy is to be warmly welcomed. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, the two greatest and wisest men of modern India, believed profoundly that the basic unit of Indian economy is the village. If the village is neglected and reduced to a dung-heap, to use a vivid expression of Gandhiji, the entire economy of the nation, indeed the very civilisation of India, would become lopsided and deformed, and a cancerous disease will eat at its core. It is, therefore, heartening to know that at any rate some leaders

of the present Government share this belief and promise to endeavour to give effect to it. But, Sir, the proof of the pudding is in the eating and not in the recipe. It will, no doubt, take some time before the pudding is ready to be tasted. Meanwhile, at least one Gandhian principle of conduct has been observed in the framing of the budget—namely, one step enough for time. We shall eagerly await the next step, meanwhile wishing the Government Godspeed in its good intentions and hoping that it won't be long before the step becomes a stride. The Government's performance, in the brief period of its power, in restoring civil liberties, freedom of thought and the rule of law lends credibility to its promise.

Sir, no drama is more fascinating and more enlightening than what the country has witnessed during the past few months and what we are privileged to witness in Parliament from day to day. What was establishment once is Opposition now, and the erstwhile rebels are in seats of authority. Nothing could be more morally sobering, more reassuring than that greater than the rulers are the people who make and unmake them. This drama has all the elements of a Greek tragedy, of a medieval Morality, of a Moliere comedy, and even of a modern farce.

It has lessons for us all and much scope for amusement besides. Those who, only a few days ago, strutted about as masters of fate, seem like deflated balloons. They may wriggle and writhe, squeak and make noises—but more as a gesture of opposition than out of any real conviction. It is all a rhetoric of face-saving. In their heart of hearts they know that they must expiate, must undergo a long penance, undertake a renewed *tapasya*, before they can hope to recover even partially the lost heritage which Gandhiji and Jawaharlal left behind. Meanwhile they must oppose for the sake of opposing, since democracy cannot do without an organised

and disciplined opposition, and the best of rulers must have critics to keep them sane, for power is a far more potent intoxicant than any alcohol or drug.

Today, Sir, it is the new rulers who may strut about proudly, with a smirk on their faces. Luckily, they have seen and known what havoc power did in deranging the mind of the erstwhile rulers, and so, one hopes, they will tread warily and walk in fear of God.

They swear eloquently by Gandhiji. To some extent we all do the same, some more sincerely than others. It will therefore do all of us good if we recall one simple and consistently unflinching trait of the Mahatma, namely, that he was always generous to his opponent and severe in judging himself. He was fair and kind to all, more fair to foes than to friends, and always critical of himself. This was true secret of his greatness.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRIMATI PRATIMA BOSE (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the Finance Minister said in his Budget Speech that he did not have the benefit of consultation with the Planning Commission which has been reconstituted only recently. Moreover, though he knew that the Budget of the Central Government is a major instrument for shaping the country's social and economic policies, no encouraging steps have been taken in his final Budget except increasing the exemption limit of income tax from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000. Here also he has made a discrimination in the exemption limit for tax payers over an income of Rs. 10,000/-.

As regards direct taxes, the income tax payers seem to have been further penalised by retention of the CDS for another two years as also increase in the surcharge to 15 per cent. The continuance of the CDS for another

[Shrimati Pratima Bose]

two years seems to hit the older people above the age of 60. In all fairness to the older people, the CDS should not apply to tax payers who are 60 or 65 at best because it will take seven years for this age group to get full refund of the compulsory deposit which may not be possible for the average old man.

The Finance Minister has admitted that an unprecedented price rise has added to the miseries of the common man but in the Budget no consideration seems to have been given to ameliorate the position. Although he has mentioned the importance of introducing new growth impulses into our agrarian economy, no mention has, however, been made in the Budget about land reforms which is a vital point in the progress of rural economy. In this connection the landless labourers deserve the utmost consideration. Although the Government thinks about their subsidised income from cottage industries in the lean months, where is the programme for their basic income by introduction of better irrigation and small irrigation schemes? Whom do the Government intend to help? Surely not the landless rural population. These deserve consideration for rural development.

There is a mention of unemployment as one of the most pressing problems, but no programme is chalked out for the urban unemployed youth.

The Finance Minister has pointed out that the development of the small-scale industries may solve the problem of unemployment, but the Budget has not given a clear policy on the development of the small-scale industries and the socio-economic uplift of the rural people. We may set up agro-industries, rural industrial projects in increased numbers, but the Government should make a decisive policy for the marketing of the products at least in the primary stages. While asking people to purchase

these things, the cost structure should be taken into consideration because, as we all know, these goods are costly. I shall request the Finance Minister to consider the marketing aspect of the rural industries without which additional outlays for khadi and village industries as well as sericulture and handloom industries will not yield the results expected. This might produce employment, especially in the rural areas, but as experience has shown, without proper marketing facilities of all these products, the exercise may not be quite satisfactory and the additional employment will only be short-lived.

श्रीमती रत्न कुमारी (मध्य प्रदेश) :

माननीय उपसभापति महोदय, सर्वप्रथम तो मैं आप को धन्यवाद देती हूँ कि आपने वर्तमान सत्र में बजट पर अपने विचार सभा में रखने का समय मुझे दिया।

मैंने इस विषय पर अनेकों विद्वान वक्ताओं के विचार सुने। समझ में यह आया कि कृषि प्रधान इस देश में कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाये बिना समस्या का कोई हल नहीं है। उसी को प्राथमिकता देना आवश्यक है। इस विषय में सरकार का दृष्टिकोण स्पष्ट होना चाहिए। कृषि पर अधिक से अधिक व्यय का प्रावधान बजट में होना चाहिए।

यह कहा जा रहा है कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया। सन् 1947 के बाद देश में अनेकों प्रगतियाँ हुई हैं। इस बात को कौन अस्वीकार कर सकता है। तो उस समय से अब तक क्या कांग्रेस सरकार नहीं थी? कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस सरकार ने कृषि की ओर ध्यान नहीं दिया तो प्रश्न यह उठता है कि उस समय कितने गांवों में बिजली थी, कृत्रिम खाद का प्रयोग होता था या कि नलकूपों या प्राकृतिक साधनों से सिंचाई होती थी? भूमि सीलिंग का कानून बना कर छोटे किसानों या खेतिहर मजदूरों का भला कांग्रेस सरकार

ने नहीं किया ? इतने बड़े देश में इतने समय में जो बर्बादी और गरीबी पनप रही थी उसे एकदम निकाल बाहर करना तो संभव था नहीं। फिर जितना करना था उतना नहीं किया यह आरोप है। आरोप तो कोई भी लगा सकता है। जनता पार्टी की सरकार पर भी लगावेगे।

हमें तथ्य स्वीकार करना है और उसी के प्रकाश में आगे बढ़ना है। कांग्रेस सरकार ने अर्थ व्यवस्था को दूढ़ किया था, अनाज का भंडार भी इकट्ठा किया था। भारत की अर्थ व्यवस्था की प्रशंसा बड़े बड़े अर्थ शास्त्रियों ने की है। कृषि के लिये पिछले बजट में कांग्रेस सरकार ने बड़ा प्रावधान किया था और उसके क्रियान्वयन का भी भरसक प्रयत्न किया ?

प्रगति के पथ पर और तेजी से बढ़ना आवश्यक है इसमें दो मत नहीं है। अभी भी सड़को से दूर ग्रामों में पीने के पानी तक की भयंकर कमी है। सिंचाई की बात तो दर-किनार रही। गर्मी प्रारम्भ होते ही नदी, नाले, ताल, तलया, कुएँ, सभी सूख जाते हैं। मीलों दूर से ग्रामीण लोग पीने का पानी लाते हैं। पशु तो प्यास से तड़प कर मर जाते हैं और गन्दगी के कारण अनेकों बीमारियाँ फैल जाती हैं।

मैं मध्य प्रदेश की ही बात कहना चाहती हूँ। वहाँ की कृषि भूमि केवल दस प्रतिशत ही सिंचाई के साधन प्राप्त कर सकी है जबकि अनुमान है कि करीब दो लाख हेक्टर भूमि में सिंचाई के साधनों का विकास किया जा सकता है। परन्तु यह केन्द्र की सहायता के बिना सम्भव नहीं है। बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाएँ जैसे चम्बल, तवा, बरगी, बारना, हसदेव, महानदी, आदि विचाराधीन हैं। कुछ का निर्माण भी चल रहा है परन्तु बहुत

धीरे धीरे इनमें प्रगति लाने की आवश्यकता है जो केन्द्रीय शासन के सहयोग के बिना संभव नहीं है। अन्तरराज्यीय विवाद के कारण भी कई योजनाएँ केन्द्रीय जल एवं विद्युत आयोग के यहाँ विचाराधीन पड़ी हैं। इनके फैसले तुरन्त होना चाहिए। बजट में सिंचाई के लिये डी राशि का प्रावधान अपेक्षित है।

सिंचाई के साधन बिजली की गड़बड़ी से निकम्मे पड़े रहते हैं कई जगह बिजली तुरन्त ही सुधारने के केन्द्र बड़े गांवों में सरकार की ओर से खोले जाये और उनमें प्रशिक्षित कर्मचारी रखे जावे यह भी प्रावधान बजट में आवश्यक है कि फसल सूखने के पूर्व ही किसान सिंचाई अपने खेत में कर सके।

पानी के बिना कृषि उत्पादन बढ़ाने का स्वप्न आकाशकुसुम है। वैसे ही खाद का भी प्रयोग सिंचाई की खेती का आवश्यक अंग है। कृत्रिम खाद के मूल्यों में कमी की जाय। पशुओं से प्राप्त होने वाली खाद खेती के लिये बहुत उपयोगी है ऐसा कृषि पंडितों का मत है। पशु पालन किसान कर मके इस का प्रबन्ध भी सरकार को करना चाहिए। किसानों को आसान किशतों तथा कम ब्याज पर ऋण उपलब्ध कराये जावें। ऋणों में छूट देने का प्रावधान सरकार करे।

कृषि उत्पादन की बिक्री और भंडारण भी किसान की बड़ी समस्या है। बाजारों में उसकी दोनों हाथों से लुटाई होती है। इसे रोक कर उचित मूल्य किसानों को मिले इस पर भी विचार आवश्यक है।

इस प्रकार यदि कृषि के भिन्न-भिन्न अंगों पर विचार कर ध्यान दिया जाय तो उत्पादन बढ़ने में देर न होगी और सब से बड़ी देश की समस्या हल करने का सरकार का उचित कदम होगा।

SHRI GIAN CHAND TOTU (Himachal Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, the budget presented to us reflects the contradiction and the confusion of the Janata Party. Take, for instance, the direct taxes. The hon. Minister, in his address, has said that it was doubtful if taxation alone could achieve such an increase, that the high rate of direct taxation had been counterproductive because of the evasion that had ensued and that in any case the number of people who had fallen in the direct tax net was so small that revenue realisation could not match the requirements. So, Sir, the Minister concedes this and yet raises the income-tax rates. He has not only raised the income-tax rates, but while replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha, has given it as a proof that he has said the Swatantra mentality by raising the direct taxes. Sir, if raising of the direct taxes would bring about socialism, it would have been brought about much before. The raising of the direct taxes only brings about tax-evaders and corruption. We should not forget whether it is the class of businessmen or the class of tax-collectors, it is the same class; honesty and dishonesty in both the classes are the same. The moment you raise the direct taxes, you make room for tax-evaders. One should not forget that the direct taxes come to hardly 2 per cent of the total revenue. Sir, though I would compliment the Finance Minister for raising the exemption limit from Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 10,000, I do wish he had raised it to at least Rs. 12,000 particularly when the rupee value has gone down in the last 20 years to only 36 naye paise.

The second instance of confusion is regarding employment. The Finance Minister has said that by presenting this budget he wants to increase the employment opportunities in the country. Yet, Sir, he has made a provision for taking a loan of Rs 800 crores out of the foreign exchange accumulation. He has not spelt out how he is going to

utilise it. Obviously, he is going to utilise it by not only importing watches but other consumer goods also. Sir, may I put a question? By bringing in watches and other consumer goods, he might be thinking of mopping up Rs. 800 crores of black money. But it is a short-sighted policy. Is it not going to effect the employment opportunities in this country? Is it not going to affect the industries producing the type of material which the Government is going to import? Would it not have been better—of course, he might have taken a little more—if they had utilised these Rs. 800 crores for creating bigger manufacturing facilities within the country? If they want to bring in consumer goods by utilising these Rs. 800 crores of foreign exchange, then the whole policy on imports and exports needs a second look. Why should we at least export that much of material or goods which are scarce in the country, on which we give cash subsidy, when we have so much of foreign exchange?

3 P.M.

Now, Sir, another instance of creating unemployment is the slashing down of the import duties on stainless steel. Which class of the people is using stainless steel utensils in the country? There are about 1,500 units in the country producing stainless steel out of waste, and I have no idea to how many people it is giving employment. But this slashing down of the import duties by such an extent is certainly going to make all these 1,500 units close down. I do not stand for high import duties but I do plead that the import duties should be reduced gradually so that the people who are employed in this industry are not put out of employment immediately:

The same, Sir, applies to the mini-steel plants. The hon. Minister for Steel has said that the mini-steel plants are not only sick but they are dying. There was need for reducing the tax burdens on the mini-steel plants in

the country. Yet, the Finance Minister has, in an indirect way, raised the taxes on the mini-steel plants. He has raised the rolling duty from the rolling stage to the ingot stage. Sir, there are 10 per cent rolling losses in the shape of burning and end-cutting for single rolling and 15 per cent losses in the shape of burning and end-cutting for double rolling. Therefore, by taking Rs. 130 as increased duty from the rolling stage to the ingot stage, he has increased the incidence of duty by say, on the average, 12 1/2 per cent, while at the same time, he has given some concessions to the mini-paper mills. Sir there is need today to reduce the taxes on the mini-steel plants. Then, Sir, most of the mini-steel plants are utilising finances given by the State institutions, and 70 to 80 per cent of the plants are just in a position that they may not be able to carry on and may close down at any time. Therefore there is need today at least to give them relief in the shape of bank interest, particularly where they have not been able to run the mini-steel plants because the State electricity undertakings did not supply them power, though they had set up the mini-steel plants only on the assurance that the State undertakings would supply them power.

Sir, for creating employment opportunities, well, you need money, you need capital. Of course, you have said that you will have a saving of Rs. 153 crores. I hope it will be different from the saving which the hon. Prime Minister intended when he started travelling by the normal airlines planes, because it has appeared in the papers that this is going to be more costly than going by special planes. I do not know, because there are no details given about this saving of Rs. 153 crores. But, Sir, that is not going to change the present state of affairs in this country. Now, the Government of India budget is Rs. 10,000 crores and the State Governments' budget would also be to the same extent. Now, if you say you

have provided Rs. 20 crores for drinking water and Rs. 40 crores for this scheme or that scheme, is it going to touch one per cent of the problem? And do you think at this rate, in the near future, in five years, ten years 15 years or 20 years, you are going to change the state of affairs in the country? I fear not. It is just either misleading yourself or misleading the country.

The fact remains that today in the expenditure of the Central and State Governments there is a lot of unproductive expenditure and it is to the tune of 20 per cent, 30 per cent. Sir I do not want to take much time of the House. I would only bring to your notice two or three instances of the unproductive expenditure of the Government. The present Budget earmarked Rs. 10 crores for sericulture. There was a sericulture department in Chandigarh. Its budget was Rs. 1,60,000 and its job was to popularise rearing of cocoons. After one year I happened to ask them the value of the cocoons reared by their division. The department was boastful and said they helped people to grow cocoons worth Rs. 6000 against an expenditure of Rs. 1,60,000. And that was how they were popularising sericulture. I give you another instance. There was a rural industry project in Palampur and their job was to promote rural industries. Its expenditure was Rs. 2.75 lakhs. After one year's operation the only solid achievement against an expenditure of Rs. 2.75 lakh was disbursement of loans to the tune of Rs. 6 lakhs. Disbursement cost of Rs. 6 lakh loan in any bank or any financial institution would not be more than 2 per cent, that is, it would not be more than Rs. 12,000, for which they spent Rs. 2.75 lakhs. I give you yet another instance. There was a designs organisation in Chandigarh. Its job was to supply designs to the various industrial cooperative societies in the erstwhile Punjab State. Its expenditure was Rs. 1,10,000 of its own budget. And if you take into

[Shri Gian Chand Totu]

consideration the overhead charges, it would come to Rs. 3 lakhs. And it was found that in a single year they supplied only 100 designs to the various cooperative societies and the total production of goods by those 100 designs was not more than Rs. 10,000. The cost of supplying designs in this case should not have been more than Rs. 1000 or Rs. 500, when the total production of goods was worth only Rs. 10,000. Therefore, unless Government curbs this sort of unproductive expenditure—well, there is some chance of retrenchment; but there need not be retrenchment; the staff could be transferred from these unproductive units to productive units of the Government—Government would not be able to bring about better conditions. But Government must have guts to curb this unproductive expenditure. Mr. Biju Patnaik, Minister of Steel & Mines, said that there is no elbow room for the present Government, they have made such tight Budget. May I draw the attention of the honourable House to the fact that there has been an increase of Rs. 798 crores in our estimate over the last year's? Increase in taxes has been to the extent of Rs. 800 crores. How then do they say there is no elbow room? Is our economy bad when we left with them foreign exchange worth Rs. 3000 crores? Is our economy bad when we left with them 18 million tonnes of foodgrains? If they want to take excuses, well, nobody can help them. But the fact remains that the economy was in a good shape; it was on the take-off stage. And it can be done at a faster rate. Take, for instance, the allocation for power. The basic need in India today is power and unless we give power to each village, drinking water to each village, irrigation water to each village, road to each village, employment cannot be generated.

Government has its own limitations and if they try to give employment under the present conditions, then there is not much chance of bringing about any improvement. But

they should create conditions so that more employment is generated. One instance where employment can be generated is power. The policy makers of the Congress also realised at a late stage that it was no use creating a super-structure when the base did not exist. Therefore, in one single year the budget allocation for power was raised from Rs. 35 crores to Rs. 71 crores. The present Government reduced it to Rs. 69 crores in the current year, although this is an improvement over the original position. From 35 crores to 71 crores the increase was 100 per cent whereas from 71 crores to 69 crores it is a clear reduction. There should have been an increase in the allocations for these basic things. Well, we are grateful to the Leader of the House for giving us a show on Ramcharit Manas. But I request him to look into the expenditure on the Song and Drama Division. To which class of people does it cater? When we realise that 60 per cent of our population is below the poverty line, when there is no water or roads available to lakhs of people, in the name of culture is it proper for us to divert large funds for the benefit of a few urban classes of people? I would ask him: What is the purpose of the Song and Drama Division in the All India Radio? Could not the money spent on this organisation be diverted for the benefit of the poorer classes of people in the rural areas? I am sure the present Government will have to take hard decisions if they want to bring about development of India at a faster rate than was being done. Every activity resulting in employment of people is good. But one has to find out whether the employment provided is productive or unproductive. What is the utility of unproductive employment? I am happy that the Janata Party leaders often quote the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. He said that before you take any step you should see whether it is going to help the poorer classes of the country or not. On the one hand we ask the people to save money and on the

other we stress on tourism. Is it not contradictory because in the name of tourism we are asking and persuading people to live extravagantly? I would request the Government to look into all these aspects because funds at their disposal are limited.

Lastly, I want to mention one other point. The Janata manifesto did not mention anything about the border hill areas. The Finance Minister has made a very brief reference in his Budget to the hill areas on the border. These areas are very sensitive. But unfortunately the administrative cost of these areas has also increased merely because we have been trying to provide in these areas the same type of administrative set-up that you provide in bigger States. These small hill areas have only a population of five lakhs to 10 lakhs. Still you have created an army of IAS and IPS officers as if they have a population of 2 crores of people. You have the same type of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries. No doubt, during the last ten years there has been stress on the hill areas and consequently the development rate of these areas has also gone up. But with the same funds there should be more development. This is possible if only the funds are judiciously used. I would request the present Government to have a look at the present administrative structure in the hill States and see whether the administrative cost cannot be reduced. If you go by population, the hill areas can never get sufficient funds. The distances are so long and the cost of construction is so high. Therefore, more funds are to be provided and for that, Sir we must try to look to other areas where savings can be effected. I think that the expenditure on the administrative set-up in these areas can be reduced greatly so that the savings out of this could be transferred to other developmental activities. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI IRENGBAM TOMPOK SINGH (Manipur): Sir, much has

been said by most of my colleagues here during the past few days about the Budget. Before coming to the actual Budget, Sir, I would like to highlight some of the problems that confront my State at the moment. I do not know whether there will be any swearing-in ceremony tomorrow morning or evening, whether there will be any swearing-in there at all. Before I come to the actual Budget, I would like to tell one thing to the Janata leadership and the Finance Minister and the Leader of the House, Shri Advani that Sir, as you know, Gresham's Law is already under operation as bad money drive out good money out of circulation and this has happened in politics also. There have been troubles in some States after the recent elections and there is trouble now in Manipur also. In this connection, I would like to quote a news item that has appeared in today's papers:

"Shaiza's Election as JLP Leader causes dissatisfaction: Trouble in Manipur Also."

This is the heading and the news I would like to quote now.

"Imphal, June 26 (Samachar): At a meeting attended by 34 of the 55 Janata Party MLAs, Mr. Yangmisho Shaiza was declared 'unanimously' elected leader of the Manipur JLP. The other 14 MLAs, who were not allowed to take part in the proceedings, were those who had joined the Janata Party recently."

This thing occurs in that part of the country. I want to bring this to your notice because we want a national standard in this vast country of ours and it does not matter whether the Janata Party comes to power or the Congress Party comes to power. There must be a national standard. To the people who hail from very backward States and hail from border States, it does not make any difference whatsoever comes to power Janata or the

[Shri Gian Chand Totu]

Congress Party. I say this because we have seen during the last 19 months and also previously that it is just like a fight between some of the bigger fish. As you know, Sir, India is a vast country with unevenly developed areas. Some States are very small like the States in the North-eastern region. If I represent Manipur and if I am not present here, it means that Manipur is not represented here. If the Nagaland Member is absent here, it means Nagaland is not represented here. But, in the case of bigger States like U.P., which has 34 Members here, it does not matter much because if only some of them are present and if other are absent, at least some of them are here to represent their State. Therefore, these small States may not be knowing or may not be aware of the prevailing situation in the country. This is because these States are so small and they have their own peculiar problems.

Another problem which is confronting us in this region is the problem of the Naga hostiles and the Naga insurgents and the problem of the Mizos. Recently, Sir, the Prime Minister had a dialogue with Mr. Phizo and you would all have read about that. In this connection, I would like to quote something from a magazine about this particular problem. I quote:

"The Nagas who are Indians—and not Phizo who is a British citizen—have a problem, and the problem is Phizo. The Indian polity also has a problem. Across the international border in Burma, between the border to the west and the river Chindwin to the east, has developed a north-south corridor of Burmese insurgency. This hooks up the Kachin National Liberation Council led by the Burmese Communists (White Flag) with the Arakanese insurgency led by Burmese Communists (Red Flag) through the

Naga climes and Chin areas and opening into the Bay of Bengal."

"Administered and controlled by this Chinese connection, the corridor has well-established schools for military and administrative training. Muivah Tankhul and Isaac Swu have settled about 450 Indian Naga insurgents in this corridor and have accepted the overall command of the Burmese insurgency. It is to these settlements that frustrated, angry Naga youth, are attracted. During October–December 1976, about 80 young men have crossed over."

Why I have brought this to the notice of this House through you is to show that the problem is different in different zones, different in nature and magnitude. We in India are suffering from economic disparities. There are economic disparities and there are regional imbalances in the country and these have become more chronic in the body-politic of the country. If one travels from Kashmir to Kanyakumari or from Gujarat to Manipur, Nagaland or Mizoram, one will find that there is a lot of disparity in these regions. If one travels from Delhi Station and traverses through UP, Bihar, etc., one will find that these disparities are there very much. So, unless and until these disparities are removed, unless these economic disparities are removed from the country, the country is bound to suffer and the country cannot prosper. The undivided India was very big. And our Leader of the House, Mr. Advani, is one of those people who may have belief in 'Akhand Bharat'. We are also aware of the fact that we are Indians first and Indians last. But the question that arises in the minds of the people is: Why has this insurgency come up and why this problem has not been solved so far—all these years since Independence. All the time, the Budgets will be presented. There may be a change of leadership in Delhi. There may be a change of the party. But

1977-78—

contd.

the question comes up: Why is this happening in that part of the country?

Before the Mizo uprising, at a place called Lunghe, a seer of salt was selling at Rs. 3/, a match-box at Re. 1/-. In the case of Nagaland and border regions, there is no road, there is no electricity there are no communications. Not only this, even kerosene is not available and pine-wood is used for lighting purposes. What is the provision for this? One thing I would like to ask: Why should not the Finance Minister, the Government of India, the previous Government as well as the present Government, have not evolved Himalayan policy, right from Ladakh down to Mizoram, Nagaland and Manipur, bordering the whole of the northern border? This is a very important strategic area, from the national point of view. This area, because of the long neglect or because of the geographical and historical factors, is not so much closely linked. This area is quite aloof from the mainstream of the Indian political life. The language of the northern India comprising Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir or Himachal Pradesh, etc. is Hindi, and their affinity is more or less linked with northern India. But in the case of the north eastern zone the problem is quite different. Their problem is different and there is insurgency as I have already pointed out, because of their alienation from the mainstream of the political life of the country. Later thirty years of independence, no doubt, some schemes have come up. Foods are coming up. The Congress Government did something for these States But for these small States like Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram, it is very difficult to stand on their own legs. They cannot stand on their own legs economically. Very recently, there was a large change of defection and change of sides by the MLAs. Our hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, already read out a letter written by Mr. Ashoka Mehta in order to topple the Manipur

Government. I would also like to remind you of this letter, I quote:

"Dear Choudhury Sahab,

This is to introduce Shri Shaiza, M.L.A. and Shri L. Achow Singh, ex-M.P. Shri Shaiza was recently elected to the Lok Sabha on Congress ticket. He is prepared to go back to his State and get the present MLAs to switch over to the Janata Party and form a Janata Party Government in Manipur. He would then resign from Parliament and shoulder his responsibilities in the State. He would be prepared to put through this operation provided an assurance is given to him that when the Congress Government is pulled down the Assembly will not be dissolved; the Janata Party Government will be allowed to be formed. I have told him that an assurance should be possible from our side. It is for you to take a final decision.

Yours sincerely,

ASHOKA MEHTA".

This is a letter written to the Home Minister, according to which the Congress Government was pulled down, and within a day or two the new Government is to be installed within a day or two.

The Governor writes:

"I am quoting below the text of a letter I have received from him (Mr. Shaiza today in confirmation of his oral communication to me.

"Sir, I have the honour to say that I command the support of 33 MLAs. But as there are some technical difficulties, I am not in a position to request you to invite me to form the Janata Ministry. In the circumstances, there is no other means but to request you kindly to impose President's Rule for a short while and keep the Assembly under animated suspension for a period of two weeks from today, 15th of May. When the technical difficulties are settled, I will request you

[Shri Gian Chand Totu]

to invite me to form the Janata Ministry under my leadership in Manipur.

I enclosed signed List of M.L.As. who are in my side and the proceedings for the election of the Leader and Deputy Leader etc. by the Janata Legislative Party for your information.

The list referred to in para 2 of Shri Shaiza's letter is a signed list of 83 Members of the Assembly.

I understand the technical difficulties referred to by Shri Shaiza are internal party matters. To conclude, my recommendation is that the State may be placed under President's Rule immediately, but that the Legislative Assembly may not be dissolved".

The reason why I am quoting this letter is that, irrespective of the fact as to which Government is in power, if there is the slightest string pulling from Delhi, the Ministers and the M.L.As are frightened because they think that without any assistance from Delhi, it will be very difficult to run the administration and to develop the State. This sort of feeling should not be allowed to thrive in this part of the country. Whichever Government comes to power, whether it is the local party, the Congress or the Janata, the first and foremost thing for the Central Government is to try to see that this area is accessible to the rest of the country. In many areas we do not have any railway station. It may be the fault of the bureaucrats or others. There was a proposal for a railway line from Jiri to Silchar. The work has never started. There are people who are supposed to die without seeing a railway in their life. When we see the construction work in Delhi and Calcutta, it is painful to us. When we see the problem of water for drinking and for watering our gardens, we feel insulted. When we see beautiful street lightings we are

sorry because the moment we go back to our area (*Time bell rings*) we do not get these facilities. What about, there is Loktak Hydel Electric Project. This is a Central Government Project. The work on this project was stopped. Now the work has started sluggishly. When bureaucrats go to these regions they say that the area is very beautiful, the dances are beautiful, Nagas or Manipuri are good people, the area is high-potentiality area, etc etc. But the moment they leave the palace and come back to Delhi, they forget. In order not to allow them to forget, sometimes the Naga insurgents open fire. Sometimes the people used to say that it was a blessing in disguise. There was J.P. movement. There was emergency. So many leaders were put in jail. Now, there is change in Government. More cases of opening of fire and riots have been there. The Central Government leaders, whether they are from this party or that party, have to pay some attention to the needs of the people of these areas. The basic needs of these areas are roads, drinking water and electricity. We do not have industry. We do not have this development or that development. If these things are not made available to the people of these areas, these areas would remain backward for many years.

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri U.K. Lakshmana Gowda) in the Chair]

In order to bring them into the mainstream of the Indian political life or in order to have a sense of responsibility towards this big country—a sense of belonging to the whole country—this area should be looked after, not from a partisan point of view but from a national point of view. Whoever may come to power, on the spending side, they should be very careful. Take, for example, Sir, the rupee rolling from Delhi for the developmental purpose of any backward area. It may be the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh or the Ladakh region of Jammu & Kashmir.

It is very difficult to say whether the rupee intended for developmental purposes is utilised properly or not. I am sorry to say that only 25 paise out of a rupee reach the people for whom it is intended. And Sir, project should be taken up by the Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission to see whether the money sanctioned from Delhi by the Finance Ministry or the Planning Commission was properly utilised or not. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to keep this aspect in view.

Coming to the Budget, Sir, this budget is nothing but a marriage of convenience because you see in the composition of the Janata Party there are people belonging to the Congress (O) who are not agreeing on the socialist programmes; there are the socialist elements; there are Jana Sanghis and so on and so forth. So far as this Budget is concerned, no one will be happy because there is a tax on bidis, and the scooter prices have also gone up. At least, some militant and socialist programmes should have been implemented through this Budget. It will be too early to pass any judgement whether those people who are considered to be the disciples of Lohia or the followers of Lohia will carry out programmes with the wisdom that they have learnt from him. For example, all these friends have been saying all along that the disparities in income should only be at the ratio 1 : 10. That means, if the maximum is Rs. 10,000, the minimum should be Rs. 1,000. If the President draws a salary of Rs. 1,000/-, the minimum wage of a salaried person should be Rs. 100. It should be like that. Therefore, Sir, in this Budget, we do not see any change. In the next year, we do not know how far they will bring about a change towards the socio-economic progress of the country. It is a reactionary budget. Sir, the country is already committed to socialism. And until and unless the Janata leadership re-orient itself towards that socialist-oriented Budget, it will be very difficult to solve the

467 RS—5.

problems of this vast country because the country needs food, the country needs housing, the country needs clothing. In order to solve these problems, until and unless the investment, distribution and consumption are properly controlled by the State and the Gandhian way of thinking is properly applied, it will be very difficult to solve the country's problems.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to say that at least the Janata leaders have exposed the Gresham's Law in operation. All the ex-Ministers who are corrupt and who are at least not wanted by the people of Manipur, are now flocking into Janata Party. They are going to form the Government. And we want to see how the Janata leadership would react to this. We have seen it and it was amply proved that they have applied double standards, one standard at one place and another standard at another place because they are really afraid to take a fresh mandate from the people. The Janata Party organisers and the youth have been seriously demanding a fresh poll, and the Janata leaders will pay a very heavy price for not listening carefully to the people of Manipur, even to their partymen in future.

With this warning, Sir, I would like to resume my seat because, Sir, after some time, there will be agitations. If there is no agitation, they will not open their eyes. And the Janata leadership from Delhi should be aware of this fact. Some of them might have learnt a lesson as we also learnt from them. And we know how to agitate in our own style. And we know how to agitate in our arms style. So long as this agitation does not take place, the Janata Party will not listen.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U.K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have given advice to the Janata Party. You may please wind up now.

SHRI IRENGHAM TOMPOK SING: That is all, Sir. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Shri Janardhana Reddy.

SHRI JANARDHAN REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this is my first speech after occupying the opposition Benches and also the first after you occupied the Chair.

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

SHRI JANARDHAN REDDY: Sir, I rise to discuss some points regarding this Budget and not merely speak as an opposition party man. I want to express my mixed feelings on this Budget because it gives me happiness as well as sorrow when I look into it. It gives me happiness because it retains the good points that the Congress has enunciated and it gives me sorrow because there is a big gulf between the economic survey and the allocation that followed. I would rather say that this Budget contains treatment just like that of a juggler in a street who gives toffees to children and takes away money from the people that are collected there. The Finance Minister is now here.

Last time when the Finance Minister came here with an interim Budget, he said that he was carrying some other's baby and promised that he would come within two months with his own baby. But, now, unfortunately no Janata leader is claiming that this is their baby, including the socialists like Mr. Madhu Limaye.

Sir, it is always said that success has got more parents whereas failure is always an orphan. I feel that this Budget is an orphan now because no one claims it except our Finance Minister, Mr. Patel. I feel sorry for I have come across this kind of a Budget. I hope that the leftist forces that are there in the Janata Party, who are sacrificing their policies for their political survival, would, at least, wake up now and see in which direc-

tion this Janata Budget and the Janata Government are going. Can they expect television becoming cheaper than radio—a situation created by this Budget? Super-fine cloth, when compared to medium quality cloth, becoming cheaper. Imported watches are becoming cheaper than watches made indigenously. Wealth tax on jewellery has been removed while tax on bidis has been enhanced. Self-employed rickshaw walla is also going to be taxed. Self-employed persons who had to use hand tools are going to be taxed heavily. Finally, the extension of time which is given to tax evaders who were taxed during voluntary disclosure scheme being the measures taken by the Congress Government must be noted, it is going to help tax evaders a lot. How can they say that this is the Budget of the common man? Is it not a pre-monopolist Budget? It has been dealt in this House by people like my colleague, Shri Sankar Ghose, the famous economist, have dealt with it very well. I do not want to go into the details of this Budget but only as a layman want to bring forth certain aspects of this Budget.

Sir, as you see, there is a lot of confusion—about which my friend just now spoke—in the Janata Party and the Janata leader have said that it will take some time to get emotionally integrated. Such a confusion is there in the Janata Party. If you look into the thesis of Shri Charan Singh on agriculture, he says that land holdings should not be reduced. At the same time, he says that those people who have no work in villages have to run to cities to take up some job in some industry. Now, look at the first speech of Morarjibhai in his Address to the Nation, which the Information and Broadcasting Ministry has titled "Out of the Clouds: Towards the New Tasks". He says categorically "What is more, we must reverse the process of villages going to cities in search of labour and employment". Similarly, there are so many controversial statements of one Minister or the

other. The Finance Minister makes a big song and dance over primary agriculture. The plan outlay which the previous Government provided was, I believe, Rs. 3400 crores, whereas this Budget gives only Rs. 3000 crores. I do not know how he is going to explain it. Further, they want to increase the agricultural production from one per cent growth to three per cent. As per the F.A.O. Expert Report, if this country wants to become self-sufficient in agricultural production, this percentage has to be raised from one to five. Nothing has been said as to how they are going to achieve this growth and how they are going to plan for it. They have provided some funds for agriculture but not even a blue print was given to show how this amount is to reach the common man, the needy man. They have not planned out anything as to how they are going to save the poor and needy man from the clutches of the rich landlords.

The Finance Minister has quoted Japan and its agricultural production. I do agree with him; but I want to bring to his notice the fact that land holding in Japan is not even three-fourth of the land holding fixed in this country and that is the country which has meticulously implemented land reforms. Unfortunately, this Budget has not mentioned anything about land reforms and conspicuously kept silent over the matter. We do not know the policies of the Janata Government with regard to land reforms and their vigorous implementation in this country.

Sir, the Prime Minister, when he recently went to Punjab to canvass for his party election, said that this Janata Party is going to come forward with a big agricultural scheme of thousands of crores of rupees to have a big plan of agriculture in this country, perhaps, keeping in mind Dr. K. L. Rao's Ganga-Cauvery linking scheme. Nothing has been mentioned in this Budget about it, which is the first Budget of Janata Govern-

ment, either to have an economic survey or some survey or the other to formulate the scheme.

Sir, two Ministers intervened in this House to defend this Budget. One is our Prime Minister, Shri Morarjibhai and the other is Shri Biju Patnaik. The Prime Minister says that this Budget gives direction towards which this Janata Government is going and he categorically says that they are trying to return to Gandhian way. I want to bring to his notice one instance. Sir, the HMT is producing watches in our country and these watches are exported also. It has made a good name. Now, when this is the situation, in the name of smugglers or—I do not know—in the name of healthy competition, we are planning to import watches by reducing import duty from 120 to 50 per cent. Instead of spending foreign exchange over import of watches, why should we not spend that amount for the expansion of HMT and produce more watches? Is importing at the cost of Indian Industry the way of challenging smugglers? I am amused to ask the hon. Minister when he came here and gave a statement that smugglers pledged before Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and that there would be no smugglers, as per his statement, why then should he think of smuggler and have this programme? Is it the Gandhian way to ruin Indian industry? Is it the Gandhian way to give all the concessions that you are giving to the monopolists? I do not see anything of the Gandhian way in it. But the only thing which is to be appreciated in his speech is that he has accepted some of the good things which have been done by the Congress Government. He is the only man who is realistic and who is feeling with a sense of gratitude what the Congress Government has done and recognising it. But unfortunately, this is not the case with Mr. Patnaik. People say that the end of argument begins with abusing. He began to abuse us, calling the Congress Party as Indira rump and he used so many other words.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana):
He has withdrawn those words.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: You have not expunged it. I requested you. But anyway, I am telling you that he defended the Budget by using abusive language against us. I would make a request to the hon. Ministers and the leaders of the Janata Party. This is not in good taste. You are going on abusing in the House as well as outside the opposition party and its leaders. You take the good points from us. You are telling the public what we have done. We have already paid the penalty for it. But you are going on dwelling on these things. You are still going on dwelling on Nasbandi, Nazarbandi, Sanjay Gandhi and so on. How long do you want to dwell on these things? Why don't you open your eyes to the recent poll results? There has been a fall in the percentage of votes polled by your party in the recent elections. There has been a fall of more than 20 per cent in some States. I do not say that we have gained. But somehow or other you have been successfully able to close the eyes of the people for some time. But definitely, you will not be able to close their eyes permanently. Meanwhile, let us see that the economy of this country is not ruined because of our quarrel. Abusive language does not help. Negative approach does not help. Sir, in this regard, I would say that the Prime Minister is behaving properly and he is not coming out with any abusive language. If things are done properly, the Congress Party will always extend its constructive co-operation.

Today, my friend, Mr. Talib mentioned about the atrocities committed against the Harijans and the Girijans. I do not say that these atrocities have started only after the Janata Party came into power. This has been there. These are the things that have been there since ages. But all said and done for the last few years there has been a kind of fear among these Harijans and Girijans as they would be taken to task by rich and affluent society. The sense of fear is not there

now. But I thought the Janata Government would at least create a sense of affection in the rich towards the poor. This has not been done. Therefore, this is a thing which the Home Ministry has to take up and do something. Otherwise, as our friend Mr. Talib, said, a revolution, a bloodshed is bound to come. He was mentioning some incidents in my district. Yes, they are there. These things have happened. The consequences would be more drastic and the situation would become very bad.

Whenever there is a real genuine complaint against whomsoever it is, Government have to enquire. But this Government is going on appointing commissions. When a man is attacked, a commission is appointed. Whenever there are some allegations against some Government, a commission is appointed without looking into it whether there is *prima-facie* case or not. It has become almost a Commission Raj. So many commissions are appointed. But what about the commissions appointed earlier? There was a commission against Mr. Badal. Now, they have withdrawn the case against him. There were some prosecution cases against him even today. There have also been allegations against the leaders of the Janata Party including Shri Morarji Desai. So many things have happened in this country. Now, I come to know that they are going to appoint a commission against Shri Mohanlal Sukhadia, to go into certain allegations that have been made when he was the Chief Minister of Rajasthan. If that is the case, well, let us have commissions for all the allegations that are made in the House and outside, including charges against Shri George Fernandes, Shri Badal and also Shri Morarji Desai when he was the Finance Minister. Why should there be double standards for this? I welcome, if something goes wrong and want to show the real picture to public in the country, it should be enquired into but it should be for all, not to include some and exempt some.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Kindly wind up.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: I need not tell much about the public sector position in the Budget in which everything has been watered down. In the public sector there is a cut of allocation in the case of steel from Rs. 576 crores to Rs. 530 crores, coal from Rs. 240 crores to Rs. 232 crores and fertilizers from Rs. 380 crores to Rs. 306 crores. All these come under the public sector institutions which were looked down. If that is the policy of the Janata Government why not they hand over these public sector institutions to the private sector and ask them to run better. If they have no faith in the public sector, this kind of making the public sector as orphan is ultimately ruining the economy of the country. We have dumped huge resources in the public sector and I hope the Finance Minister will look into this aspect.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Please wind up.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: Sir, austerity is being mentioned often by the Janata Party, even before they came to power and after forming the Government. Let us see what is that austerity they are after. You might have seen Mr. J. B. Kripalani's speech today. The austerity of the Janata Party itself speaks about them. I came to know that some Janata Party Members—I do not know whether they are the Janata Party Members or the Congress Party Members, whatever it is—are occupying posh hotel rooms in lieu of the accommodation they are entitled to get as Members though they belong to Delhi. Is it the austerity they talk about? And with good intention the Prime Minister has travelled from here to London by a regular chartered plane.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Reddy, you have already taken 15

minutes. Otherwise, you will be taking the time of the Congress Members.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: I am not making anything more. Just two or three minutes more.

Mr. Malhotra has mentioned about the hardship caused due to the Prime Minister's presence in the flight. Sir, nobody disagrees with his intention to go by regular flights, but the Prime Minister's Secretariat should have been kind enough to calculate the inconvenience caused to passengers, the loss of revenue due to not booking the 50 per cent of the passengers and cargo loss of reputation and also inconvenience caused to the Prime Minister by travelling a chartered plane and also the expenditure on making a standby flight ready wherever he lands. When we calculate all this, I feel travelling by an Indian Air Force flight would be cheaper. The only thing the Prime Minister's Secretariat has to do is to inform the Prime Minister about this. I was told that the flight was delayed for more than an hour at New York for security reasons which caused much resentment as the Prime Minister is to get into the flight at London to travel Paris. Is this the type of austerity? Let austerity not be for the sake of austerity. Let it not be for public consumption. Let it be real austerity, I feel. If Mr. Morarji Desai is informed about this, I am sure he is not a man who will go after false prestige.

Further, I am a man connected with educational institutions and this Budget has perhaps thought that education is not worthwhile investment. That is why nothing about education has been mentioned in the Budget. There is a lot to be done on the part of the Centre. We have a Central University in my State and for the last three years there is no progress. The very purpose of starting this University was to augment the grievances of the Andhra people whose children could not get seats due to some legal

[Shri Janardhana Reddy]

difficulty, but the University has never come up to their expectation. Besides that, I came to know that the CBI men went there and searched all the records and now the whole atmosphere is different there. There are so many such other things. The Prime Minister in his first speech to the nation said that we have to give new direction to the youth. There is no direction so far given. There is no thought of giving direction and nothing about this educational direction has been mentioned in the Budget.

4 P.M.

Sir, I wish Mr. Advani, the Leader of the House, were here, because I want to say something about the functioning of the I&B Ministry. They are removing people in the name of pro-Congress, pro-ex-Government and all that. And unfortunately, they are planting RSS people there. This will be worse than we people gagging the Press previously—and they are going to do this gagging of Press in a different manner. I want to warn Mr. Advani to be careful about this. Perhaps, he is doing it deliberately, we do not know. The other day, we went to see Ram Charitra Manas. It was really a good show. But, unfortunately, a man came with a paper presenting with some quarrels in the I&B Ministry. Of course it is said that Mr. Advani is a strong man. I wish that he should become stronger.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Reddy, you have already taken much time. Will you kindly wind up?

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: I am doing it. Sir, whenever some important projects are to be taken up in the country technical opinion should be the base for location etc. but definitely not political consideration. Denying the steel plant for Andhra at Vizag which was recommended by the competent authority is injustice. I came to know that there is secret plan to take it to

Paradeep in Orissa. Similarly, the Ramagundam thermal power plant was recommended by the expert body long ago in Andhra Pradesh and its clearance is being delayed. It shows that the Janata Government is having a step-motherly attitude towards the Congress Governments and the States where Congress Governments are there. This should not be there. The Congress Government never acted like that.

I should like to mention about the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the land reforms, and distribution which do not find place in the budget.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Reddy, you have taken more than twenty minutes. Please wind up.

SHRI JANARDHANA REDDY: One final word about unemployment and I have done. They say within ten years they are going to remove unemployment. What is the plan and where is the White Paper? At least they should have come out with a White Paper outlining measures to create 2.5 million jobs every year. With all this, we feel that there is a lot of confusion in this budget. This is a pro-monopolist budget. This is definitely not a budget suited to the needs of the country which have to meet the demands of the poor, the common man.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

मान्यवर, वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने अपने बजट भाषण के दूसरे पैराग्राफ में कहा है कि "हमारी पार्टी के चुनाव घोषणा-पत्र में एक सामंजस्य पूर्ण अर्थ नीति बताई गई है, जिसमें रोटी और आजादी, दोनों पर जोर दिया गया है। हम आर्थिक प्रगति की रफ्तार को तेज करना चाहते हैं और उसका फल लोगों को लोकतन्त्र और व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता के ढांचे में रहते हुए, समान रूप से बांटना चाहते हैं। यह हमारी अर्थ नीति की बुनियाद है"।

इस संबंध में मेरा कहना है कि माननीय वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने बहुत गहरा चैलेंज दिया और इसके लिये वे बधाई के पात्र हैं—अगर वह इस सपने को चरितार्थ कर सकें। चैलेंज यह है कि जिस अर्थव्यवस्था की कल्पना आपने की है वह अथारिटेरियन सोशलजिज्म के लिये चैलेंज है, वह केपिटलिस्टिक एक्सप्लोइटेशन के लिये चैलेंज है और वह माडर्न कन्सप्शन आफ डेवलपमेंट के लिये भी है। आदिकाल से ही मानव-जाति दो संघर्षों के अन्दर से गुजरती आई है।

(1) समाज में सुविधा पाने की तमन्ना और (2) व्यक्तिगत आजादी को बनाये रखने की पैदायशी उसकी इच्छा। मानव-जाति के दुर्भाग्य से ये दोनों कन्ट्राडिक्टरी हो गये हैं। जितनी वह अपनी आजादी की तमन्ना करता है, समाज में रहते हुए, सामाजिक सुविधायें लेते समय उसको कुछ आजादी देनी पड़ती है। जब-जब व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता ने बड़ी लम्बी-चौड़ी छलांग मारी तो कभी-कभी वह चंगेज के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गई। जब-जब सामाजिक कंट्रोल के नाम पर किसी धार्मिक व्यवस्था ने, किसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था ने, किसी आर्थिक व्यवस्था ने या किसी राजनैतिक व्यवस्था ने व्यक्ति की आजादी को छीनने की कोशिश की तो तानाशाही रूप में परिणित हुई, मानव कराह उठा। इन दोनों के बीच में सामंजस्य बैठाना ही गांधी जी की अर्थव्यवस्था की कल्पना थी। उनकी यही कल्पना थी। व्यक्ति की आजादी भी रहे, समाज की जो सुविधाएं हैं वे भी रहें, रोटी का भी सवाल हल हो, इसके लिए कौन सी अर्थव्यवस्था होगी, अगर हम इस स्वप्न को चरितार्थ कर सकें तो न केवल इस देश के लिए बल्कि सारी मानव-जाति के लिए, सारे संसार के लिए हम एक नया संदेश जरूर दे सकेंगे। इसलिए यह एक चैलेंज है और उस चैलेंज को अगर आप लेते हैं तो फिर उसके रास्ते भी आपको निकालने पड़ेंगे। कैसे आप इस सपने को चरितार्थ करने जा रहे हैं ?

मान्यवर, आपने अपनी कठिनाइयों का जिक्र किया है। वे कठिनाइयां हैं, पहले की योजनाएं हैं, खेती की बढ़ोतरी और पैदावार ठप्प हो गई, उद्योग ठप्प हुए, कुछ पहले दशकों में आजादी के बाद बढ़ी फिर उसकी रफ्तार धीमी हो गई, आबादी की रफ्तार बराबर बढ़ती गई परन्तु मुल्क उसी जकड़बंदी में पड़ा हुआ है। बेरोजगारी भी बढ़ती गई, यह सब आपकी कठिनाइयां हैं जिनका आपने जिक्र किया है। लेकिन अगर इन कठिनाइयों को हमें हल करना है तो मुझे तो एक ही बात याद आती है कि कोई भी सरकार, कोई भी नेतृत्व अगर इस देश को उठाने के लिए दृढ़ संकल्प कर लेता है तो उसके सामने रास्ते की कमी नहीं है। क्योंकि ईश्वर की कृपा से प्रकृति ने हमारे यहां सारे साधन उपस्थित किए हैं जो न इजराइल को प्राप्त हैं, न जर्मनी को प्राप्त हैं, न इंग्लैंड को प्राप्त हैं, न रूस को प्राप्त हैं और न जापान को प्राप्त हैं। हमारी बहुत बड़ी बदकिस्मती यह है कि सारे साधन सम्पन्न होते हुए भी यह देश आजादी के 30 साल के बाद भी रोटी के लिए तरस रहा है, कपड़े के लिए तरस रहा है, क्यों ? एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न हमारे नेताओं के सामने है कि इतना कुछ होते हुए भी हमारे देश को क्यों रोना पड़ रहा है जबकि दुनिया का शायद ही कोई मुल्क हो जो पैदावार में, साधनों में, जमीन में, खानों में, पहाड़ी में, पानी में, हमारे देश की तरह इतना सक्षम हो। हमारे पास किसी चीज की कमी नहीं है। केवल विल-पावर की कमी है। मुझे माननीय मंत्री महोदय से और उनकी सरकार से यह कहना है कि देश में जैसे कि जो आप बजट में व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं, उसकी जरूरत तो नगण्य है। पहली चीज जो मैं चाहता हूं वह देश को प्यार की जरूरत है जो हम नहीं दे सके। सबसे बुनियादी चीज जिसमें हमने भूल की है वह यह है कि इस देश में कण-कण में, टुकड़े टुकड़े में प्यार बढ़ता रहा कोई जाति हो, कोई सम्प्रदाय हो। लेकिन इस देश में आपस में सभी जातियों

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

को प्यार बांटना है। तड़प वह पैदा नहीं हुई जो दिलों के अन्दर पैदा हुई, तड़प वह नहीं पैदा हुई जो जापान के अन्दर पैदा हुई। वरना यह सब मुल्क 30 सालों में इतना अंचा उठाया जा सकता था। हमको उठने में देर नहीं लगनी चाहिए। तो मान्यवर सबसे बुनियादी चीज जिसकी इस देश को जरूरत है वह है देश के लिए तड़प। आज हमारे दिलों में तड़प पैदा होनी चाहिए। दूसरी चीज तो बुनियादी जरूरत है वह यह है कि हमारी बदकिस्मती से इस देश में श्रम की प्रतिष्ठा को गड़बड़े में डाल दिया गया है, हम उसके साथ बहुत बुरी तरह से पेश आए हैं। आप इस सामाजिक व्यवस्था के रहते हुए देश को कभी नहीं उठा सकते, कभी सम्भव नहीं हो सकता। जिस देश में हल चलाना पाप समझा जाता हो, नीच काम कहा जाता हो, राजगिरी, लोहारगिरी, चमड़े का काम, कपड़ा बुनना नीच कहा जाता हो, परन्तु भीख मांगना और तम्बाकू फांकना पवित्र समझा जाता हो, वह देश कभी ऊपर नहीं उठ सकता। इस आर्थिक व्यवस्था के पीछे वह सामाजिक व्यवस्था एक कोढ़ की तरह से हमको जकड़े हुए है। हम उसको बगैर दूर किये हुये, केवल बजट पर टीका टिप्पणी करके देश को ऊपर नहीं उठा सकते हैं। तो यह दो चीजें बुनियादी हैं जिनकी तरफ कि हमारी निगाह जानी चाहिये।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि अगर आपको देश को स्वावलम्बी बनाना है, देश की प्रगति करनी है और उस रूप में करनी है जिस रूप में हम सपना देख रहे हैं तो उसके लिये यह आवश्यक है कि गरीबी भी दूर हो और जनतंत्र भी कायम रहे। इस रूप में इसको देखने का एक मात्र मार्ग यह है कि पहली आवश्यकता जो खेती की है उसको आप इतना समृद्ध कर दें कि हमारी खेती की पैदावार 7 साल या 10 साल के अन्दर दुगुनी या सवा दो गुनी हो जाय, किसी भी रास्ते से किसी भी

तरीके से। यह संकल्प हमको करना है। बजट बनाने का यह तरीका कि पहले एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ठीक कर लें तब दूसरी तरफ देखेंगे यह तरीका मेरी समझ से गलत है। तरीका यह होना चाहिये कि हमें यह कार्य करना है और बजट को इसी रूप में ढालना है। अगर हम यह संकल्प कर लें कि हमें 7 या 10 साल के अन्दर खेती के प्रोडक्शन को दूना करना है तो कोई भी दुनिया की ताकत हमारे रास्ते में रुकावट नहीं डाल सकती है। उस समय आपको देखना होगा किसानों को कि उन्हें क्या सुविधा हो, सिंचाई के क्या साधन हों, खाद कैसे दी जाय, उनके प्रोडक्शन का दाम किसानों को किस तरह से दिया जाय इत्यादि।

तीसरी चीज जो जरूरी है मान्यवर, आपके द्वारा मेरा माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन है कि बेरोजगारी को अगर दूर करना है, गरीबी को अगर दूर करना है तो खेती के अलावा दूसरा यह संकल्प कर लीजिये कि 7 या 10 साल के अन्दर आप 60 और 70 प्रतिशत उद्योगों का विवेन्डीकरण कर देंगे। इसके अलावा कोई तरीका नहीं है बेरोजगारी हल करने का या भूमिहीनों की समस्याओं के हल करने का या पढ़े लिखे या बिना पढ़े लिखे बेरोजगारों का। आज 30 साल के बाद भी रोना रोया जा रहा है कि हरिजनों के साथ यह व्यवहार हो रहा है या वह व्यवहार हो रहा है। हम 30 साल से रोना रो रहे हैं। कारण क्या है? कारण तो यह सामाजिक व्यवस्था है जिसके अन्दर वह जानवर की तरह से ट्रीट किये जा रहे हैं। दूसरा कारण यह है कि हमने उनको आर्थिक तौर पर कोई स्वतंत्र व्यवसाय नहीं दिया है और यह तभी हो सकता है जब आप सारी बड़ी व्यवस्थाओं को विवेन्डीकरण करके गांव में पहुंचा सकें, उसको बा-सम्मान रोजी कमाने का मौका दे सकें। यह बात तय है कि जमीनों के बटवारे में आपका सवाल हल नहीं हुआ, जो कुछ था आपने बांट दिया, बहुत छोटी-छोटी खेती कर दी जाय तो भी काम नहीं

चलेगा। एक लिमिट होती है और उसके नीचे आप नहीं जा सकते हैं। उसके अलावा आपने मजदूरों और खेतिहर का भी जो संघर्ष पैदा कर दिया है वह खतरनाक हो रहा है देश के लिये भी और उसके लिये भी। उसको यदि आप स्वतंत्र रोजी दे सकें तो यह समस्या भी हल हो जायगी वरन यह हल होने वाली नहीं है। उसका क्लैश हो रहा है, गांव में हो रहा है। केवल घड़ियाली आंसू बहाने से काम नहीं हो पायेगा। केवल एक ही तरीका हो सकता है कि अगर उसका स्वतंत्र जीवन यापन हो गया और सामाजिक दुर-व्यवस्था उसके सामने से आपने हटा दी।

इस समय बार-बार घंटी बज रही है इसलिये मैं केवल सक्षेप में 2-4 सुझाव और देना चाहता हूं। पहली तो प्रार्थना मंत्री महोदय से यह है कि खाद का दाम 50 प्रतिशत घटा दें, चाहे जिस तरह से चाहे जिस रूप में...

एक माननीय सदस्य : एक्साइज ड्यूटी घटा दे।

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : आप इसको घटा दें तो हो सकता है कि घाटा हो लेकिन उससे कई-गुना दसियों गुना, बीसियों गुना, जो पैदावार बढ़ेगी, उसकी कीमत का अनुमान तो लगाइए। आप चाहते हैं देश के अन्दर उत्पादन बढ़े और ख़ास करके खेती से शुरू हो अगर आप खाद का दाम बढ़ाते जाएं, बिजली के दाम बढ़ाते जाएं, खाद के दाम न घटाएं, तो कैसे आप उत्पादन में बढ़ोत्तरी करेंगे? उनके जो उपकरण हैं जिनसे खेती करते हैं उनके दाम घटा दीजिए। इसके अलावा चाहे जिस तरह से हो आप खाद के दाम 50 फी सदी कम कर दें।

दूसरी चीज, अगर आपको छोटे पैमाने पर लघु उद्योगों के जरिए विकेंद्रित ढंग से अर्थ-व्यवस्था बनानी है, इसके लिए उद्योग चलाने हैं तो आज ही से शुरू कर दीजिए।

कोई एक-दो इंस्टीट्यूशन देखने के लिए ऐसे बना दीजिए जो स्वावलम्बी हों, जो न सरकार की मदद चाहते हों, न फीस चाहते हों, कोई इस तरह के इंस्टीट्यूशन हों जिनके अन्दर इंडस्ट्री, पशुपालन, खेती वगैरह-वगैरह करके उसको एक स्वतंत्र संस्था के रूप में तैयार करें। उसके अन्दर जो पढ़े-लिखे आदमी पैदा होंगे वे इस देश को स्वावलम्बी बनाने का रास्ता सिखा सकेंगे। आप एक तरफ विकेन्द्रीकरण की तरफ चले दूसरी तरफ शिक्षा व्यवस्था को इस अनुरूप ढालें कि 5 साल बाद वे नौजवान अपने आप को उसमें फिट कर सकें।

तीसरा एक और सुझाव है। खेती के लिए सिंचाई कितनी महत्वपूर्ण है उसको कहने की जरूरत नहीं है। आपने सारे प्रयास किए लेकिन कितना परसेंट सिंचाई में आया है, आपको मालूम है। आप निश्चय कर लें, और चाहे छोटे सिंचाई साधनों से ऐसा करना संभव हो, सारा इम्फेसिस सिंचाई पर दे कर पांच साल के अन्दर आप सि 1ई से जमीन सैचुरेट कर दें, यही एक रास्ता है खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने का।

अंत में सिर्फ एक चीज और कहनी है। सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि चाहे इधर की पार्टियां हों चाहे उधर की हों, वे अपने जीवन यापन में, अपने कार्यकाल में, अपने आचरण में, अपने व्यवहार में जनता के सामने इस तरह से उपस्थित हों कि उसे धोखा न हो। अगर इन बातों में जनता को फिर हम से धोखा हुआ तो देश की दुर्गति हो जाएगी। 30 साल तक हमने वायदे किए हैं, बातें की हैं, सारी चर्चाएं हुई हैं लेकिन एक चीज हमारे पास नहीं रही, और आज्ञादी के दो साल बाद ही हमने जनता का विश्वास खो दिया। हमारी बातों के ऊपर उसको विश्वास नहीं रह गया। आज जनता पार्टी 30 साल के बाद, जो

[श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा]

विश्वास सन् 1947 में कांग्रेस को प्राप्त हुआ था, उस विश्वास को लेकर आई है। तो मेरा सरकार से यह विनम्र अनुरोध है कि किसी भी तरह से उनके कामों से या उनकी बातों से, चाहे वह हमें पसंद न हों, फिर भी हमारा रवैया, हमारा कार्यक्रम, हमारी परिपाटी इस तरह की हो कि हम जनता का विश्वास न खोयें। समस्याएं गहरी हैं, टेढ़ी हैं, विशाल हैं, इसको हमारी जनता भी जानती है, हम उस से सब्र की मांग कर सकते हैं बशर्ते कि उसे हमारे ऊपर विश्वास हो कि हम नेकनीयती के साथ उसके लिये खून पसीना बहाने के लिए हर वक्त तैयार है

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Verma, Kindly wind up.

श्री महादेव प्रसाद वर्मा : मान्यवर, मैंने तो . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You will have only 10 minutes because there are a number of speakers left and the Finance Minister is to speak at 5 o'clock. I am sorry it is all laid down here. I cannot give you more than 8 to 10 minutes.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (बिहार) : मान्यवर, आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए जो समय दिया है पहले मैं उसके लिए धन्यवाद दूँ और आपके माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी से यह आग्रह करूँ कि उन्होंने जो बजट पेश किया है और जो गांधीवादी संकल्प को दुहराया है, चा अपने जरिए या माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के जरिए बुनियाद में ही बड़ा धक्का दिया गया है। गांधी जी का नाम बराबर लेना और गांधी जी के एक भी उपदेश को न मानना गांधी जी के एक भी काम पर ध्यान न देना, मैं समझता हूँ कि उस महान आत्मा के प्रति बड़ा अन्याय है और इस लिये मैं एक छोटी सी बात पर आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता गांव में रहने

वाली है और वहाँ के जो गरीब लोग बीड़ी पीते हैं उन पर तो आप ने टैक्स बढ़ा दिया है यह कह कर कि यह स्वास्थ्य के लिये हानिकारक है लेकिन जिस शराब के खिलाफ गांधी जी जीवन भर लड़ते रहे उसका आप के बजट में जिक्र तक नहीं है। शायद वह जनता पार्टी के राज में स्वास्थ्यवर्धक हो गयी होगी। इसलिये गांधी जी का नाम लेकर, उनका बहाना बना कर हमको, आप को कुछ नहीं करना चाहिए। जो दर्शन है जनता पार्टी का, जो उद्देश्य है, जो जमात जनता पार्टी में जुटी है उससे मैं उम्मीद नहीं करता कि इस से अच्छा बजट वह पेश कर सकते थे। यह तो दृष्टिकोण का सवाल है। माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को कौन नहीं जानता। 'को नहीं जानत है जग में कपि संकट मोचन नाम तिहारो।' उनको देश के लोग अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। जब मूढ़ड़ा कांड हुआ था उस जमाने से लोग उनको जानते हैं। जब स्वतंत्र पार्टी बनी उस समय भी लोगों ने उन को जाना और जनता पार्टी के वित्त मंत्री के रूप में तो स्वाभाविक है कि जो उन का दृष्टिकोण है वह सारा देश जानता है कि वह देश को किधर ले जायेंगे। आते ही उन्होंने कहा कि छोटे गरीब तबके के लोग जो बैंकों में पैसा जमा करते हैं और जो थोड़े दिनों के लिये पैसा जमा करते हैं उन की ब्याज दर कम होगी और बड़ी कंपनियों को जो कर्ज दिया जाता है उसकी ब्याज दर भी उन्होंने घटा दी। तो छोटी को मारा और बड़ों को बढ़ावा दिया। यह उनके लिये स्वाभाविक ही है। वह बड़े लोगों के समर्थक हैं और उन्हीं के प्रति उन्होंने अपनी निष्ठा व्यक्त की है। उनको समाजवाद में विश्वास नहीं है। उनका गांधी जी का नाम लेना मैं तो समझता हूँ कि गांधी जी की आत्मा के साथ अन्याय करना है। इसलिये सभापति जी, मैं कहूँगा कि यह जनता पार्टी जो अपने आप में एक होच-पोच पार्टी है यह बजट उसी के लायक है। यह बजट भारत जैसे

कृषि प्रधान और गरीब देश के लिये नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा कि हमने डेफिसिट फाइनेंसिंग 300 करोड़ से घटा कर 72 करोड़ पर ला दी है। लेकिन जो 800 करोड़ रुपया फारेन रिजर्व में जमा था जो देश की पिछली सरकार की कमाई थी और जो पिछली सरकार की आर्थिक प्रगति की निशानी थी उस को वह उठा कर ले आये। कोई कहे कि हमने अपना घर बेच कर यह नया इंतजाम किया है, नयी व्यवस्था की है तो बात समझ में आती। तो यह बजट यथा-स्थितिवादी बजट है और इस से देश को आगे बढ़ने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम जहाँ थे उस से पीछे ही जायेंगे।

अब मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कुछ बातों की ओर। मुझ से पूर्व वक्ता वर्मा जी हमारे पुराने मित्र हैं। उन्होंने व्यावहारिक सुझाव दिये हैं। आपके पास एक संकल्प होना चाहिए कि आप किधर जाना चाहते हैं। 'एक संग न होंहि भुआलू, हंसब ठठाव फुलाउब गालू।' आप गरीबी मिटाना चाहते हैं, आप देश को आगे ले जाना चाहते हैं, गांधी जी के मार्ग पर चल कर आप देश का विकास करना चाहते हैं, गांव का विकास करना चाहते हैं तो जहाँ 72 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं, जिस देश में 88 फीसदी लोग गांव में बेकार पड़े हों जिस देश का उत्पादन दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों से 30 साल के बाद भी कम रहा हो उसमें कृषि की तरक्की के लिये अगर आप टोस और बुनियादी कदम नहीं उठाते हैं तो उस बजट से लाभ क्या। इस देश में 80 फीसदी लोग खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं उस में आप कृषि के लिये 30 फीसदी देते हैं तो स्वाभाविक रूप से आप अन्याय करते हैं। आप उन गांव में रहने वाले लोगों के लिए अन्याय कर रहे हैं। इसलिये, उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया बहुत

आगे चली गई है जैसा कि हमारे वर्मा जी बता रहे थे। मैं तो एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। आप कहेंगे कि हम तीन महीने पहले ही आये हैं। वित्त मंत्री जी तो अनुभवी हैं, ये सेक्रेटरी भी रह चुके हैं। इन्हें अधिकारी होने का भी गौरव मिला है और मंत्री होने का भी। इसलिए इनको पता है कि किस तरह से अफसर राजनीति को अपने कंट्रोल में रखते हैं। तीन महीने में इस देश में जो बिजली की कटौती की गई उससे कितना प्रोडक्शन कम हुआ है, सिर्फ इसी का मूल्यांकन किया जाए तो मैं समझता हूँ यह बजट अपने आपमें इस कमी को दर्शाता है। खेतों में पानी की बात छोड़िये, आज चितरंजन तक, इलाहाबाद तक रेल में जाइये और पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश और बिहार के गांवों को देखिये वहाँ पीने का पानी नहीं है। लोग हा हाकार मचाये हुए हैं। आज बिजली की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई है। आज दिल्ली के कारखानों में देख लीजिए। तो मैं कहता हूँ कि इस सरकार ने तीन महीने के अन्दर बिजली में कटौती करके जितना बड़ा अहित देश का कर दिया है, जितना उत्पादन घटा दिया है, उसे हम समझते हैं कि वह अपने आप में एक अक्षम्य अपराध है। वर्मा जी ने अभी कहा, जापान छोटा सा देश है। प्रति हैक्टेयर वहाँ 6729 किलोग्राम प्रोडक्शन होता है। अफ्रीका एक पिछड़ा हुआ देश है, वहाँ भी 1270 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर पैदावार होती है। लेटिन अमरीका में 2060 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर पैदावार होती है, लेकिन एशिया और खास करके हिन्दुस्तान में मुश्किल से 1175 किलोग्राम प्रति हैक्टेयर पैदा होता है। हम अमरीका और अफ्रीका से भी पिछड़े हुए हैं।

उन्होंने फर्टिलाइजर की बात की है। आप फर्टिलाइजर को छोड़ दीजिए, हिन्दुस्तान की मिट्टी इतनी अच्छी है कि सिर्फ आप हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों को समय पर पानी दे दीजिए तो मैं कहता हूँ कि आपका

[श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

उत्पादन दुगुना, तीन गुना बढ़ जाएगा। अगर यह सरकार हर खेत को पानी की व्यवस्था कर दे तो पैदावार बढ़ सकती है जनसंघ के पोस्टर छपते थे, 'हर खेत को पानी और हर हाथ को काम'। आज जब इंप्लीमेंटेशन का सवाल उठता है तो कहते हैं कि 10 साल में बेरोजगारी दूर कर देंगे। आप 5 साल के लिए आये हैं और 10 साल का वायदा करते हैं। तो आप कहिये कि 5 साल में आप कितनी बेरोजगारी खत्म कर सकते हैं। इसलिये अन-इंफ्लायमेंट का जो मामला है मैं कहूंगा कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या है, जो सबसे बड़ी समस्या सिंचाई की है और उसमें भी बड़ी बड़ी नदी घाटी योजनाओं पर अरबों रुपया खर्च किया गया, बड़े पड़े कारखानों पर खरबों रुपया खर्च किया गया और बढ़ता ही गया खर्चा, लेकिन उनमें सुधार के लक्षण नहीं हैं। (समय की घंटी)

मैं अधिक बातों में नहीं जाना चाहता। सभापति जी, मैं जिस एरिया से आता हूँ वह कोसी पीड़ित है और पिछले 10 वर्षों से मैं परेशान रहा ध्यान खींचते खींचते। कोसी के निर्माण पर पहले 35 करोड़ की योजना हुई, वह फिर 50 करोड़ की हुई, फिर 75 करोड़ की हुई, फिर 100 करोड़ की हुई, फिर डेढ़ सौ करोड़ की हुई और फिर 200 करोड़ की हुई।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You can wind up now. You have already drawn attention to the matter sufficiently.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि जो योजना 35 करोड़ की बनी थी वह ढाई सौ करोड़ की आज हो गई, लेकिन उसके तटबन्ध

के भीतर रहने वाले लगभग 4 लाख लोगों की समस्या ज्यों की त्यों पड़ी रह गई उसका कोई इंतजाम नहीं हो सका। आज कोसी से जो स्थिति उत्पन्न हुई चाहे वह गंडक का सवाल हो, चाहे पौंग डैम का सवाल हो, चाहे दूसरी बड़ी नदी घाटी योजनाओं का सवाल हो, चाहे दामोदर वैली का सवाल हो, इन योजनाओं को बड़ी बड़ी सिंचाई योजनाओं को खास कर के जो इंटर-स्टेट हों या इंटरनेशनल हों, गंडक योजना नेपाल से संबंधित है, कोसी भी नेपाल से संबंधित है, या दूसरी-दूसरी योजनाएं हैं और दूसरे राज्यों से संबंधित हैं उन तमाम योजनाओं को केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने हाथों में ले और उसकी व्यवस्था अपने आप करे।

हर साल यहां इस देश में बाढ़, सुखाड़ से करोड़ों रुपये की बरबादी होती है। योजना कमीशन ने भी कई बार ध्यान खींचा, उसके सोल्युशन के लिये। जब अकाल पड़ता है तो राज्य सरकारें चिल्लाने लगती हैं कि हमारे पास पैसा नहीं है, साधन नहीं है। वह राज्य सरकारों के बूते से बाहर की बात हो जाती है तब लाचार हो कर केन्द्रीय सरकार उसकी व्यवस्था करती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि वित्त मंत्री जी इस बात की व्यवस्था करें कि यह जो बड़े बड़े अकाल, सुखाड़ और बाढ़ के समय करोड़ों-करोड़ रुपये की क्षति होती है, बरबादी होती है वह न हो।

अंत में, मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि वर्मा जी ने कहा जमीने बांटी गई। मैं आपसे सहमत नहीं हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ आप बहुत पुराने विचारक हैं और प्रगतिशील विचारों के रहे हैं। आप में गरीबों के प्रति बड़ा दर्द है लेकिन जो जमीने बांटी गई हैं वह गरीबों को सही मायने में नहीं बांटी गई हैं। मैं भी एक साधारण किसान हूँ, गांव से आता हूँ। मैंने देखा है कि वहां जमीने नहीं बांटी गई है। मैं जानता हूँ आपकी हकूमत में हिम्मत नहीं है कि आप क्रांतिकारी कदम उठा सकें लेकिन इतनी मैं जरूर विनती करता हूँ इस

हुकूमत से पहले जितने कानून, जितने लजिस्लेशन बन चुके हैं अगर उन कानूनों को आप मजबूती से इम्पीलीमेंट करें निष्ठापूर्वक इम्पीलीमेंट करें तो उन लोगों को खेत मिल सकते हैं। क्योंकि जब से जनता सरकार आई है एक हवा बन गई है कि जो खेत इन्दिरा गांधी ने दिये थे वे खेत उन्हें जनता सरकार आने के बाद नहीं मिले हैं। आज सुबह आपने सुना कि किस तरह से हरिजनों पर अत्याचार हुए। चाहे बिहार में हो, चाहे गुजरात में हो, चाहे महाराष्ट्र में हो, चाहे बंगला में हो, उड़ीसा में हो या उत्तर प्रदेश में हो, अत्याचार बढ़ रहे हैं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think you can stop. The point has been made already.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। क्योंकि मैं कभी कभी बोलता हूँ और जब भी बोलता हूँ बहुत कम बोलता हूँ।

चारों दल के यहां बैठे हैं चाहे वह जनसंघ के तजिया हो, संगठन कांग्रेस के तजिया हो, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के तजिया हो, चाहे भानुड के तजिया हो या कांग्रेस से बाहर भागने वाले तजिया हो लेकिन दृष्टिकोण उनका अभी तक बना नहीं है। विचारों में एकता नहीं हो सकती। अगर गांधी जी का नाम लेकर एकत्र हो सके हैं, उनकी कसम खाते हैं तो कम से कम आपको निश्चय करके चलना चाहिये कि गांधी जी का जो सपना था, जैसा गांधी जी हिन्दुस्तान का निर्माण करना चाहते थे, उसको पूरा करें। गांधी जी कभी नहीं कहते थे कि ब्रीडी पर, जो गरीब पीता है, टैक्स लगाओ और शराब जो अमीर पीता है उसको छोड़ दो। गांधी जी के साथ अन्याय करने वाले गांधी जी का नाम छोड़ दो।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): That is enough. Please wind up. I will call the next speaker

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR: I am coming from a very backward State. उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के सवाल को ले लीजिए, बिहार और पूर्वी क्षेत्र को ले लीजिए। वहां पर कितनी इकोनोमी इम्बैलेंस है इसको देखिये। नार्थ ईस्ट फ्रीडियर को ले लीजिए वहां पर भी यही हाल है। सब जगह पर चाहे पीने के पानी का सवाल हो, चाहे उद्योग धंधों का सवाल हो, चाहे बिजली का सवाल हो हर क्षेत्र को देख कर मैं हैरत में हूँ। मैं चाहूंगा कि जो राज्यों में सरकार बनी है वह इन कामों को देखे। जनता ने आपको वोट दिया आप जीते। जनतंत्र है और जनतंत्र में जिसको जनता चाहे उसका राज होता है। मैं जनता पार्टी का सत्ता में आने पर स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं आपको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि शायद दुनिया के इतिहास में ऐसी कोई मिसाल नहीं है कि जब किसी को पूरी सत्ता मिली हो और उसने जनता को समर्पित कर दी हो लेकिन हमारे यहां इन्दिरा गांधी ने अपनी पूरी सत्ता जनता को समर्पित की है और फिर जनता ने आपको मौका दिया है और आपकी हुकूमत का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन जहां कहीं भी आपने मुख्यमंत्री बनाये हैं उन्हें आप केन्द्र से आर्थिक दृष्टि से लैस कीजिए, चाहे वह ज्योति बासु की सरकार हो और चाहे कर्परी ठाकुर की सरकार हो। चाहे श्री राम नरेश यादव की सरकार हो, चाहे श्री शेखावत की सरकार हो, सिर्फ कुछ लोगों को मुख्य मंत्री बनाने से कुछ नहीं होगा।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Enough, enough. Now, I will have to call the next speaker. I will give you half-a-minute.

SHRI GUNANAND THAKUR: I will take just two minutes, Sir.

अंत में मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारे देश में जो पिछड़े राज्य हैं उनकी तरफ ध्यान देने की विशेष आवश्यकता है। आप जानते हैं कि

[श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर]

कि बिहार एक पिछड़ा हुआ राज्य है, दबा हुआ राज्य है और कुचला हुआ राज्य है। बिहार में सर्वत्र गरीबी बहुत है। वहाँ की मिट्टी बहुत उपजाऊ है, लेकिन सिंचाई का ठीक प्रबंध न होने के कारण लोगों को भूखों मरना पड़ता है। बिहार में खाने भी बहुत है, लेकिन फिर भी वहाँ पर लोग गरीब के गरीब ही हैं। ऐसी हालत में मैं सदन के माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि बिहार की तरफ वे विशेष रूप से ध्यान देने की कृपा करें। बिहार की जो दुर्दशा है और जो उसका पिछड़ापन है उसको शीघ्र दूर करने की जरूरत है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ के विकास के लिए मजबूती के साथ कदम उठाये जाने चाहिए...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have already taken more than twenty minutes and you have taken two speakers time. Please sit down I am calling Mr. Kesava Rao.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : इन शब्दों के साथ मैं बजट के संबंध में यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यह स्टेटसको बजट है, आगे चलने वाला बजट नहीं है, पीछे हटाने वाला बजट है। वित्त मंत्री जी यह कह सकते हैं कि हमारे पास समय नहीं है। लेकिन मंत्री महोदय से मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि वे पुनः इस बजट पर विचार करें और इस देश को समाजवाद की तरफ ले जाने के लिए कदम उठावें। इस देश में 50 परसेंट से भी अधिक लोग पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे अपनी जिन्दगी बसर करते हैं, भूख और प्यासे रहते हैं। ऐसी हालत में आज आवश्यकता इस बात है कि देश के निर्माण के लिए और यहाँ पर समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करने के लिए जोरदार और कारगर कदम उठाये जाने चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Enough, Mr. Thakur. I have given

you more time than was given to anybody else and this is not fair. You have to sit down. I am calling the next speaker. Mr. Kesava Rao. Not here. Yes, Mr. Kumbhare.

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : उन्-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अन्त में मैं सिर्फ एक क्वेश्चन देना चाहूंगा। वर्ल्ड फूड आरगेनाइजेशन की एक कांफ्रेस रोम में हुई थी जिसमें यह कहा गया था कि "The World Food Conference met in Rome in 1974..." इस कांफ्रेस में यह कहा था कि सन् 1984 तक दुनिया में कोई भूखा नहीं रहेगा, कोई नंगा नहीं रहेगा। हिन्दुस्तान को अज़ाद हुए इतने वर्ष गुज़र चुके हैं, लेकिन फिर भी यहाँ पर गरीबी है। हर साल हिन्दुस्तान की अबादी ढाई करोड़ बढ़ जाती है। इसलिए आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि उत्पादन बढ़ाने के लिए जो जमीन को जोतता है, उसी को जमीन दी जानी चाहिए और खेतों के लिए पानी का इन्तज़ाम किया जाना चाहिए।

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, since the time allotted to me is very short, I will try to confine myself to one or two important problems which relate to the biri industry.

Sir, the Budget has, in fact, increased the Excise Duty on the biris. The biri industry as such represents a very important economic activity in the country. I have a very long association with the workers employed in this industry and I have been associated with these workers for about twenty-five years or so as a trade-unionist. As many as four lakh workers are employed in this industry in Maharashtra alone. Sir, I will give you in brief, in a nutshell, the size and magnitude of this industry which will show that this industry has to be nursed and has to be protected and that nothing should be done which will create a sort of disruption in the industry. The biri

industry gives to the State in the form of Income-Tax to the tune of Rs. 30 crores per year, Sales Tax to the State Governments to the tune of Rs. 5 crores, in the form of Excise Duty on the tobacco consumed Rs. 25 crores and in the form of Excise Duties on branded *biris* to the tune of Rs. 36 crores. The total number of people employed in the industry are 30 lakhs. As I said earlier, Maharashtra alone employs 4 lakhs workers. And this industry is there in other States also, namely, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and even Rajasthan.

Now, the new Budget proposals impose an additional duty of Re. 1/- for making 1000 *biris*. I think that various speakers in this House and in the other House vehemently opposed this imposition, firstly because it is going to touch the pockets of the poorest of the poor men. If, on an average, a smoker smokes about twenty *biris*, he will have to pay not less than Rs. 7/- per annum. This means, this Budget will take away Rs. 7/- from the pocket of a poor man out of his hard-earned income. That way, by collecting Rs. 7/- per head the Central Government would be collecting about Rs. 35 crores by imposing one rupee as additional duty.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it is not that for the first time this duty is imposed. *Biri* has been subjected to excise duty on two accounts. In the first place, as I have said, duty is payable on the tobacco mixture. You cannot take out tobacco from your house unless you make payment in advance. On that account also, the Central Exchequer gets about Rs. 25 crores. About two years back this one rupee was imposed on every 1000 *biris*. The amount that would come to the Exchequer would be Rs. 23 lakhs.

Now, while casting additional burden on the industry, the Government has failed to examine the issue from all angles. In the first place, there is

an eminent danger of curtailment of employment. Even the smoker may, because of the imposition of tax, reduce the number of *biris* which he is normally smoking. The effect would be that the manufacturers would be compelled to retrench the workers. This is one of the gravest problem that may accrue because of this imposition.

Secondly, since the cost of the *biri* would be increased, in that proportion there will be very little scope for the workers to agitate for a better deal in the matter of wages. There is no scope for giving any increased wages. I think this aspect has also not been considered by the Government. In an industry, the hon. Finance Minister will agree with me, we have to take care of the workers before thinking of imposing any additional tax and to see what will be the effect of this on the working conditions of the workers. This industry is not in a position to bear any additional burden. It would, therefore, adversely affect the interests of the workers. I think this aspect has also not been considered by the Government.

Then, Sir, the other problem is that because of the imposition of excise duty, the workers, who have been working on the low wage rate, may be hit hard. The employer may abuse the industry. That may also result in a lot of unemployment. The workers who are working in this industry are spread over in far away villages. This is the only means of livelihood for them. As I said earlier, 30 lakhs of workers are employed and taking into consideration their dependents, I think about one crore of people are depending on this industry. Therefore, my submission is that the Government must reconsider the imposition and enhancement of excise duty on *biri*. I suppose that *biri* has been singled out for the imposition of high duty. I do not think there is any other commodity which has been subjected to such high increase. I do not

[Shri N. H. Kumbhare] ... understand why biri has been singled out for this discriminatory treatment. The hon. Finance Minister has sought to justify this imposition by saying—I quote from his speech which he has given in the Lok Sabha: "Reference was made to excise duty on biris. Biri is not an absolutely essential item for the common people." I respectfully disagree with the hon. Finance Minister. For the purpose of cost of living index, biri is considered to be essential. If the standard by which the hon. Finance Minister says that it is not a necessary item is to be applied, then there are several items of consumption. Why have you singled out only biri? My submission is that it is really a necessary item. Therefore, I am not prepared to concede to the view of the hon. Finance Minister that it is not essential. Then the Finance Minister goes on to say: "It is an optional item of consumption and injurious to health." I have not heard that smoking of biri is injurious. I have heard that smoking of cigarettes is injurious. Why? It is because the wrapper is paper and it is the paper which is injurious to health. In the case of biri, the wrapper is tendu leaves. It is not injurious to health. If it is injurious to health, there are 101 things which are injurious to health.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): This is your view. Let us not go to the medical aspect of it.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: Sir, my submission is that the Government is collecting 35 crores of rupees from it. They must come out with a sound and convincing reason. On the contrary, you are destroying the biri industry by this measure.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Mr. Kumbhare, your time is up. You can complete with your final point on biris.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: It is because I am very much associated with the biri industry. I am closely associated with the biri workers and, therefore, I feel much about this imposition of excise duty. That is why I have dwelt on it. Then I go to other matters relating to finance. The Finance Minister, in the opening remarks of his budget speech, has said that the Government wants to move with courage and sincerity to banish poverty. Very good.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You will have to finish in two minutes.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: I have only to read. I will not take much time. According to him, the Budget lays emphasis on accelerating the pace of economic progress and also on distribution of its fruits equitably. Now, Sir, I would invite your attention to this declaration that the Budget will also ensure equitable distribution of the fruits of prosperity. It is undisputed that the Budget will have no meaning if it does not ensure a faster rate of growth of economy. But the real test of the Government lies in formulating policies which will also ensure equitable distribution of the fruits of prosperity. I have not been able to locate in the Budget any proposal which will manifest the intention of the Janata Government. There is no sign of prosperity for the poor in the Budget proposals. We cannot forget that we have to pull up 220 million people out of abject poverty and, therefore, something concrete has to be done so that the productivity of the weaker sections is increased. The Janata Party manifesto laid emphasis on the common man, the weaker section and the less privileged. But unless special efforts are made, the standard of the poor is not going to improve. (Time bell rings) I will take just one minute, Sir. Framing a strategy for the elimination of poverty is a matter of grave urgency. But this has been, unfortunately, overlooked. Sir, my

1977-78—

contd.

submission is that though we may have a faster rate of growth of economy, unless you devise a scheme or a strategy by which there will be an equitable distribution of fruits of prosperity, I think, it will not be possible to eliminate poverty. This is the submission I want to make.

SHRI HABIB TANVIR (Nominated): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the Budget reflects the attitudes we have towards society because it is on that basis that we dole out laws and regulations and govern the wellbeing of a people. Now, here is a country which has got approximately 80 per cent of the so-called poor people living below the ordinary civilised line of subsistence. No, democracy and equity and justice mean that in terms of taxes we collect money from all according to the means and we voted to power according to the majority so that we could give back to the majority the greatest amount of services, and from the privileged few we could get the greatest amount of resources. The Budget does not reflect this position. Now, the infra-structure of a society is based upon education, and the kind of institutions we want to build have to be based upon education.

I will be talking on education, otherwise it will be too big a subject to deal with within the limited time at my disposal. The budget lays claim to a heavy emphasis on agriculture, on the rural aspect, on the integrated rural developmental aspect. It talks of the rural poor, i.e., in favour of the rural poor, which does not seem to be right because it actually helps the rural rich it helps the elite classes of both the urban and rural society. In education too it is very much the same. We have got about Rs. 189 crores, or 1.25 per cent of the national budget, for education, which by itself from our own point of view, from the point of view of the elitist classes, from the point of view of the capitalist classes, is too meagre.

467 R.S.—6.

A far higher allocation, a far greater allocation of money on education is needed if we want to build up any kind of society at all. Now there are about 25 crores of young people, below the age of 15, or 42 per cent of the 60 crores, who are to be educated. These 25 crores of youth have been given less than Rs. 200 crores for their education. Assuming that we are catering to about 40 per cent of this youth population, we come to a figure of about 10 crores of young people on whom this money is to be spent. For want of time I am not going into the intricacies of how much is being spent on higher education and how much on elementary education. Roughly, we are going to spend less than Rs. 200 crores on ten crores of young people. For the present, 15 crores of young boys and girls are being left out of this benefit. It then works out to about roughly Rs. 20 per head per year. It is a very meagre sum. Now, this Rs. 20 per head per year is being denied to about 15 crores of young people who are not attending classes, and if they too attended classes it would mean another Rs. 300 crores, which ought to be given to them in the name of education, which is doubtful for its benefits, which is well-known for its harmfulness, which is well-known for producing a slavish kind of mentality, which is intellectual snobs and also well known for producing a strange kind of middle-class educated man, who has no values, which is well-known, in short, for producing an exploiter. It is a process which declasses people and even if they try to get back to their class, it turns them into something fantastic, something impossible. Anyhow, Rs. 300 crores this way is being lost to these 15 crores of young people who, it does not seem reasonable. Why should not get this money for better education in some form or the other. Now, it is estimated that out of these 15 crores—this is according to the Report of the Standing Committee of the Advisory Board on Education, July 1976—more than three-fourths belong to the

[Shri Habib Tanvir]

poorer sections, i.e., landless labourers, urban slum dwellers and other extremely weak sections especially of the rural people. Now, three-fourth of that comes to 5 P.M. about 11 to 12 crores of people who are not attending schools and they come from these poorer sections. That means they particularly are being deprived of at least about Rs. 250 crores in this fashion.

Now, education needs reform in the real sense which means more educational facilities for the illiterate masses, who have, no doubt, imagination, articulation, expression and also many rich values of culture but when they come in touch with our educational institutions, they lose most of it. So, in my field of activity, creative activity, false dramatic activity to be specific, I automatically choose a drop-out. Your drop-out for me is a more imaginative actor and artist than your school-attending boy or girl. Now, in a country which has about 60 crores of people, 70 to 75 per cent of them, that is about 45 crores of them belong to poorer sections and, are, therefore, illiterate. If 40 to 45 crores of them are illiterate, according to our profession and our so many solemn pronouncements they ought to get some benefit of our educational system. Now, if 40 to 45 crores of people were to get even at the rate of Rs. 20 per head per year, even at that meagre rate if they were to get some kind of education, in terms of their large numbers, you can imagine what a lot of money they are being deprived of. Now, this is the kind of Budget that we have got and we, therefore, ought to improve things in seeing to it that we provide much more allocation of this money towards elementary education and really divert a lot more money to the weaker sections of society and stop this kind of very blatant exploitation which is very thinly disguised.

Thank you very much.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE AND REVENUE AND BANKING (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have listened with great attention to all the hon. members who have taken part in the general debate on Budget. I am grateful for the suggestions and critical observations made by the members. However in the time at my disposal, I cannot deal with all the points made. Therefore, I shall limit myself only to some of the major points made in the debate.

I would like to emphasise once again the limitations under which this year's Budget had to be framed. As I pointed out in my Budget speech, we inherited large commitments of expenditure on on-going schemes and any reduction in spending on these projects in mid-stream would have been extremely wasteful. Our party's programme requires a re-ordering of our planning priorities so as to lay greater emphasis on rural development. However, as the House knows, most of the activities relating to rural development fall in the State plans. And for reasons which are well-known, it was not possible for me to have consultations with State Governments regarding modifications of their plans. My options were, therefore, rather limited. Even then, I was able to effect savings worth about Rs. 267 crores in the Central plan and these have been re-allocated to sectors such as agriculture, irrigation, rural water supply and other elements of infra-structure which are high on the list of our priorities.

Shrimati Ambika Soni, the erstwhile youth leader, has questioned whether any one needs much time to prepare the Budget, according to one's objectives. She can afford to ask such a question because she has, perhaps, not been called upon to undertake such a task. I can only tell her that preparing a Budget particularly when a new Government with a different programme inherits a

problem-ridden situation, is not like formulating points on the fingers of one's hands.

Shri Sankar Ghose on the other hand, was so full of excitement of having found out in this Budget the Swatantra reality behind the Janata facade, that he forged that Lewis Carroll and not Hans Christian Anderson was the author of Alice in Wonderland. Perhaps, Shri Sankar Ghose will remember Anderson's story on the 'Ugly Duckling'. Actually, in Anderson's story, the people in this country have discovered that the Congress which strutted about as if it were a swan is really an ugly duckling and have, therefore, chased it out of office unceremoniously. I think this shock has led to Shri Sankar Ghose's confusion. This trauma seems to have affected the ex-planner's capacity to clear thinking. He has belittled my achievement in having a deficit of only Rs. 72 crores in this year's Budget by pointing out—I am sorry to say that he is not here; it is a curious coincidence that in both the Houses the main speakers on the Congress side have not been present to listen to the answers—that according to the Economic Survey, not only was there no deficit, but there was a surplus of Rs. 206 crores in 1975-76. I hate to have to point out to the former Planning Minister that the deficit in the budget refers to the Centre only and is arrived at differently from that in the 'Economic Survey'. The Survey clearly explains this difference. If the deficit in 1975-76 were to be calculated in the same way as in the present Budget, the deficit in 1975-76 would have amounted to Rs. 367 crores. Shri Sankar Ghose and other Members have expressed misgivings about the proposal for a special borrowing of Rs. 800 crores from the Reserve Bank against drawal of foreign exchange reserves. As the House knows, our external reserves have risen substantially in recent months. It is our duty to work out effective mechanisms to use these reserves to accelerate the tempo of

economic activity and to stabilise prices. What surprises me to that Shri Sankar Ghose blames me for not doing this in the three months I have been in office when he and his colleagues could not do it in more than a year even though they were fully familiar with the apparatus of Government having been in power for a number of years. In fact, we have done much more and are confident of doing so in future.

In pursuance of this objective, we have liberalised substantially our import policy. Larger imports both of essential consumer goods and capital goods will add to the real resources available to the economy for development. Thus, to the extent that we succeed in drawing down reserves, special borrowing from the Reserve Bank will be non-inflationary. A question has been asked whether we will use these Rs. 800 crores to import watches. I will explain later why we want to import watches. But let me assure you that the value of watch imports will be much smaller and that our reserves will be used to accelerate economic activity and stabilise prices.

It is unfortunate that Shri Sankar Ghose has fallen into the same error as his colleague, Shri Subramaniam, in the other House. He said that in spite of my desire to give primacy to agriculture, the present Budget provides an outlay of Rs. 3,024 crores, which is only 30.4 per cent of the total outlay which is absolutely and relatively less than the Rs. 3,471 crores allotted to agriculture last year. There was another speaker too, I think, who fell into the same error. I would like to state that the two figures are not comparable. The second figure taken from the 'Economic Survey' is the sum of the total outlay on the following sectors: agriculture, irrigation, fertiliser and power including rural electrification. The smaller figure given in this Budget takes into account only 85 per cent of the outlay for co-op-

[Shri H. M. Patel]

ratives that is attributable to the agricultural sector, and only 15 per cent of the total outlay on power, attributable to the agricultural and rural sectors. On a comparable basis the figures for 1976-77 would be Rs. 2312 crores and for 1977-78 Rs. 3024 crores. The increase in the current year's allocation thus works out to 31 per cent. If one were to concentrate attention on agriculture and allied servicees, the Central plan outlay proposed in this Budget at Rs. 548 crores is 64 per cent higher than in 1976-77. The allocation on irrigation and flood control at Rs. 1244 crores is 47 per cent higher. It should be obvious to anyone, with an open mind, that the allocation for agriculture during this year is substantially higher than in 1976-77, though the step-up is not as large as I would have liked.

Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh has raised a number of important questions in this regard. I am sure those will be borne in mind when the medium-term policy for development of agriculture is evolved. As we propose to make pure drinking water available to all villages in a period of five years and double the rate of annual expansion of the area under irrigation within the next few years, our expenditure on these two items will be stepped up very substantially year after year. The House can rest assured that our commitment to spend more resources on agriculture and on rural development is firm and unambiguous and this will be adequately reflected in the budgets in the years to come.

Because of his firm pre-conceived notion that this first Janata Budget must be permeated with Swatantra ideas, Shri Ghose has failed to look at it in a proper way. As I stated in my Budget speech, the objectives behind my tax proposals have been to reduce the disparities of income and wealth and to enlarge the pool of savings. I have, therefore, firstly, increased the surcharge on income-tax from 10 to

15 per cent; secondly, raised the wealth-tax rates from the absurdly low levels to which they had been reduced last year and; thirdly, withdrawn the concession regarding the surcharge on the corporate tax which had been given last year, by which the corporate sector could deposit an equivalent amount with the Industrial Development Bank of India for five years and brought to the Exchequer Rs. 56 crores.

While the Budget last year did not raise any revenue through direct taxes. I have raised a sum of Rs. 92 crores. Not only is this the largest amount of revenue raised in direct taxes in as many years as one can remember, but more money has been raised this year through direct taxes than through indirect taxes. I have raised this year Rs. 68 crores through indirect taxes as against Rs. 92 crores of direct taxes of which the State share is Rs. 20 crores. I would like the House to judge whether this is not wielding fiscal policy as an instrument of change. Indeed, I would say that this is the social engineering. Mr. Ghose so passionately desires and which he and his Party have failed to undertake. Some of the Opposition Members have sought to convey the impression that the present Budget pulls down the importance of the public sector and have sought to impute to me and to this Government the bias against the public sector. I find it difficult to understand how anyone, who had made even a cursory study of the Budget Estimates, could venture to make such an accusation. The current Budget proposes a contribution of Rs. 2192 crores as equity and loan to non-departmental public sector undertakings as compared with Rs. 1332 crores that had been provided in 1976-77. I am not referring to departmental enterprises such as the Railway and P&T, in respect of whom also the allocations this year are much larger than last year.

These figures expose adequately the hollowness of the criticism that the Janata Government is lukewarm to-

wards the public sector. We are firmly committed to the concept of a mixed economy, in which the public sector already plays a commanding role. While canalising adequate resources for investment to the public sector, we also propose to ensure that public enterprises function efficiently and generate additional resources for the further development of the economy. We wish to ensure that the entire economy functions properly and no part of it fails to work satisfactorily. It is our view that so long as we have a mixed economy, the private sector should also remain healthy and function efficiently. In a mutually inter-dependent society, all the sectors—public, private and co-operative—should get equal attention from Government.

Shri Sankar Ghose has pointed out that the provision for coal in the budget for 1977-78 is less than the provision in the previous year by Rs. 50 crores. For reasons best known to him, Shri Ghose has failed to mention that though the provision of Rs. 277.2 crores had been made in the Budget Estimates for 1976-77, it had to be reduced to Rs. 225.62 crores in the Revised Estimates—a reduction of nearly Rs. 50 crores. We have kept the budget provision for coal in 1977-78 at Rs. 226.66 crores, marginally higher than in the revised estimates of last year. In determining the outlay for coal, we have taken note of the fact that there is an accumulation in pit-head stocks of coal and that the investment already made is sufficient to enable the production target of 109 million tonnes to be met. The investments that we are now making in coal projects are thus really designed to meet the requirements of the Sixth Plan period and beyond.

Shri Sankar Ghose has also referred to the lower level of outlay on fertilisers in 1977-78 as compared with 1976-77. The larger allocation last year was due to the bunching of expenditure on projects initiated much earlier. Expenditure on such projects will naturally taper off. I would like to assure the hon. Members that we

have made adequate provision for all on-going fertiliser projects. The allotments for projects in progress are virtually the same as those provided by the previous Government. The outlay for new fertiliser projects can be assessed with the requisite degree of precision only when we are in a position to take a clear view on the feedstocks for the new fertiliser plants. With the major investment decision we have recently taken on the development of oil and natural gas resources of Bombay High and Bassein fields, it is now possible to plan for new fertiliser plants based on natural gas. When the plans for these projects are got ready, adequate provision will be made for them. The House can, therefore, rest assured that there will be no slowing down of the expansion of the capacity for production of fertilisers.

Many Members have complained that this Budget has done nothing to solve the unemployment problem, though in the Budget speech, unemployment has been indicated as a problem area of great importance. A Plan outlay higher by 27 per cent must necessarily contribute to the generation of more employment. Similarly, the substantially increased outlay on agriculture, irrigation and rural infrastructure such as electrification and roads will result in the generation of more employment. However much the Opposition Benches may wish to decry the extension of the investment allowance to substantial parts of industry, this step is designed to lead to more employment in industry. The reliefs given to small-scale and cottage industries will also provide significantly larger employment opportunities to large numbers of people. Clearly a definite effort has been made in the Budget to see that more employment is generated. I admit there are no allocations specifically for employment-oriented schemes in the Budget. This is because of the sad fate of the so-called crash employment schemes in the past. Since they were drawn up in a great hurry to meet some such

[Shri H. M. Patel]

demand, they were poorly planned and poorly implemented, resulting in hardly any permanent employment. I would, therefore, counsel patience. To be effective, such schemes need careful planning including consultations with local authorities and need even better organisation for implementation. We have not yet had the time to plan in detail such schemes and organise such consultations. But I have no hesitation in assuring the House that as soon as the Budget discussions are over, I shall hold consultations with my colleagues in the Government and the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, shall also discuss with Dr. Raj Krishna, as his name has been specifically mentioned by more than one Congress Member, about specific programmes of work and then hold discussions with the Chief Ministers about these matters. Similarly, I shall consult the Reserve Bank and the nationalised banks about the role they can play in promoting rural development and employment.

Some Members, Sir, have complained that this Budget does not have proposals for land reform, land consolidation etc. These are State subjects and action has to be primarily taken by them. I am of the opinion that what is needed now is not more legislation on land reform but sincere and effective implementation of existing legislation. This is what the previous Government failed to do and this is what we intend to do.

AN HON. MEMBER: How?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: You wait and see. The Janata Party has stated in clear terms: "The Party will honestly implement land legislation, provide machinery for scrutinising fraudulent transfers and dispossession and plug such loopholes as have come to light. Landlordism will be abolished. Surplus lands and other reclaimed lands will be distributed amongst the landless, particularly Harijans and Adivasis."

The Budget has also been criticised for having no policy on inflation. Surely the former Planning Minister does not have to be told that keeping the Budget deficit low in the context of 17 per cent rise in money supply last year is itself a contribution to an anti-inflationary policy. He has complained that prices have been rising by one per cent per month in the last two months and this would lead to a 12 per cent increase over the year. If his simple-minded logic were to be followed prices last year should have risen by 25 per cent because they rose by 4.4 per cent in the first two months of the year. What is important is that it is smaller than the rise which took place last year, in spite of the bumper harvest in 1975-76. This Government is fully committed to a policy of holding the price line and will use every instrument at its disposal for this purpose.

Many Members have complained about the reduction in the rates of interest on savings deposits and have argued that this will affect savings, particularly by ordinary people. I must confess that I am amused by the concern even the so-called leftist Members have shown in this matter. The change was brought about because it was felt that earlier people who parted with their money for relatively shorter periods got a better rate of return than those who parted with their money for longer periods. It seems to me that it was the rich people who benefited more from the earlier provision than the less well off ones because they got a larger return for the short periods they deposited their money with the banks. For longer terms they would naturally use their funds in their own business where the rate of return would be much higher.

It has also been stated that the small man will be adversely affected by the reduction of 2 per cent in the interest on Savings Bank deposits. There is some misunderstanding here. Those who generally wish to use Savings Bank accounts as a vehicle for their

savings will continue to get the same interest as before. It is only those who wish to use their Savings Bank accounts as Current accounts and at the same time wish to get a high interest rate that will have to suffer a reduction of 2 per cent.

The extension of the benefit of the investment allowance to all industries has been criticised on the ground that I have thus provided relief to elitist consumption industries rather than to priority, mass consumption industries. I wish the critics had looked at the Finance Bill more carefully. They would then have found that it contains a long list of industries which would not be entitled to the benefit of the investment allowance. The 34 industries which have been excluded, include those which produce luxury goods or goods which are relatively low on the list of priorities. This includes cosmetics to which repeated references have been made by the Opposition Members. Thus the charge that there are no priorities is baseless. The truth is that while swearing by priorities, the previous Government acted arbitrarily in choosing various industries for the benefit of the investment allowance. Vital industries in the public sector such as mining and petroleum refining were denied the benefit of investment allowance in spite of the professed love of the Opposition for the public sector. The extension of the benefit of the investment allowance to these vital industries which are almost entirely in the public sector is itself a refutation of the charge that this is a concession to the private sector.

Shri Ghose—I am sorry to keep on having to refer to Shri Ghose in spite of his absence—has stated that the concession regarding the investment allowance will mean a loss of revenue of Rs. 220 crores as against the earlier loss of Rs. 45 crores and has concluded that this makes nonsense of my resource mobilisation effort. I do not know where these estimates have come from because we have found it difficult to make any estimates. I

hope he, like many others, has not put his faith in the report of a financial newspaper because that report was based on inappropriate data and wrong inferences. For my part, I look upon this as an effective instrument for stimulating investment in the economy.

Shrimati Kulkarni has voiced concern that my well-intentioned provision for the grant of investment allowance at the higher rate of 35 per cent to industries using technical know-how developed in Government laboratories, public sector companies and universities may be abused because businessmen will be able to easily purchase wrong certificates in their behalf. I would like to allay his fears by clarifying that the benefit of this concession will be available only where the know-how is acquired by the tax-payer from the Government, a public sector company or university or from any person deriving title from them. Besides, we intend to designate the Department of Science and Technology as the prescribed authority for the purposes of issuing the required certificate so that the question of purchasing wrong certificates simply does not arise.

The hon'ble Member has also stated that there is no continuing obligation on the tax-payer to use such know-how and that industrialists may be able to switch over to foreign know-how immediately in the following year. I doubt if such a switch-over is technically feasible in most cases considering that the know-how would also imply a certain kind of plant and machinery. To effect such a switch-over, the machinery would have to be disposed of, which is certainly bound to involve a loss. Also the reduction in respect of investment allowance at the higher rate will be available only where the tax payer furnishes, along with the return of income for the assessment year for which the deduction is claimed, a certificate from the prescribed authority that he is engaged in the manufacture of articles produced by using technology or other know-how developed in a Government laboratory.

1977-78—

contd.

[Shri H. M. Patel]

ratory etc. Hence, if a tax payer discontinues the use of such technology, he will not be entitled to carry forward the unabsorbed investment allowance, if any, in subsequent years or to claim investment allowance in respect of machinery or plant which he might instal in later years.

Some Hon. Members have raised the bogey of buying up losses and of concentration of economic power when commenting upon the concessions proposed when a sick unit merges with a healthy one. This criticism ignores the safeguards incorporated in the Finance Bill itself. The concessions will be available only on the recommendations of the specified authority and it will have to be established to the satisfaction of the Central Government that the amalgamation is in the public interest. Also the Central Government may lay down necessary conditions to ensure that the concession is restricted to amalgamations which would facilitate the rehabilitation or revival of the sick unit. It is our view that this alternative is by far to be preferred to the take-over of the sick units by the Government. I need only mention that the National Textile Corporation has suffered a loss of over Rs. 117 crores during the period 1974-75 to 1976-77 and is likely to suffer a further loss of about Rs. 30 crores during the current financial year. The Congress Members have probably forgotten that the former Government had approved of such a measure. I am referring to the measure of amalgamation.

It has been suggested that the innocuous provision for encouraging companies to involve themselves in the work of rural welfare and uplift is yet another loophole for avoiding taxes. People should take the trouble of going through the papers carefully before criticising. I thought I had made it amply clear that the deduction will be allowed only if the expenditure is incurred on specified programmes of rural development ap-

proved by the prescribed authority. This authority will be of an adequately high level.

Some Members also suggested that the proposed new concessions for small-scale industries set up in the rural areas provide a loophole for tax avoidance by clever businessmen. This section is in fact modelled on the lines of a similar provision for giving concession to industries set up in backward areas. The Finance Bill clearly precludes the grant of the concession in cases where the new business is formed by the splitting up or the reconstruction of a business already in existence or by the transfer of existing plant and machinery. There are safeguards against other collusive transactions as well. The risk is negligible, if any, and having regard to the fact that the task of rural development is so vast and gigantic we shall not hesitate from taking reasonable risks.

The Hon. Members have made the point that the concession given to powerlooms will hit the handloom industry. These apprehensions are entirely without substance and proceed from a mis-conception of my tax proposals. Under the tax structure we inherited, powerlooms paid a compounded levy which varied from Rs. 50 per year to Rs. 250 per year depending upon the number of powerlooms installed. I may add that there are many unauthorised powerlooms which have not been licensed by the Commerce Ministry and which may well be outside the tax net. Indeed, the differential rate of duty has encouraged the fragmentation of larger units into smaller units to take advantage of the lower rates of duty available for units having four looms or less. Further, the big industrialists having benami owners were the biggest beneficiaries, because with their resources they worked the powerlooms to the maximum capacity and with the duty remaining constant irrespective of the quantity of cloth produced, they paid very little duty per metre of cloth.

To minimise evasion, to reduce the administrative work, to distribute the tax incidence equitably, I have shifted this levy to the yarn used by the powerlooms. The duty will be collected at the stage when the yarn is cleared from spinning mills. Earlier, a duty of Rs. 2.5 crores was being collected as compounded levy from the powerlooms and a further duty of Rs. 0.75 crore was being collected as compounded levy from hand processors of powerloom cloth, making a total of Rs. 3.25 crores. As against this, an extra duty of Rs. 3.5 crores will now be collected on the yarn used by the powerlooms under the scheme proposed by me. Thus, by shifting the duty in this manner, I have safeguarded the revenue, have ensured that no powerloom escapes the tax net and at the same time, the new situation in no way affects the competitive strength of the handloom. The suggestion that the new arrangement will affect the position of handlooms adversely is thus totally unfounded. It is indeed an attempt to confuse the issue and to minimise the measures we have deliberately taken to improve the lot of the handlooms. It is to them, and not to the powerlooms and the mills, that I have given duty concessions. As I have explained in my Budget speech, handlooms will get duty relief for the first time in respect of cotton yarn in cross reel hanks and again for the first time in respect of viscose-spun yarn in hanks.

Members have made the point that the excise duty on biris should not be increased, as biris are consumed by the common people. Despite the view of my hon. friend here who does not agree, I would repeat that it is, however, not an essential item of consumption...

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY (Assam): It is an essential item for the poor people.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: You are entitled to your views.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: You are neither a poor man

nor, I think, have you seen poor people living. That is why you can say this.

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE: Scotch whisky is very essential.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I might inform the hon. Member, because he is suggesting that I should have imposed duty on Scotch whisky or liquor...

SHRI KALI MUKHERJEE: Why did you impose duty on biri and not on liquor?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Will you please listen? It is because liquor is a State subject and it is not something on which I can do anything. (*Interruptions*). Will you let me continue? I admit that you have the right to say that it is an essential item. And you will give me the right to say that it is not.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: You cannot say it is not an essential item. There is no scape for any difference of opinion.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): He is entitled to his opinion.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I see that he is still very much under the influence of the authoritarian regime.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: (West Bengal): Must we have commission or whether biri is an essential item for the poor?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Then there will be no end to it, if you have Commission after Commission.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: My point is...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You should allow the Finance Minister to complete his reply.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I do not yield, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

It is, however, not an essential item of consumption and is injurious to

[Shri H. M. Patel]

health, despite what my hon. friend here said. If anyone chooses to smoke biris, I do not think he should mind paying one paisa extra on 10 biris which is all that my proposal entails. Biri manufacturers and the wholesalers and retailers in biri trade should see to it that no increase in the price of biri beyond one paisa for 10 biris takes place.

Shrimati Alva has suggested that steps should be taken to increase the indigenous production of watches rather than import them. Members are evidently not aware that the Government has already embarked upon a programme for increasing, within a year, indigenous production of watches to about three times the existing production. Amongst others, one of the steps proposed for achieving this objective is reduction of import duty on watch components from 120 per cent to 50 per cent. We have nevertheless to take steps to see that the balance of the demand even after increasing the indigenous production is met. In spite of my alleged sympathy for the private sector, I would rather leave the import to Hindustan Machine Tools than to the smugglers.

I have received a large number of representations claiming that some of the new levies and concessions adversely affect production, particularly in the cottage and small-scale industries.

I am examining all such representations and wherever the claims are sustainable, necessary relief will be provided. In many cases I have found these representations to be based on a misunderstanding of the Budget proposals. We have already taken steps to clarify the position to those concerned and will continue to do so, so that the people do not have a grievance.

In spite of the many differences expressed in the course of the debate I find there is a good deal of common ground between us on this side and those on the opposite Benches. There is agreement that rural development is an extremely important component

of development strategy. Our objective of working out an integrated programme for allround improvement in the quality of rural life, laying special emphasis on the welfare of Harijans, Adivasis, small and marginal farmers, is also acceptable to everyone. Since the task is really large it cannot obviously be completed in a single year nor can it be speedily and satisfactorily achieved unless there is participation by all sections of the society. I would, therefore, point out to my friends on the other side that this rational endeavour—this national and rational endeavour—is not a matter for scoring partisan points but for constructive cooperation. It is my earnest hope that such cooperation will be forthcoming readily and abundantly. Thank you.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: Sir, only one clarification. I had a point of difference with the Minister. He said in the other House and he is saying in this House also—the other day Shri Shanti Bhushan also insisted—that biri is not an essential article of consumption for poor people. That is one. Secondly, the Minister has said that excise duty of only one paisa on ten sticks of biri is imposed without knowing how much it affects the poor people. If we accept the statistics of Shri Kumbhare who is a known trade unionist, a poor man consumes 20 sticks of biri a day—that is the minimum consumption—and he has to pay half a paisa per stick more. Half a paisa per stick means he has to pay Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per year extra. Sir, you know the standard of living of the common man, the poor man. Can he afford this hike in price? My point of difference with the Minister is: What is an essential item and for whom? There cannot be any difference of opinion on that, that in India for every poor man...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have made the point. Please sit down.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: ...biri is an essential item. If you pass in a train you see even a beggar smokes...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Then at this rate we will be going into discussion. I am sorry, please sit down. You have made the point. If the Finance Minister has anything to say, let him say. But you please sit down...

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: Sir, please allow me one clarification...

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: I have not completed, Sir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Instead of asking for a clarification you are going on expressing your own views.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: All right, let me put a question to the Minister. He said he is going to review imposition of excise duty on certain things. Then will he give an assurance that, taking into account what I have said, he will also reconsider his view that it is an essential article of consumption by the common man? That is one. Then...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think you have made the point. Please sit down.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: My second point is about the sick mills. I want to know from the Minister why he is giving concessions to big industrial houses who will just take over the sick mills...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): He has already explained that.

SHRI NRIPATI RANJAN CHOU-DHURY: No, no. Whether he has considered what amount of excise duty NTC has been paying on these? If the same concession is given to NTC, what would be the position? If a favourable reply comes, then, will he consider that instead of giving all these sick mills to the textile magnates.

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

far as the tax is concerned, he has already cleared that. You can take one minute. Shri Kumbhare.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: Sir, the Government is of the view that smoking is dangerous to health. That means, the Government wants that bidi smokers should give up smoking. Suppose they give up smoking. That will have effect on production. There will be a reduction in the production of bidis and ultimately it will affect the employment potentiality. Today thirty lakhs of people are employed in the bidi industry. In case people give up smoking, is there any provision in the budget to provide them alternative employment? You have your own problem of unemployment.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have made your point.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: The problem of unemployment has not been dealt with.

श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वजट के संबंध में मैं एक क्लेरिफिकेशन चाहता हूँ। मंत्री जी, पावर लूम्स पर टैक्स कम कर दिया है। इसके परिणामस्वरूप हैण्डलूम की प्राइसेज में और पावर लूम्स की प्राइसेज का अन्तर घट गया है। ऐसी हालत में मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या वे इस वजह से उत्पन्न हुई परिस्थितियों में कुछ ऐसे फील्ड केवल मात्र हैण्डलूम के लिए रिजर्व करेंगे जिसके संबंध में अनेक सुझाव दिये गये हैं? मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या मंत्री महोदय इन सुझावों पर विचार करेंगे ताकि हैण्डलूम को कट थोट कम्पीटिशन से बचाया जा सके?

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, अखबारों में यह चर्चा बड़े जोरों पर है कि लाखों-लाख स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों की पेंशन यह सरकार उठाने जा रही है। इस समाचार से लोगों में एक कंपयजन पैदा हो गया है।

[श्री गुणनन्द ठाकुर]

इसलिए मैं वित्त मंत्री महोदय से इस बारे में स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा। हमारे देश में गांधी जी के नेतृत्व में लाखों लाख लोगों ने देश की आजादी के लिए लड़ाई लड़ी है और यातनाएं सही हैं। पिछली इंदिरा जी की सरकार ने लाखों लाख गरीब लोगों को जो पेंशन दी थी उसको यह सरकार क्या बन्द करने जा रही है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): He will clarify that.

श्री गुणनन्द ठाकुर : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सिर्फ यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि देश की आजादी के लिए लड़ने वालों को पिछली सरकार की तरफ से जो छोटी-सी पेंशन दी जाती थी, क्या वर्तमान सरकार उसको बन्द करने के बारे में कोई सोच-विचार कर रही है ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): You have put the question on pension. I am asking the Finance Minister whether he could clarify that.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: So far as the handloom point is concerned, if the position is really as what Shri Bhandari has said and if any difficulty will be created for handloom in any direction, I shall certainly examine it. But to my information that will not be the case.

So far as the other point is concerned, I do not know what he is referring to. There is no Government decision or announcement on the subject.

SHRI N. H. KUMBHARE: What about bidi?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): I think we have had enough discussion. We will now proceed to the next item.

SHRI BHANU PRATAP SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): I suggest that the next item in the List of Business, namely, legislative business, be postponed for the time being and the next

item, namely, half-an-hour discussion be taken up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): Does the House agree with Shri Bhanu Pratap Singh's suggestion?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI U. K. LAKSHMANA GOWDA): We will now take up half-an-hour discussion.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF ANSWER TO S. Q. 67 ON THE 15TH JUNE, 1977 RE: FUNCTIONING OF CULTURAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE COUNTRY.

श्री श्रीकान्त वर्मा (मध्यप्रदेश): उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन में सांस्कृतिक संगठनों और साहित्यकारों के विषय पर बहुत कम विचार विमर्श हुआ है। कलाकार और साहित्यकार समाज के अन्य वर्गों की तरह संसद से बहुत कुछ उम्मीद करते हैं। मैंने इस दृष्टि से 15 जून, 1977 को प्रश्न संख्या 64 से उत्पन्न सवालों पर, जिसका कि ताल्लुक तीनों अकादमियों और नेशनल बुक ट्रस्ट से है, यह बहस उठाई है।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Shyam Lal Yadav), in the Chair]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, बीसवीं शताब्दी में एक बहुत बड़ा करिश्मा हुआ है और वह करिश्मा यह कि राज्य सत्ता हर आदमी के निजी जीवन में प्रवेश कर गई है। चाहे वह टैक्स हो और चाहे वह पुस्तक हो और चाहे वह कला या सृजन हो, कोई भी ऐसा क्षेत्र नहीं है, जहां कि राज्य सत्ता का प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष दखल न हो। पिछले 30-40 वर्षों में समृद्ध समाजों में एक बहुत बड़ी लड़ाई हुई और वह यह कि राज्य सत्ता को इंसान की जिन्दगी में और खासतौर से क्रियेटिव आर्ट्स में या रचनात्मक प्रयत्नों में कम से कम दखल देना चाहिए और समृद्ध समाजों के लेखकों और कलाकारों ने अपने लिये यह