

[श्री रामबिलास पासवान]

अनुसार उक्त सब-इंस्पेक्टर छुट्टी पर था और वहाँ उसे जाने का कोई भी अधिकार नहीं था।

यह गम्भीर मामला है। स्थानीय लोगों में काफी रोष है। लोग जाने पर प्रदर्शन कर रहे हैं।

मैं सरकार से मांग करता हूँ कि सरकार अबिलम्ब उक्त सब-इंस्पेक्टर और सिपाहियों को गिरफ्तार कर जेल में बन्द करे तथा सदन में वक्तव्य दे कि इस तरह घटना की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं की जायगी।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Certainly, this is a matter of concern as it affects the sentiments of a large number of people and I hope the Government will take due notice of the matter.

14.42 hrs.

FINANCE BILL, 1981—Contd.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. M. C. Daga to continue his speech. He has already taken 15 minutes.

अब आप कितना वक्त लेंगे।

श्री मूलअरब डागा : (पाली) : आपकी जितनी कृपा होगी, उतना समय लूंगा।

सभापति महोदय : मेरी कृपा नियम के अनुसार जितनी हो सकेगी, वह होगी लेकिन आप बतायें कि कितना समय और लें ?

श्री मूलअरब डागा : आपका हृदय विशाल है, क्योंकि बिहार के मिनिस्टर आफ पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स हैं और बिहार के ही उस समय चेयरमैन हैं, इसलिये मुझे समय देंगे।

सभापति महोदय, मैं 24 अप्रैल को एक बात कह रहा था कि आंध्रप्रदेश

जो अष्ट नौकरशाही, अष्ट राजनीतिक और अष्ट व्यापारी, इन तीनों का जो आपस में संतुलन है, इसका जमकर और सगठित रूप से मुकाबला हमर नहीं किया गया, अगर इसको रोका न जा सका तो हमारे भारतवर्ष के अन्दर जो अष्टाचार का नासूर फैल रहा है, हमें इसके बड़े बुरे परिणाम देखने होंगे।

तारीख 22 और 23 अप्रैल के दिन जब आयकर विभाग के लोग काश्मीर गये और वहाँ उन्होंने कालाधन निकालने के लिये देशद्रोही और देश के गद्दार लोगों पर जब हमला किया, भाग के कर्मचारियों ने जब अपनी कर्तव्यपरायणता का परिचय दिया और उन्होंने वहाँ जाकर हमला किया तो वहाँ पर किस प्रकार विभागके लोगों को आघात पहुंचाया गया, किस प्रकार उनके चोटें आईं, यह बड़ी गम्भीर बात है। वहाँ पर 40 आयकरविभाग के कर्मचारियों के चोट लगी।

मैं एक बात की और आपका ध्यान और दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि उस समय इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य भी वहाँ मौजूद थे, और यह एक ऐसी बात है कि अगर इस सदन के एक माननीय सदस्य वहाँ मौजूद थे, जैसा कि पत्रों और अखबारों से मालूम होता है और हमारे माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने भी स्टेटमेंट दिया, जब आयकर विभाग के लोग वहाँ पर कालाधन को बाहर निकालने के लिये हमला कर रहे थे तो उस समय वहाँ प्रधान मंत्री मुरदाबाद और शब्द अब्दुल्ला जिन्दाबाद के नारे दिये गये और इस प्रकार की जो घटनाएं, गति-विधियां होती हैं, अगर हमारी संसद का कोई सदस्य इधर या उधर बैठने वाला है वह इस तरह की बातों को संरक्षण देता है तो उसे डिस्क्वालीफाई करना चाहिये या उसे निकाल देना चाहिए

मुझे मालूम है कि तुलमोहन राम के केस में हिन्दुस्तान में जो कुछ हुआ, मैं कह रहा था कि काले घन के बढ़ने का कारण यही है कि हमारे कुछ अफ्ट नौकरशाही के लोग हैं और कुछ राजनीतिक...

डा० फारुक अब्दुल्ला (श्रीनगर) :  
मान ए प्वाइन्ट आफ आर्डर ।

जिस तरह से इन्होंने मुझ पर चोट की है, पहला अफसोस तो इस बात का है कि मैं जब इस सदन में आया था.. (व्यवधान)

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : मैंने किसी का नाम नहीं लिया है ।

Why do you feel like this?

डा० फारुक अब्दुल्ला : इन्होंने कहा कि एक मेम्बर सदन के थे । मैं इनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उस वक़्त नहीं था, मैं 10 बजे वहाँ गया । जो कुछ वहाँ पर हुआ, मैंने कॅटेगोरीकल डिनार्ड किया है, मैं इसके खिलाफ हूँ कि कोई भी उन आदमियों के खिलाफ हाथ उठाये, जो लीगल काम कर रहे हों । मेरी जमात और मैं उसके खिलाफ हूँ । याद रखिये, मेरी जमात का कोई भी आदमी कालेघन को सपोर्ट करे, वह मेरी जमात का आदमी नहीं है और न वह हिन्दुस्तान का कोई आदमी है, ... (व्यवधान)

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Farooq, I am told that you have been given an opportunity to state your position...

DR. FAROOQ ABDULLAH: Why I rise was that a Member of Parliament was wrongly informed that I was there.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have given your version.

श्री मूलचन्द डागा : सभापति जी, सारे अखबारों में यह आया है जब वित्त मंत्री ने स्टेटमेंट दिया था, उस समय यह बताया गया था... (व्यवधान) अब इन बातों से इन्कार करना... (व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय : आप मेरी बात सुन लीजिए । आज मैं भी सदन में था । डा० फारुक अब्दुल्ला अपना एक्स्प्लेनेशन देना चाहते थे । उन्होंने समय भी माँगा । किसी कारण से उनको समय नहीं दिया जा सका । यह एक विवादस्पद विषय है । इस तरह से दो मेम्बर यहाँ पर आपस में एक दूसरे के विरुद्ध बोलें, यह अच्छा नहीं है ।

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : मैंने नाम नहीं लिया । मैंने कोई बात नहीं कही, जो आप कहना चाहते हैं... (व्यवधान) मैंने कहा है कि ऐसा अखबारों में पढ़ा है ।

सभापति महोदय : उसका स्पष्टीकरण तो हो जाने दीजिए । आपके बोलने के लिए केवल यही विषय तो नहीं है । (व्यवधान)

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : तुलमोहन राम के केस में यही बात हुई थी । हमारी पार्टी ने उसे निकाल दिया था । जांच होने पर यदि यह पाया जाये....

सभापति महोदय : यहाँ पर इस तरह की कोई हाइपोथेटिकल बात कहना कि अगर जांच होने पर ऐसी स्थिति हो, तो यह तो... परिपाटी नहीं है ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): The hon. Member has not named anybody.

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA: No, no. In every paper it has come that

[Shri Mool Chand Daga]

forty persons were injured. (Interruptions) And they were thrown into the Dal Lake. All these things were done deliberately with a design. All people, assembled there had to go back. सारे फोटो प्रवचनोंमें निकले हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Excuse me, Mr. Daga. So far as the question of the incident as a whole is concerned, you have every right to refer to it and, refer to it, vigorously and eloquently. But, to name a particular gentleman, is not correct. (Interruptions)

SHRI MOOL CHAND DAGA: I have not taken anybody's name. I am against naming anybody whoever he may be.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That should be the attitude.

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : अगर मैं भी बर्ता होता, अगर मेरा भी हाथ होता है . . . . (व्यवधान) यथा नि महदय में करना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने किसी माननीय सदस्य का नाम नहीं लिया। मैंने तो यह बात कही नहीं। मैं तो यह कहता हूँ कि किस प्रकार से गठ-बंधन होता है, किस प्रकार राजनीतिक लोग वह संरक्षण देते हैं—अगर कोई देने वाला हो, तो उसको इस प्रकार नहीं देना चाहिए।

बंगाल में जो घटना हुई, हमारी चुनाव आयुक्त; तो जो बात कही, क्या यह शर्मनाक बात नहीं है? राज्यों में तरह तरह की बात होती है। इनकम टैक्स वाले जाते हैं। जो घटना हुई, वह शोभाजनक नहीं है—राज्य के लिए नहीं है। ऐसे राज्य को बर्खास्त कर देना चाहिए।

समापतिमहोदय : आप राज्य को बर्खास्त करना चाहते हैं या राज्य सरकार को बर्खास्त करना चाहते हैं ?

श्री वृन्धवन्धु डागा : अगर मैंने मान माने, यह मेरा दृष्टिकोण है। (व्यवधान) मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता चाहता हूँ . . .

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: You have already given your ruling that about the incident which has happened, every Member has got every right to highlight it. But, it should not be in a manner as to impute certain motives. On the incident as such, it is his duty to highlight it.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): He has not mentioned any name. He has not done anything offensive to anybody. I cannot understand why anyone should object if he refers to what has happened in Kashmir the other day. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Excuse me. The whole thing has been taken note of, and I think has been taperecorded also. My feeling is that certain names were uttered directly or indirectly. Anyway, let the chapter be closed. You may refer to the incident.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: You cannot stop him from referring to this incident.

श्री मूल चन्द डागा : मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि हमारी योजनाओं में जो धनराशि खर्च हो रही है, हमारे वित्त मंत्री करोड़ों रुपये की व्यवस्था उस के लिए करना चाहते हैं ताकि हिन्दुस्तान का गरीब तबका और पिछड़ा तबका ऊपर उठ जाय, लेकिन यह जितनी धनराशि खर्च हो रही है वह बरोबर के पास नहीं पहुँच रही है। इस के सम्बन्ध में अभी एक आर्टिकल 17-11-80 को निकला था जिसमें लिखा है :

"The Union Government has appointed a highpowered body to check whether various fiscal benefits meant for weaker sections are really reaching them. The only valid criticism against this move can be that it is several years too late and

crores of rupees meant for the poor have already been siphoned off by cheats who belong to the stronger sections of society having political clout. The working of cooperative societies, for instance, clearly shows how dishonest local politicians in league with equally dishonest low-level bureaucrats are depriving the poor of vast funds earmarked for their benefit."

इस में लिखा है कि 5000 के अंदर जो धनराशि दी गई 7 करोड़ का उस में गबन हुआ। पंजाब में जो धनराशि दी गई वह गरीबों के पास नहीं पहुंची। 6 करोड़ का उस में गबन हुआ। सारी धनराशि जो दी जाती है उस में किस तरह से एम्बेजलमेंट होता है और किस प्रकार से कुछ राजनीतिज्ञ लोग और कुछ मिडिलमैन उस को खा जाते हैं इस के बारे में यह सारा आर्टिकल है और उस में गवर्नमेंट ने एन्वयरी करके हेल्ड किया है कि हमारी धनराशि गरीबों के पास नहीं पहुंच पाती...

**समापति बहोदय :** डाया साहब, अब आप समाप्त करें दो मिनट में।

**श्री मूस चन्द डाया :** हां, मैं कर रहा हूँ।

"He added that the main chunk of this money had gone to 'big landlords and some influential persons.'"

तो इस का कारण क्या है? हम लोग जब कहते हैं कि गरीबों को हम राहत पहुंचाएंगे और गरीबों को राहत नहीं मिल पाती तो उस का कारण क्या है? उस का कारण यह है कि जो धनराशि योजनाओं में रखी जाती है गरीबों के पास पहुंचने के पहले बिचौलिये उस को खा जाते हैं, इसलिए वह उन के पास तक नहीं पहुंच पाती और इसीलिए गरीबी बढ़ रही है। इस का मैं सिर्फ एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। अभी एकोनामिक्स एंड पब्लिकस में 27 नवम्बर 1980 को एक आर्टिकल निकला है, उसमें उन्होंने बताया है कि होता क्या है :

"The corresponding requirement for credit will be Rs. 5,280 crore. In

the Central Budget for 1980-81, the allocation for small farmer development programmes was Rs. 56 crore. Even assuming that this entire sum is available for use as subsidies, simple arithmetic will show that it will take not less than 44 years to cover the target group."

यह सौ करोड़, दो सौ करोड़ या 300 करोड़ जितनी भी धनराशि योजनाओं में खर्च करते हैं उस के बारे में बताया कि इस से पावर्टी भी जा नहीं सकती। विल मंत्री जी जरा सुनें, एक तो इन्होंने क्रेडिट और एन्डेड पालिसी बना दी और एक बना दी जाय और एन्डेड पालिसी। यह जो आप को क्रेडिट और एन्डेड पालिसी है इस में वह जो कर्जा लेते हैं वह पुराने कर्जों को चुकाने के लिए खर्च करते हैं जिस से वह कभी प्रोग्रेस नहीं कर सकते। इस सारे आर्टिकल का मतलब यह है कि आप की दौलत गरीब के पास नहीं पहुंच सकती। जिस को आप ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं वह ऊपर उठ नहीं सकता। इसलिए मैं आप का ध्यान इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता था और यह कहना चाहता था कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो गरीब लोग हैं उन को इस का कोई फायदा नहीं पहुंच पा रहा है।

आज हिन्दुस्तान में एक बात यह हुई, आप ने कहा कि राज्य सरकारें 9 हजार करोड़ रुपये की धनराशि इकट्ठा करेंगी योजनाओं के लिए। लेकिन 9 हजार करोड़ की धनराशि के बजाय अब की उन्होंने घाटे के जितने बजट पेश किए वह 800 करोड़ के थे। सारे राज्यों ने कुल मिलाकर साढ़े आठ सौ करोड़ रुपये के घाटे के बजट पेश किए हैं। ऐसी हालत में क्या आप समझते हैं कि योजनाओं फलोभूत हो सकती हैं? आज स्टेट्स की जो हालत है वह आप अच्छे तरह से जानते हैं। घाटे के बजट पेश करने के बाद राज्य सरकारें हिम्मत नहीं कर सकती हैं कि वे लोगों पर टैक्स लगा कर साधन जुटा सकें। अगर राज्य सरकारें साधन

[श्री मूल चन्द डागा]

नहीं जुटा सकती हैं तो योजनायें भी फलीभूत नहीं हो सकती हैं। किस प्रकार से प्राज धनराशि का दुरुपयोग हो रहा है यह मैं आपको बताना चाहता था लेकिन उसके लिए समय नहीं है।

प्राज हमारी योजनायें फलीभूत क्यों नहीं हो रही हैं? इसका कारण यह है कि हमारी योजनाओं में पब्लिक इन्वैल्वमेंट नहीं है और शक्ति का विकेन्द्रीयकरण नहीं है। प्राज सारी शक्ति राजधानियों में सीमित होकर रह गई है। इसलिए जनता में कोई उत्साह और उत्सास नहीं है। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि गांव गांव के प्रादमी हमारी योजनाओं में सक्रिय भाग ले सकें उसके लिए शक्ति का लोक तांत्रिक विकेन्द्रीयकरण आवश्यक है। उसके बाद ही देश विकास के पथ पर आगे बढ़ सकता है। (व्यवधान) सभापतिजी, मैं तो आपके अनुशासन में रहना चाहता हूँ। आप हमारे राजस्थान के प्रावर्ज्वर रह चुके हैं इसलिए मुझे डर है मेरे लिए कुछ लिख न दें।

मैं समझता हूँ सारी योजनायें अच्छी बनती हैं लेकिन जिस मशीनरी के द्वारा आप उनको लागू करना चाहते हैं वह नौकरशाही आपको ऊपर नहीं ले जायेगी, जो भी धन आप इकट्ठा कर रहे हैं उसका उपयोग ठीक तरह से नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए गरीबी और बढ़ेगी उसको आप हटा नहीं सकेंगे।

सभापति महोदय : राजस्थान का मैं प्रावर्ज्वर जरूर था लेकिन आगे चलकर, मैंने यह महसूस किया कि कुछ दिनों बाद लोग मुझे ही प्रावर्ज्वर करने लगे।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका (राउंटसगंज) : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण फाइनेंस बिल पर बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया...

सभापति महोदय : मैं इससे भी ज्यादा आपका आभारी हूंगा अगर आप गागर में

सागर भर देंगे, बहुत ही कम शब्दों में अधिक से अधिक तथ्यों को रख देंगे।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : मान्यवर, पिछले तीन चार दिनों से इस बिल पर जो बहस चल रही है उसमें कई माननीय सदस्यों को मैंने सुना है। विशेषकर श्री ज्योतिर्मय बसु, जिन्होंने इस बहस को प्रारम्भ किया था उनको सुनने के बाद तो ऐसा लगा कि...

सभापति महोदय : वे जरूरत से ज्यादा ज्योति दे गए।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : इस फाइनेंस बिल के सम्बन्ध में जिन जिन बातों पर प्रकाश डालना चाहिए था कि कहां वित्त मंत्रालय को सफलता मिली और कहां नहीं मिली—उन सारी बातों को छोड़कर वे इधर उधर सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करते रहे। बोलते बोलते उन्होंने यह भी कह दिया कि प्रधान मंत्री जी एक बर्ग का ही विकास करना चाहती हैं। लेकिन मैं उनको याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि गुजरात में चल रहे रिजर्बेशन विरोधी आन्दोलन के सिलसिले में जब सारे नेतागण स्टेटमेंट देने में "अगर" और "लेकिन" लगा रहे थे तब देश की एक ही महान नेता थीं जिन्होंने कहा था कि हरिजन आदिवासियों सम्बन्धी प्रस्ताव नेगोसिएबिल नहीं है। एकमात्र इन्दिरा जी ही थीं जिन्होंने ऐसा कहा था। मैं सदन में कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब लोग सदन में बोलते हैं तो जो मुख्य विषय है, उससे ही अपने को अलग कर लेते हैं। सदन में जो माननीय वित्त मंत्री द्वारा इस वर्ष बजट प्रस्तुत किया है, उसके बाद में जो फाइनेंस बिल आया है, यह बहुत सामयिक है और देश की परिस्थितियों और आर्थिक जरूरतों के अनुसार है। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले वर्ष फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट ने अपने देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को उत्तरोत्तर आगे बढ़ाने के जो कार्यक्रम किए हैं, वे आपके सामने हैं, जिस तरह से हमको अर्थ व्यवस्था जरजर मिली हुई थी, उसको हमने काफी अच्छा किया

है। इन्फ्लेशन की समस्या जो पहले 21 प्रतिशत थी, उसको घटा कर 13 प्रतिशत किया। यही नहीं, इसी थोड़े से समय में हमारी सरकार ने, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने नेतृत्व में, छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना को तैयार किया। मुख्य-मुख्य जो विकास के कार्यक्रम हैं, चाहे वह बिजली के सैक्टर में हों, कोयले के सैक्टर में ही और इन्डस्ट्रियल डिस्प्यूट्स बढ़ा है, जिसको साग सदन जानता है और जिस तरह से इन्होंने सारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को जग-जग कर दिया था, उसको एक साल के अन्दर जिस प्रकार का फाइनेंस बिल वित्त मंत्री जी लाये हैं, उससे निश्चित तौर से देश का इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर बढ़ा है। जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था बिगड़कर पटरी से उतर गई थी, आज वह लाईन पर चलने को तैयार है।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि यह महत्वपूर्ण बिल है और इस बिल पर बोलते हुए हमें कुछ और चन्द मुद्दों पर विचार करना होगा। सबसे पहले मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस बात की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि देश में सारे राज्यों से और ट्रेड इन्डस्ट्रीज के जितने भी लोग हैं, उन्होंने इस बात को उठाया था और वह बात भी सेलटैक्स के बारे में। हमें निश्चित तौर से सेलटैक्स में ऐसा परिवर्तन लाना होगा, क्योंकि सारे हिन्दुस्तान की इन्डस्ट्री की किस तरह से सेलटैक्स आफिसरों द्वारा परेशान किया जाता है, इसको सभी लोग जानते हैं। जब हम पब्लिक वर्क के लिए जाते हैं, बाजारों में जाते हैं, तो हमें इस प्रकार की बातें कही जाती हैं। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इसको समाप्त होना चाहिए। मैं माननीय उपवित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूँगा कि वे इस सन्देश को मंत्री जी तक पहुँचा दें और फिर निश्चित तौर से सारे देश की आकांक्षाओं को देखते हुए, इस पर निर्णय करना चाहिए।

15 hrs.

हमारे देश का जो जनमानस है, वह खास कर देश को अर्थ व्यवस्था सहयोग देना

चाहता है, लेकिन आंकड़े देखे जायें तो 51 प्रतिशत की आमदनी होती है। नतीजा यह है कि चारों तरफ परेशानी है और हमारे इनकम टैक्स अधिकारी जो कि छापां मांगते हैं, मागना भी चाहिए, उन्होंने पिछले एक वर्ष के अन्दर उनकी दूरदर्शिता और बिजिलेंस लगाने से तीन हजार के लगभग छापे मारे और उनसे 15-16 करोड़ ६० की राशि प्राप्त हुई, लेकिन समस्या का हल इससे होने वाला नहीं है। लोगों का यह विचार है कि जो फाइनेंस विभाग में छापा मांगने वाले हैं, क्या उनके लिए भी ऐसी व्यवस्था है कि उनके यहां छापा माग जाए, क्योंकि यह सभी लोग जानते हैं कि किस तरह से उनको कमाई होती है।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेल्स-टैक्स और इनकम टैक्स की जो समस्या है, उस ओर निश्चित तौर से सदन को और हमारी सरकार को विचार करना है, जिससे कि हमारी जो इनकम हो रही है उसमें कमी न हो। अभी मैं अमेरिका के बारे में जानकारी कर रहा था वहाँ अधिकतम इनकम टैक्स 35 प्रतिशत है, जबकि हमारे देश में 70 प्रतिशत है। एक तरफ लोग काम करना चाहते हैं और जब उनको 70 प्रतिशत इनकम टैक्स देने की बात आती है तो उनका उत्साह भंग हो जाता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि ब्लैकमनी क्रिएट होती है और टैक्स की चोरी होती है तथा फिर करप्शन की बात आती है। ब्लैकमनी के निर्माण के लिए जो रास्ते हैं, हमें उनको निश्चित तौर से बन्द कर देना चाहिए। इससे उत्पन्न जो भ्रष्टाचार है, उसको बन्द कर देना चाहिए। जैसा कि श्री डागा जी कह रहे थे कि इसी करप्शन की वजह से हमारा स्तर नीचे गिरता जा रहा है। इसलिए मैं मंत्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे रास्ते जो हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था के आगे बढ़ने में बाधा उत्पन्न करते हैं, उनको बन्द करके आगे बढ़ना होगा।

[श्री रामप्यारे पनिका]

मान्यवर, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश की जो अर्थ-व्यवस्था है उस पर कई तरह से विचार करना होगा। इस अवसर पर मैं विशेष रूप से अपने उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। उत्तर प्रदेश हिन्दुस्तान का एक से पिछड़ा प्रदेश है। आबादी की दृष्टि से भी वह बिहार को छोड़कर सब से पीछे है। इस का कारण क्या है? इस में पांच सम्भाग ऐसे हैं जो सब से ज्यादा पिछड़े हैं, जिन को आबादी 47 परसेंट होती है, जिन में बुन्देलखण्ड, पूर्वी उत्तर प्रदेश के जिले और पहाड़ी क्षेत्र के जिले आते हैं जिन के संतुलित विकास के लिये आज तक कोई कार्यक्रम नहीं बनाया गया। केन्द्र सरकार के वित्त विभाग को निश्चित तौर पर यह देखना चाहिये कि किसी राज्य की आवश्यकता क्या है, कहां पर ज्यादा खर्च करने की जरूरत है—इस बात को ध्यान में रखने के बाद धन का आवंटन होना चाहिये। मैं उत्तर प्रदेश के बारे में बतलाता हूँ—पिछले 30-35 सालों में औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में केन्द्र द्वारा जो धनराशि आवंटित हुई उस का बहुत कम भाग उत्तर प्रदेश को मिला, जब कि हम हिन्दुस्तान की आबादी का पांचवां भाग हैं। यही कारण है कि हमारे यहां रोजनल-इम्प्लैस बहुत बढ़ गया है। हमारे देश के अनेक छोटे-छोटे राज्य जो पिछड़े हुए हैं आज देश की मुख्य धारा से अलग हो रहे हैं, वहां से पृथक्तावादी आवाजें उठ रही हैं, उनके अन्दर असन्तोख व्याप्त है। इस लिये जो पिछड़े इलाके हैं, जो डाउन-ट्राइन लोग हैं उन पर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये।

पिछले वर्ष हमारे देश की महान नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने हरिजनों

और आदिवासियों के विकास के लिये दो महत्वपूर्ण योजनाएँ दीं—आदिवासियों के लिये "सब-प्लान" और हरिजनों के लिये "काम्पोनेन्ट-प्लान"। लेकिन पिछले वर्ष इस दिशा में क्या काम हुआ? जो धन आवंटित हुआ था वह उन पर खर्च नहीं हुआ। मैं अपने मिर्जापुर के बारे में आप को बतला सकता हूँ—पिछले वर्ष 67 लाख रुपया आवंटित हुआ था जिस में से एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं हुआ। इस साल फिर 67 लाख रुपया हो रहा है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वित्त विभाग जो धन आवंटित करता है...

सभापति महोदय : यह खर्च किस को करना है? स्टेट गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी को खर्च करना है।

श्री रामप्यारे पनिका : मैं भी वही कहने जा रहा हूँ—केन्द्रीय सरकार जब किसी प्रदेश को किसी काम के लिये धनराशि देती है, तो जिस काम के लिये वह धनराशि दी गई है उस काम के इम्प्लीमेंटेशन की भी जिम्मेदारी ले। अन्यथा क्या होगा? हम धन वितरित करते जायेंगे, रिसोर्सेज इकट्ठे करते जायेंगे, लेकिन जहां विकास का वह कार्यक्रम होना है, वह नहीं हो पायेगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि जब सेक्टर का बजट बनता है तो उस के साथ हमें परफॉर्मंस बजट भी मिलता है—उस में देखा जाय कि किस राज्य में अपने काम को ठीक से किया है या नहीं किया है और उस के आधार पर हम उन राज्यों पर इम्प्लीमेंटेशन के लिये दबाव डाल सकते हैं। वास्तव में केन्द्र का जो बजट बनता है वह सारे राज्यों की इकानामी को कंट्रोल करता है....

सभापति महोदय : आप तो यह नीति सम्बन्धी प्रश्न उठा रहे हैं। आज कई ऐसे प्रान्त हैं जो चीख रहे हैं कि

केन्द्र द्वारा बहुत ज्यादा दखल दिया जाता है, लेकिन आप कह रहे हैं कि जो रैफ़ा केन्द्र दे, उस पर निगरानी भी रहे।

**श्री राम प्यारे पनिका :** ऐसे जो चीखने वाले राज्य हैं उनमें केरल की सरकार हो सकती है, वेस्ट बंगाल की सरकार हो सकती है। आप, मान्यवर, वहां देखें उनका क्या विकास हो रहा है। जो लोग समाजवाद और साम्यवाद की बात करने वाले हैं, यदि अभी चुनाव हो जाय, वेस्ट बंगाल में हो जाय, तो उसके नतीजे सामने आ जायेंगे। इन लोगों से हिन्दुस्तान को बहुत धक्का लगा है, अब सस्ती लोकप्रियता हिन्दुस्तान में चलने वाली नहीं है। हमारी जनता जागरूक हो गई है। इस लिये नये परिवेश में मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ—जहां एक और आप काफ़ी धनराशि का एलोकेशन कर रहे हैं, सबको यह जान कर खुशी होगी कि देश की जनता बहुत संतुष्ट है, 97500 करोड़ रुपये की एक महत्वाकांक्षी 6ठी पंच वर्षीय योजना बनाई गई है। लेकिन इसके साथ ही जहां स्टेट का दायित्व साधनों को इकट्ठा करना है, वहां यह भी होना चाहिये कि केन्द्र जो सौभर देता है उसका सही यूटिलाइजेशन हो और 6ठी पंच वर्षीय योजना के जो लक्ष्य रखे गये हैं वे अवश्य पूरे हों। 6ठी पंच वर्षीय योजना के दौरान जो हमारे गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे रहने वाले लोग हैं—उनमें से पचास प्रतिशत ऊपर आ जायें, यह तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जब कि योजनाओं का सही तरीके से इम्प्लीमेंटेशन हो।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ...

**सभापति महोदय :** मैंने तो समझा था कि आप कहेंगे—इस के साथ-साथ मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

**श्री राम प्यारे पनिका :** आप जानते ही हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में जहां हमारी सरकार आदिवासियों के विकास के लिए बहुत कार्यक्रम बना रही है, वहीं पर कुछ प्रदेशों में जो ट्राइबल्स हैं, उनको किन्हीं कारणों की वजह से आदिवासी घोषित नहीं किया जा सका है। उन्हीं में से एक उत्तर प्रदेश भी है, जहां के आदिवासियों को अभी केन्द्र से मान्यता नहीं मिली है। भूतपूर्व गृह मंत्री, श्री के. सी. पंत ने पहाड़ों की जो पांच जातियां हैं उन्होंने एक स्पेशल नॉटिफिकेशन करा कर अनुसूचित आदिवासी घोषित कर दिया था लेकिन और जो दूसरी बहुत सारी जातियां थीं, वे अभी तक अनुसूचित आदिवासी जाति घोषित नहीं हुई हैं। बिहार में वे आदिवासी हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां नहीं हैं। मध्य प्रदेश में हैं, हमारे यहां नहीं हैं। जब मैं इस सदन में पहली बार आया था, तो मैं ने सब से पहले आवाज उठाई थी कि उत्तर प्रदेश की आदिवासी जातियों को मान्यता दी जाए और जिस तरह के विकास के कार्यक्रम अन्य राज्यों में चलाए जा रहे हैं, वे हमारे यहां भी चलाए जाएं। इस बारे में अभी तक एक बिल इस सदन में नहीं आ सका है जबकि होम मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस बारे में यह निश्चित आश्वासन दिया था कि हिन्दुस्तान के बहुत से क्षेत्रों में जो आदिवासियों को और हरिजनों को मान्यता देने की बात है, उस पर विचार किया जाएगा। ये जो लोग अभी पिछड़े हुए हैं, उनको मान्यता दी जाए और मान्यता देकर उनको सारे संबैधानिक अधिकार दिये जाने चाहिए और उनको अधिक और सामाजिक अधिकार मिलने चाहिए, यह मैं आप से मांग करता हूँ।

**सभापति महोदय :** अब आप समाप्त करें। दो मिनट में आप समाप्त कर दें।



श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : मैं दो मिन्ट ही लूंगा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप बिरोधी दल को देखें। खाली इनकी बातें ही होती हैं। चौधरी चरण सिंह को इस बजट में कुछ दिखाई ही नहीं देता है। उन्होंने जो अपनी प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त की है, वह आप के सामने है और सब उस को जानते हैं। आप को याद होगा कि जब वे वित्त मंत्री बने थे, तो उन्होंने एक ऐसा बजट इस सदन में रखा था, एक ऐसा बजट देश को दिया था, जिस से लोगों की कमर टेंढ़ी हो गई और अभी तक सीधी नहीं हुई है। माननीय फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर ने जो इस बार बजट प्रस्तुत किया है...

सभापति महोदय : शान्ति, शान्ति।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : मैं इन लोगों को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि इस बजट में क्या है।

सभापति महोदय : मेरी बात सुन लीजिए। चौधरी चरण सिंह जी तो इस सदन को भूलते जा रहे हैं। अच्छा होता यदि आप भी उनको भूल जाते।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : हमारे जो भारतीय जनता पार्टी वाले हैं, इनकी अर्थ-व्यवस्था के बारे में आप जानते हैं, महज षड़ियाली आंसू बहाते हैं और गांधीवादी और समाजवाद की बात अब करने लगे हैं। इन्होंने जो अपना कार्यक्रम कोचीन में बतलाया है, वह बहुत ही हास्यास्पद है। ये शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की बात करते हैं लेकिन गुजरात में जिस तरह से इन्होंने किया और सारे हिन्दुस्तान में किया।

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा (दोसा) : कार्यक्रम नहीं, क्रियाकर्म कहिये।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : जी, हाँ, 11:55 क्रियाकर्म कर रहे हैं और निश्चित

तौर पर न इनकी कोई दिशा है और न कार्यक्रम है। यह जो हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के लिए विकास की बात करते हैं, तो केवल एक सस्ती लोकप्रियता के लिए ऐसी बातें करते हैं और जनमानस को भ्रमित करने का इनका इरादा है। सन् 1977 में हिन्दुस्तान की जनता को भ्रमित कर के, जो थोड़े समय के लिए इनको सफलता मिली थी...

सभापति महोदय : अब आप समाप्त करें।

श्री राम प्यारे पनिका : मैं समाप्त कर रहा हूँ। मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जिस रास्ते पर हमारी सरकार जा रही है और हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने जिस तरह का बजट प्रस्तुत किया है और उसका कार्यान्वयन करने की स्थिति आई है, उसका हम स्वागत करते हैं और मंत्रीजी को धन्यवाद देते हैं। एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स के लिए जो बात की है और आदिवासियों को इकट्ठा कर के विकास कार्यों में लगाने की जो व्यवस्था की है, उस के लिए निश्चित तौर पर केन्द्रीय स्तर पर, सेन्ट्रल लेबिल पर एक सैल बनाया जाए, कोई मशीनरी स्थापित की जाए, जो यह देखे कि जो धन राज्यों को दिया जाता है, वह ठीक से खर्च हो।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस फाइनेन्स बिल का पुरजोर समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Poonani): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Budget definitely contains several welcome features and the hon. Finance Minister has added to these welcome features by announcing several other concessions while now moving his motion for consideration of the Finance Bill. These concessions which he has now announced also are very

timely and surely and certainly the Government deserves every credit for all those welcome features that are there in the Budget and in the fiscal measures that have been envisaged in the Finance Bill.

We wish well to the Government in these days of economic difficulties. When I have risen, I have risen not in any spirit of criticising the policy that has been adopted. The policy adopted is quite correct. My only submission is that the approach which is a little timid ought to have been bolder. We have to see the fiscal measures from an important point of view as to how far they can put our economy back on the rails. We have to see what should be the main objectives that confront us today. We find that the need of the hour is increase in production and containing inflationary—trends, as also boosting of the investment and savings climate. Here, indeed reliefs of Rs. 146 crores have been given and we thank the Government for that. These reliefs would definitely go a long way towards boosting the investment climate. But while we thank the Government for all these reliefs and concessions, we must point out that they are rather inadequate. I must say that the Government is placing all its hopes on meeting the inflationary potentialities in our economy on a high growth rate. My respectful submission is that it is rather unlikely that the higher growth rate will neutralise the inflationary potential of oil price hike and hikes in prices of steel, coal, railway transportation, etc.

May I also draw the attention of the Government to one other important point. In a developing economy indirect taxation plays a very important part in economic growth. Taxation on commodities is a very important fiscal instrument and we find that the Finance Minister has raised for the Centre Rs. 271 crores by way of additional indirect taxation, mainly through customs duty modifications. In the case of customs duties, auxiliary duties have been increased by 5 per cent

*ad valorem* on all categories of imports, with a few exceptions. I must urge upon the Government that though these are expected to yield an additional revenue of about Rs. 215 crores, there is need for a re-look at this measure in order to see that the inflationary trends are contained.

There is increasing dependence on excise duties. Now, it is a welcome feature that in the present budget, we do not have so many additional excise duties except in the case of textiles. We congratulate the Government for that. I may also quote from this paper Commerce. In its issue dated 7th March, 1981 it says:

"That he (Finance Minister) has not raised any excise duties for revenue purposes is itself an innovation which would be watched by experts with considerable interest."

The credit definitely goes to the Government for having refrained from levying these excise duties. But the point I am making is that there is an increased dependence no doubt on the excise duties. And the average rate of excise duties as today stands is estimated at 20 per cent. This is a considerable financial burden on the common people. It reduces the real income of the common man and increases prices. The Jha Committee made certain estimates. As per their estimate, the rate of excise duty is as high as 10 per cent in the case of levy sugar and 35 per cent in the case of free sale sugar. It is 10 per cent on biscuits, jams, etc. and 25 per cent on domestic electrical appliances. All these lead to cost escalation resulting in cost push inflation. Therefore, while we have this welcome feature of no further and additional excise duties, yet I submit that the need of the hour was to reduce the excise duties as they today stand. Reduction of the excise duties on several products would have helped in curtailing their prices. But no attempt has been made in the present Budget to lessen substantially the high tax burden on commodities by lowering these excise

[Shri G. M. Banatwalla]

duties. On the contrary, I must also take exception to the additional excise duty in the case of textiles which has been raised from 10 per cent to 15 per cent. This is a shock that has been administered to the textile industry at a time when it is facing severe cost escalations. I would, therefore, once again urge upon the Government that in view of the present state of our economy, these matters should receive a re-look and necessary action.

The rate of income-tax on the first slab of Rs. 15001 to 25000 is 30 per cent. It is important to note that initial rate of taxation is as high as 30 per cent. I would, therefore, submit that such an initial rate of taxation, this high rate of taxation at the margin encourages people to evade taxes. It was John F. Due who had observed:

"The impact of taxes at the margin must be minimized. The basic rates tend to encourage additional work, the marginal rates to discourage it."

15.24 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI in the Chair.]

I therefore, submit that this initial rate of taxation at the rate of 30 per cent on the first slab is so high that it will encourage evasion of taxes. Moreover, the highest rate of taxation, namely, 66 per cent is on an income of Rs. 2 lakh. It ought to have been on an income of Rs. 1 lakh.

This would also have been in conformity with the observation of the Finance Minister himself who said in his Budget Speech:

"My judgment that lower rate of taxation will promote better voluntary compliance seems to have been vindicated."

I, therefore, hope that the question of smooth progression in the income-

tax structure will also get due consideration at the hands of the Government. The exemption limit has been raised to Rs. 15,000. We thank the Government, but I must once again draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the repeated demand that just as dearness allowance is related to inflation, similarly for the exemption limit also there should be system of automatic annual adjustments in relation to the rate of inflation. But not only is there no such procedure, but also when the Finance Minister went to Bombay, he even made a statement saying that this exemption limit of Rs. 15,000 is final for all years to come so long as the present Government is in power. Sir, I hope that the Finance Minister would consider the question of exemption limit in relation to the inflation that we have.

Sir, I must just, in brief, make one or two observations and then conclude. There is already the Thirty-third Report of the Estimates Committee with respect to customs administration. Several recommendations are there. I must draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the land customs stations on Indo-Nepal and Indo-Bangladesh borders do not have adequate facilities. Similarly, the state of affairs at the Attari Railway Station on the Pakistan border is also highly unsatisfactory and immediate steps be taken in order to see that better facilities are provided everywhere.

Then, Sir, with my last point I will conclude. It is with respect to the foreign exchange regulations. Several restrictions are placed on Indians working abroad. For example, prior approval of the Reserve Bank is necessary for investing in business, industries and Real Estates even when the sources of such investments are directly attributable to genuine remittances from abroad through proper banking channels. Such remittances are never meant for repatriation in foreign exchange at later dates. Such restrictions which are there in the foreign exchange regulations, which

unduly hamper foreign exchange remittances and which are a source of great inconveniences to the persons working abroad need to be scrapped. The customs regulations should also be liberalised so that the *bona fide* passengers are not harassed.

Sir, with these words we wish well to the Government in these days of difficult economic situation because the success of the Finance Minister and the success of the Government will be the success really of the common man who is faced with a lot of hardships.

— With these words I thank you.

SHRI DAULATSINHJI JADEJA (Jamnagar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am grateful to you for giving me the opportunity to speak on the Finance Bill which I stand to support.

Sir, I would like to congratulate the Government for the measures that they have taken to support and to encourage the small man through the small-scale industries. According to a recent announcement, the small-scale industries which employ less than 10 persons are exempted from some of the excise duties that he has announced earlier.

I congratulate on behalf of the small scale industries.

While congratulating the hon. Minister, I take this opportunity to make a few remarks on subjects which have not been mentioned so far. There is one item which we have introduced recently and that is the relief that is being given to the Sailing Vessels Industry. Till now this was one industry which was not helped by any scheduled bank nor any organisation, nor even by the Shipping Development Fund Committee and more so by the financial assistance that they were getting from the Centre. It was the Sailing Vessels Industry which had to pay 10-1/2 per cent interest, whereas the other ship owners who acquired ships from abroad or

who were big ship-owners were saying 4-1/2 per cent interest. I once again congratulate the Government for having considered this view and brought the Sailing Vessels Industry at par with the other shipping industry whereby now the Sailing Vessels Industry will be paying 4-1/2 per cent on the loan that they get from the Government.

On the one hand you have given relief to the Sailing Vessels Industry, it has been noticed that the Central Government which gave Rs. 2 crores as financial aid has now come to Rs. 1-1/2 crores. I would plead that this industry is manned by the locals, by the small people, by people who have this as the only source of livelihood. There are nearly 15,000 sailing vessels in this country employing 3 lakh families. They almost carry 9 lakh tonnes of cargo. The Indian share in shipping which was 39 per cent a few years back has now dwindled to 32 per cent. The shipping industry day by day has been gaining importance but the people of this country are losing their share in this trade. It is high time that we give the shipping industry its due place and share. It should not be treated only as a hand-maiden to the trade. It should be treated as an industry by itself. It should be given all the incentives, all the facilities, what the other industries also get. I am confident that the Government will consider this issue and raise the assistance that should be given to the Sailing Vessels Industry so that it can compete with the foreign ships and we can carry cargo from India to the Gulf countries and to the Middle East.

Government in its endeavour are trying their best to help the common man, but there seems to be a break somewhere in the line in the functioning of the Government. I would like to draw the attention of the Government, more so of the Ministry of Agriculture, to the functioning of the Food Corporation of India. I shall cite an example how

[Shri Daulatsinhji Jadeja]

the Government means well but the people at the lower level can upset the Government programme. In my own area of Saurashtra, 'godowns' were acquired by the Food Corporation of India at 15 paise per sq. foot only. They require godowns to-day also. Even the Minister of Agriculture had made an announcement that these godowns will not be given back to the owners. But what has happened? Order has been issued that these 'godams' may be given back to the owners. If they are of no use, you may give them back. But tomorrow you are going to import foodgrains, fertilisers and you will require those 'godams'. You were paying previously 15 paise per sq. foot but now the owners will be getting from F.C.I. Rs. 1.05 per sq. foot. The Government may mean well but these people at the lower level are upsetting this. More attention should be paid to these points.

Another point which I would like to raise is about the railways. We have a broad-gauge conversion in Saurashtra which is known as the Viramgam-Okha conversion. It was a multi-crore project. They have come to a limit, from Viramgam to Hapa where there is only 10 per cent of revenue to the railways and they have stopped the work there. They have allotted Rs. 4 crores more. A sum of Rs. 4 crores is going to take them nowhere because what is required today is Rs. 17 crores. Out of Rs. 17 crores, only Rs. 4 crores are sanctioned. These Rs. 4 crores are going to take them only up to the next station where also there is no revenue. The entire railway line from where the railways were getting 100 per cent revenue, they have converted only that portion where they were getting 10 per cent revenue and where there is 90 per cent revenue, where the industries are, where the ports are, where the depots are, and all that, the railways are not going any further to convert it. That is where I

would like to draw the attention of the Government that when we plan, let us plan in a way in which the nation as a whole, the railways and the Government will get the maximum benefit. I would request the Government to give a fresh look to this and see that the conversion programme is implemented fully.

Now, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a very important matter to which the Government of India have given a lot of recognition and that is the Department of Environment. As we all know, our Prime Minister has taken a keen interest in this field and it is because of her that we have a separate Department of Environment. This Department should have been there much earlier. It is a department where you and I are also concerned with. But we do not know more about it. We do not take more interest in this, Environment control, wild life protection and knowing what nature also concerns the common man, the small man, the farmer, the villager and the worker in the factory. (It concerns him more than probably you and I.

Here is a department which is important to the common man. We only sit here and talk about it. We do not know what is environment control. We only make speeches saying that forests should be preserved; that animals should be saved; that shooting should not be allowed and that fishing should be controlled and all that. We are only talking about it. Who is the person concerned with it? It is the man who lives in the villages; it is the man who lives at the lake-side or the river-side or at the sea. It is he who is concerned more with it. Don't think that he does not know what is environment control; don't think that he is not interested in this thing. But he has his own limitations. Today, you ask him and say, "You should not cut trees." What does he do for fuel? If he has no other source of fuel, he is bound to cut trees. When we talk about

these things, let us also talk about alternatives.

I gave you an example of forests. I am not talking of the Himalayan forests; I am not talking of forests on the Western Ghats. I am talking of small forests; I am talking of those areas in the country, in the semi-desert areas, in the desert areas, where every plant is useful and the villager also knows that it is useful. But he is helpless. He knows that the plant is going to be useful later on. If he allows the plant to grow, he is going to die. What is he going to use as fuel? There should be an alternative source of fuel for him.

We should bring the environment control programme to the village level. We can make it a success if we involve the village panchayats, the taluk panchayats, the people who are locally concerned with it. I can take you around in my area. I can show you the people, the village panchayats who have passed unanimous resolutions asking for protection of wild life, protection of environment, protection of trees and all that. But they are not recognised. They are not even being asked by the State Government to come out with their programmes. I would go to the extent of saying that this meagre amount of Rs. 6 crores that has been given to the Department of Environment should be raised to a much bigger amount and the village panchayats allowed to make use of that. Only if you make village panchayats make use of them, and through them save your wild life, you can save your environment.

Your grow-more-trees campaign can only be effected if you involve all these local people in it.

I thank you for giving me this opportunity and I support the Bill.

\*SHRI A. K. BALAN (Ottapalam):  
Mr. Chairman, first of all I congratulate

the Finance Minister for his psychological presentation of the budget as well as the Finance Bill. Now I am going to speak in Malayalam.

Sir, I have been attentively listening to the various points raised by the hon. Members who spoke on the budget as well as the Finance Bill. While presenting the budget the hon. Finance Minister has said that his budget would succeed in full measure in controlling prices and solving unemployment. At this moment I do not want to talk about the rise in prices that has occurred after the presentation of the budget. Sir, we got independence in 1947. It was political independence. But I would like to ask the hon. Finance Minister one question. Has he ever tried to find out whether we have got economic independence even after 33 years of independence. It is high time that we sat up and seriously ponder as to what is the vital factor which is controlling the economy of our country. The Indian economy have gone completely under the control of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Monopoly Capitalism of our country. I happen to see the statistical outlay of 1981 regarding the assets of the big 20 monopoly houses in India. The figures given therein are quite revealing. In 1972 the Tatas had an asset of 641.93 crores, in 1977 it went upto 1069.28 crores. That is to say, that their assets have gone up by 81 per cent. In 1972 Birla had assets worth Rs. 589.40 crores. In 1977 it went upto 1870.20 crores. The increase is 66 per cent. In 1972 Mafatlal Assets were to the tune of 183.74 crores. In 1977 it went upto 285.63 crores. That shows an increase of 55 per cent. Then comes the foreign debt and the internal debt. If you look at the figures you would reach the irresistible conclusion that it is not the Indira Congress of the Government that is

\*The original speech was delivered in Malayalam.

[Shri A. K. Balan]

controlling the economy. While speaking on the Finance Bill last year Mr. Satish Aggarwal had stated very clearly that the Government of India is just a slave of the International Monetary Fund. I do not want to go into any details about that. By the end of March 1979 our foreign debt stood at a staggering figure of 23342 crores. Out of this Rs. 18582 are in the shape of loan and the rest is in grants. It is very clear from this that our economy is being controlled by the Capitalist countries. It is an undeniable fact that the ruling class has absolutely no control over the Indian economy and that it is the Capitalist World which is controlling it. Our loans from USA is Rs. 3703 crores. The figures in respect of loans from USSR is Rs. 1481 crores. From UK it is 1419 crores and from West Germany it is Rs. 1474 crores. From Japan it is Rs. 704 crores, while from the OPEC countries it is Rs. 1271 crores. Loans from other countries stand at Rs. 1976 crores. Apart from all this they have taken loans to the tune of Rs. 6604 crores from IBRD and IDA. Now, what do these figures signify? It only shows that our country is moving closer every day to the Capitalist countries. Instead of getting closer to the Socialist countries and receiving more and more financial aid from them, we are getting closer to the Capitalist countries. The IMF has almost become the International Finance Minister. In this situation it is abundantly clear that the controlling levers of our economy is in the hands of the 20 monopoly houses in our country and the IMF and World Bank. Sir, I do not want to dilate on this. Our country is moving from serious economic crisis to a more serious political crisis. The hon. Finance Minister must give a very careful thought as to what should be done to save the country from this crisis. If we fail to do so then the Government will not be able to lift the country out of this serious eco-

nomie crisis in which it has landed the country. If the economic crisis leads us to the serious political crisis which I have referred to then it won't be possible for the Government to save this country. In that situation the country will be passing into the hands of vested interests and chauvinists. If the Finance Minister is seriously concerned about the situation and want to save the country from such a dangerous slide towards chauvinists and vested interests getting into control of the affairs in the country, then we will have to take a more firm and effective decision. This Government must take a realistic and unambiguously firm decision on liberating this country from the clutches of monopoly capitalists and their agents. But that is not what is happening. If you look at the history of this country during the past 33 years what do we find? In 1971 the total unemployed in the country were 51 lakhs. In 1978 it went upto 12678000. In 1954 the total number of landless people in the country are 61 lakhs. By 1971-72 the number went upto two crores and fourteen lakhs. I am quoting these figures from the National Sample Survey. Take the case of bonded labour. Sir, our country is independent. The great principles of democracy, socialism and secularism are enshrined in our Constitution but no where in the world you will find the slave labour that exists in our country. What is the condition of these people? According to the SC and ST Commission in 1978-79 as many as 93147 bonded labours, were identified. If you want these people to feel that they are really living in an independent country then very effective measures will have to be initiated to rehabilitate them. My charge is that this is not being done. I do not want to go into any details about this matter.

Sir, I would like to say a word about education. What is the condition of education today? From 1970-71 to 1979-80, the average growth rate

of education has come down to 4 per cent. It is a very serious problem. During the period between 1960-61 and 1969-70, the rate of growth of education was 14 per cent. But after 10 years it has come down to mere 4 per cent. This is what is stated in the UGC Report of 1979-80. Why is it that the Government is showing less interest in education. If you look at the plan outlay you would be horrified to find that only 3 per cent of the total plan outlay has been earmarked for education. The rulers have started thinking that education is not that essential. Only a thinking man has intelligence, and only an educated and intelligent mind will think more and more. Since that will constitute a threat to the vested interests the Government has sought to throttle higher education in this fashion.

Sir, I would raise one more important point and then conclude. Even in this serious economic crisis the Government of Kerala is going ahead with certain popular measures designed to do good to the people. When the Nayanar Government came to power it publically announced that there won't be any landless person in Kerala. Each and every farmer in Kerala today owns at least 10 cents of land. Not a single harijan is there in our State who does not own a few cents of land. The Government had also announced that three years after registration in Employment Exchanges an amount of Rs. 50 would be paid as unemployment allowance. There is not a single youth who does not get unemployment allowance in Kerala. The Government promised old age pension to agricultural labourers after they attained the age of 60. There is not a single agricultural worker in Kerala who does not get Rs. 45 as old-age pension. When such welfare measures have been undertaken and implemented by the State Government, the Central Government has almost imposed an economic blockade on the Government of Kerala. I would re-

quest the hon. Finance Minister that they should not do that against a Government which is going ahead with definite economic programmes. You must have a good sense to learn from what that Government is doing. Sir, the per capita income is the lowest and density of population is highest in Kerala. Therefore, such a negative attitude should not be taken by the Centre towards the problems of Kerala. The legislations that the Kerala Government has formulated are a model to the rest of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Will you please conclude now.

MR. A. K. BALAN: Sir, I am concluding in two minutes. We initiated a legislation for the distribution of the surplus land. This was an amending bill which sought to delete the obnoxious provision of 6-C that was introduced in the Land Reforms Act which resulted in no surplus land being made available. This particular provision sought to validate all illegal transfers of land since 1964. The amending bill which the Government of Kerala initiated to delete the above provisions is awaiting the Presidential Assent. It has been lying with the Central Government for past one and a half years. If this Government were serious about the distribution of surplus land among the poor than it should have given assent to this important legislation without any loss of time. But unfortunately, that has not been done.

I would like to raise another very serious problem. The hon. Finance Minister is very well aware of that. On many occasions we have submitted memoranda to the Finance Minister regarding this. The Kerala Dinesh Biri Cooperative Society is an institution which is employing 22,000 people. They will lose employment today or tomorrow. The Government is duty bound to protect them. You have collected an amount of



[Shri A. K. Balan]

Rs. 1.05 crores by way of excise duty. In order to save these workers from impending starvation, you should either withdraw the excise duty or give them special rebate. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to take some immediate decision in this regard so that this industry and the 22,000 workers are saved, Sir, I am winding up.

(In English) This budget is psychologically perfect, politically clever and economically unsound.

With these words I conclude my speech.

**श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा (जम्मू) :** जनाबेवाला, मैं थोड़ा परेशान हूँ आपकी तरफ देखकर ।

**सभापति महोदय :** मुझे देखकर आप क्यों परेशान हैं ?

**श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा :** अगर आपके पास घंटी नहीं होती तो मैं परेशान नहीं होता ।

**सभापति महोदय :** लेकिन क्या कभी कोई इस पद पर ऐसा बैठा है जिसके पास घंटी न हो ?

**श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा :** इसीलिये आपका पद ही परेशान करता है, आपकी शकल परेशान नहीं करती है ।

जनाबेवाला, मैं फाइनेंस 'मिनिस्टर साहब को चन्द बातों के लिये मुबारकबाद देता हूँ । एक बात तो यह है कि कोयला और बिजली की पैदावार बढ़ाने और उसको जगह जगह पहुँचाने के लिये इस श्वर्नमेंट वे जो काम किया है वह काबिले तारीफ है । इसी सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आइन्दा के लिये आप बिजली की पैदावार बढ़ाना चाहते हैं तो जितनी बिजली

पानी से पैदा हो सकती है और जितने वाटर रिसेसर्ज हमारे पास हैं उनका मुकामल इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिए । जिस तरह से पहले उसकी तरफ आहिस्ता आहिस्ता तवज्जह दी जाती थी उसके बजाये अगर आप पूरी तवज्जह उसकी तरफ देंगे और तेजी के साथ पानी से बिजली पैदा करेंगे तो आज जो आपके पानी के रिसेसर्ज जाया हो रहे हैं वह बच जायेंगे । अगर आप कोयला ही इस्तेमाल करते हैं तो वह भी फ्यूचर जेनरेशन के लिये नहीं बचेगा । पानी आपको बार बार मिलता रहेगा, पानी की सप्लाई खत्म नहीं होगी । इस लिये आपको हाइड्रो इलेक्ट्रीसिटी की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए । जो मैन दरिया है चाहे वह जम्मू कश्मीर में हो, चाहे वह हिमाचल प्रदेश में हो, उन को आप टैप कर सकते हैं । व्यास, सतलुज, आदि नदियों के पानी को आप टैप कर सकते हैं, यदि नहीं करेंगे तो बिजली का संकट खत्म नहीं होगा और यदि आपने इसकी तरफ पूरी तवज्जह दी होती तो आज बिजली का संकट नहीं होता । जो आपकी एग्जीक्यूटिव की ग़ोय है या उद्योग की वह बिजली के बगैर नहीं हो सकती है ?

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आम लोगों की भलाई के लिये मिलने वाले रिसेसर्ज के लिये इन्होंने थोड़ा फर्मस्टेन्ड लिया है, वह काबिले तारीफ है । सरकार पर यह इल्जाम लगाया जाता है कि वह नैंगोशियबिलिटी के प्रिंसिपल को घाटल करना चाहते हैं । सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि गरीब आदमी की गरीबी को दूर किया जाय । रिसेसर्ज को इस तरह से तकसीम किया जाये कि वे चन्द आदमियों के हाथों में न पड़े, चाहे वह इन्डस्ट्रीज के अन्दर हों, चाहे सरकारी मशीनरी में हों, चाहे ज़िमीदारी में हों या चाहे किसी दूसरी जगह

हों जितने भी रिसोर्स हैं, उन को ज्यादा से ज्यादा लोगों के लिये बचाना है उसके मुताल्लिक एक स्टेन्ड लेना जरूरी था, जो कि इन्होंने लिया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि मौजूदा बाहन के आगे कोई नैगोसिएबिलिटी ही नहीं सकती है।

जहां तक ग्राम आदमी की भलाई का ताल्लुक है, उनके साथ किसी को खेलने की इजाजत नहीं दी जा सकती है, चाहे वह किसी भी प्रिंसिपल को लेकर आये। उसके लिये जो आपने और हमारी सरकार ने स्टेन्ड लिया है, वह काबिले तारीफ है। आपने एग््रीकल्चर इन्डस्ट्रीज और स्माल स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज में कुछ कन्सेशन दी है ताकि प्रोडक्शन बढ़े। इस संबंध में भी कुछ नुकताचीनी हुई है कहा गया है कि हम जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर को जो कन्सेशन देते हैं, उसमें मोनोपोलि हाउसेस फायदा उठाते हैं या मल्टी-नेशनल्स फायदा उठाते हैं—ऐसी बात नहीं है। स्माल सैक्टर में जो आपने कन्सेशन दी है, उससे प्रोडक्शन में इजाफा होगा और वे ग्रान-एम्पलाइमेंट में कामी करेंगे, चाहे वह किसी भी शकल में हो। उससे बेकारी में कामी होगी और कन्स्यूमर्स गुड्स हैं, स्माल स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज में पैदा हो सकती हैं, और ग्रान-एम्पलाइमेंट उसमें कम हो सकता है। इस ओर भी जो आपने कदम उठाये हैं, वे भी काबिले तारीफ हैं।

इसके अलावा भी आपने काम किये हैं, जो आपके डिपार्टमेंट से संबंधित हैं। मसलन इनकम टैक्स आपने 15 हजार तक छीड़ दिया और यह भी एलान किया है कि ऊपरी सीमा के लिये 60 प्रतिशत तक लायेंगे। जो लोग उस अंगली स्लेब में आते हैं उनके रेट तो आपने बढ़ा दिये, ताकि आप को पिछले साल जो इनकम टैक्स से आमदनी थी वह फी हो जाये। 15 हजार से

ऊपर के स्लेब में जो लोग आते हैं, उनको इसका फायदा नहीं मिला। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि थोड़ा सा कन्सेशन, 15 हजार से ऊपर ग्रुप को मंहगाई को देखते हुए देना चाहिए। बहरहाल, जो भी आपने फैसला किया है, वह सोच समझकर किया होगा। उसके मुताल्लिक आप हम लोगों को एक्सप्लेन कर देंगे, क्योंकि यह ग्राम लोगों के अन्दर खयाल है, जिसको आप वाजह कर देंगे। आइन्दा के लिये जो पालिसी आप अख्तियार कर रहे हैं, उसको भी आप वाजह कर देंगे।

एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि "टैक्सेशन-एज-ए-होन" का हमारी प्राइसेज पर क्या असर पड़ रहा है—इस को देखना चाहिये। हमारे प्राइस लेवल पर इस का क्या असर है, खास तौर से इंडायरेक्ट टैक्सेज का क्या असर पड़ रहा है—इस पर गौर करना चाहिये और इन को रेशननाइज करना चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि आप ने डायरेक्ट टैक्सेज को रेशनला ज करने के लिये एक कमेटी बना दी है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो पुराने केसेज री-ओपन करने का आप को हक है, जैसे कोई सही इन्फॉर्मेशन न दे या किसी ने गलत रिटर्न दी हो या कोई बात छिपाई हो—उन केसेज को आप 8-9 साल तक री-ओपन कर सकते हैं, यहां तक तो यह ठीक है, लेकिन जहां इन्टरप्रेटेशन आफ ला के मुताबिक सेटि-लमेंट हो गया हो उस को 8-9 साल के बाद फिर से री-ओपन करते हैं तो इस का इकानामी के ग्रोथ पर अच्छा असर नहीं होता, इस से टैक्स-मेअर का कान्फिडेंस मारा जाता है। चूंकि आप इस कानून को अज-सरे-नी तश्कील दे रहे हैं इस बात को भी सामने रखना चाहिये। टैक्स का कुल कितना बोझ टैक्स पेअर

[श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा]

पर पड़ता है—इस के ऊपर भी तद्वज्रह देने चाहिये

16 hrs.

कुछ टैक्सिज स्टेट सेक्टर में हैं। जब स्टेट वाले आप से काफी लड़-झगड़ कर रिजोर्सिज ले जाते हैं और जब उन रिजोर्सिज का इस्तेमाल उन मखसूस कामों पर नहीं होता है तो इस से ग्राम आदमी को नुकसान पहुँचता है। वह आप को मजबूर कर के पैसा ले जाते हैं और अपनी बर्बादी से खर्च करते हैं, फिर भी कहते हैं कि स्टेट में आदमी नहीं है—यह बात समझ में नहीं आती है। आज पोजीशन यह है कि जो चाहते हैं ले जाते हैं, जैसे चाहते हैं खर्च करते हैं, अगर आप पूछते हैं जो तरह-तरह की आवाजें उठाते हैं। स्टेट को मजबूर करना चाहिये कि व टैक्स काबिले बढ़ाई हद तक रखें। मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ—आप ने जो टैक्स लाज बनाये हैं उन के एन्फार्समेंट में कोई रिथायस नहीं होनी चाहिये। मैं तो आप की इस कार्यवाही को बेलकम करता हूँ—जो आप ने शुमाली हिन्दुस्तान में, श्री बम्बई में तो कार्पेट मैन्युफैक्चरर्स और एक्सपोर्ट का काम करते हैं उन पर छापे मारे हैं। जहाँ-जहाँ आप ने छापे मारे, आप ने देखा होगा कि उन से कितना नाजायज धन आप की नोटिस में आया है। हमारे जम्मू-काश्मीर में जो छापे पड़े, पहले भी पड़े थे, उस को लोगों ने बेलकम किया है। मैं लोगों से मिल कर आया हूँ, किसी ने उस के लिये ऐतराज नहीं किया है। बल्कि हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब ने भी बड़ी दिलेरी के साथ, बड़े अच्छे तरीके से कह दिया है कि वह ऐसे छापों के हक में है।

उन को सिर्फ एक ही डर था कि इस का हमारे टूरिस्ट-सीजन पर ख़राब असर न पड़े। बहरहाल उन्होंने स्टैटमेंट दिया है और हमारे दूसरे लोग भी इस से खुश हैं और सब चाहते हैं कि जहाँ भी काला धन है, नाजायज धन है चाहे वह किसी भी सोर्स से आया हो, भाग बचने से आया हो, बचत बचने से आया हो या रिश्वत या किसी भी तरह से आया हो, उस को बाहर निकालना चाहिये और हर जगह से निकालना चाहिये, सारे हिन्दुस्तान से निकालना चाहिये। जब हम कोई कानून बनाते हैं तो यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि जो उस पर अमल न करता हो उसको ती छुट्टी मिल जाय, लेकिन जो कानून को मानता हो, उस पर अमल करता हो, उस के लिये परेशानी पैदा हो जाय—इस तरफ भी तद्वज्रह देने की जरूरत है। इसलिये सभी लोगों ने आपकी इस कार्यवाही को बेलकम किया है और जो ज्यादाती हमारे स्टाफ के साथ हुई है उस के साथ हमारी पूरी हमदर्दी है। हमें सोचना चाहिये कि यह किस ने किया है और कैसे आइन्दा इस को रोका जा सकता है।

श्री डोगरा साहब कह रहे थे कि देहातों में किसानों और टेनेन्टस का ख्याल नहीं रखा जाता है। मैं फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब से एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ—हालांकि यह आप का महकमा नहीं है, लेकिन आप अपनी इकानामी को तब तक कन्सोलिडेट नहीं कर सकते, जब तक सारे मुल्क में लैंड-रिफार्म नहीं हो जाते। मैं हिन्दुस्तान के काफी हिस्सों में फिरा हूँ—मैंने देखा है कि अभी तक बेस्वर हिस्सों में लैंड-रिफार्म का काम नहीं हो पाया है। बेरी स्टेट में एक बफा लैंड रिफार्म का काम हो चुका है, दूसरी

बार धन हो रहा है, कुछ दिक्कतें इस में धरा नहीं हैं, यह बात सही है, लेकिन जहाँ हो गया है उससे वहाँ गरीब धादमी सुधी है। जहाँ नहीं हुआ है वहाँ धाज खेत-मजदूरों को खेतों में काम नहीं मिल रहा है। धाज सब काम मशीनों के साथ किया जाता है, बिजाई, कटाई, हल चलाई सब काम मशीनों से होता है, जिस का नतीजा यह है कि गरीब धादमियों के लिये कोई काम नहीं रह गया है। महंगाई बढ़ती जा रही है, रिम्पून्टरेटिव ब्राइसेज देना भी जरूरी है, जो धाज ने बिया है—यह सब ठीक है। लेकिन जो धादमी गंभव में रहते हैं, जिन के पास कोई रोजगार नहीं बचा है—उनकी जिम्बदारी भी स्टेट गवर्नमेंट पर है, कन्ड सरवार पर भी है, उन क लिये धाज क्या करेंगे? धाज उन की मशीनों को चालू रखने के लिय बँकनी मुमालिक से तेल मंगाने हैं, अपनी कीमतों बिदेशी मुद्रा खर्च करते हैं, धाज के अपने सोलोज पर भी तेल निकालने का जोर पड़ रहा है—जबकि हमारी मैन-पावर बेकार बँठी है। गांवों में यह चीज कब तक चलेगी, कब तक धाज इस तरह से कम्प्रोमाइज करेंगे? जब तक उन मैन-पावर का यूटिलाइजेशन नहीं होगा, काम नहीं चलेगा। गांव में रहने वाले बहुत कम लोगों का जमीन से संबंध रह गया है। मैं कहता हूँ कि इस से धनछा तो पहले ही था। जब से लैंड रिफार्म का हीवा खडा कर दिया गया है, लोग बेकार हो गये हैं। जमींदारों ने मुजारों को बेदखल कर दिया और मजदूरों को काम देना बन्द कर दिया और वे किसी धादमी को अपनी जमीन के धन्दर नहीं धाने देते यहां तक की बाप बेटे को भी जमीन के धन्दर धासानी से नहीं घूसने देता। पहले तो लोगों को खेतों में काम मिल जाता था मगर धाज कटाई होती है, बीजाई होती है या दूसरे काम जो होते हैं वे मशीनों

से होते हैं और गांवों में मजदूरों को मजदूरी करने को नहीं मिलती। इस बात को धाज कैसे संभालेंगे। जमीन कुदरत की पैदा की हुई है और इन्सान की पैदा की हुई नहीं है। यहां पर भी मैं यह देखता हूँ कि कभी किसी ने जमीन की नाजायज तकसीम का सावल नहीं उठाया जबकि मोनोपली हाउसिज और मल्टी-नेशनल के बारे में बहुत शोर मचता है। जहाँ तक जमीन के मसले की बात है, मेरा कहना यह है कि इस की तकसीम सही ढंग से होनी चाहिए। मैं जो यह कह रहा हूँ, तो इसका मतलब धाज यह न लगायें कि मेरे पास जमीन नहीं है और मैं बगैर जमीन के हूँ। मैं भी उस खानदान से ताल्लुक रखता हूँ, जिस के पास जमीन है लेकिन हम ने अपनी जमीन बगैर किसी कानून के उन लोगों में तकसीम कर दी जिन के पास जमीन नहीं थी और जो गरीब लोग थे। जो गरीब है, उन को भी रहने का हक है। हम ने जम्मू व कश्मीर में जो लैंड रिफार्म किये, तो 182 कैनाल जमीन जमींदारों के पास रहने दी और बाकी बिना मुआवजे के मुजारों को तकसीम कर दी। उन लोगों को जमीन देने से ऐसा कोई लैंड लॉर्ड नहीं है, जो भूखा मरा हो। हर धादमी काम पर लग गया। धाज मैं यह देखता हूँ कि गांवों में ऐसे लोग हैं, जिन के पास न जमीन है, न पानी है और न हवा है। वह टट्टी नहीं जा सकते, वह पेशाब नहीं कर सकते, और घर भी नहीं बना सकते। न वह जीने में है और न मरने में। इस तरह से कैसे अपनी एकोनोमी में धाज खुशहाली लायेंगे। जब तक धाज देहातों को तरफ तबज्जह नहीं देंगे, कोई रास्ता उनकी तरकी का नहीं निकालेंगे तब तक धाज इस देश में खुशहाली नहीं ला सकते।

एक धर्ज और यह करती है कि धाज यह देखिये कि गन्दुम के बारे में इस हाउस में जवाब दिया गया कि मिलवालों

[श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा]

के लिये गन्धुम का एक रेट फिक्स किया हुआ है लेकिन मिल जो उसका आटा बना कर बेचता है, उस का कोई रेट आपने फिक्स नहीं किया है। वह गरीब आदमी का खाना है। जब आप फिक्सड दाम पर मिल वालों को गन्धुम देते हैं, तो फिर क्यों नहीं आप एक मैक्सिमम रेट आटे का फिक्स कर देते कि हिन्दुस्तान भर में इतने रेट पर आटा बिकेगा। इस के लिये आप कहते हैं कि आपकी मजबूरी है, स्टेट वालों को यह करना चाहिए। जब एक फिक्सड दाम पर उनको आप गन्धुम दिलवाते हैं, तो फिर उस के आटे का दाम आप फिक्स क्यों नहीं कर करेंगे। आप दाम फिक्स कर दीजिये। जिस मिल वाले को गन्धुम लेनी होगी वह लेगा। आप कह दीजिये कि इस से ज्यादा रेट पर सारे हिन्दुस्तान में आटा नहीं बिकेगा, तो गन्धुम देंगे वरना नहीं। यह क्या जरूरी है कि इस तरह से आप उन लोगों को कन्सेशन देंगे, जो गरीब लोगों को नोबते हैं। कन्सेशन जिसको मिलना चाहिए उसको तो मिलता नहीं और उसके लिये आप कह देते हैं कि यह स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को करना है। इन सब बातों को आपको देखना पड़ेगा और इस के बगैर आपका काम नहीं चलेगा।

एक बात और यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप को सेल्फ-रिलाइन्ट एकोनोमी बनानी है, तो कम से कम आपको यह देखना चाहिए कि पेट्रोल का अल्टरनेटिव क्या हो। जब तक आप उसका अल्टरनेटिव नहीं बनाते, काम नहीं चलेगा, क्योंकि इंटरनेशनल सिचुएशन बदल रही है। एक ऐसी सिचुएशन डेवलप हो सकती है कि कहीं किसी दिन आपका बाहर से पेट्रोल आना बन्द न हो जाये। आज तो ग्रुपिंग और री-ग्रुपिंग दुनिया भर में चल रही है। अगर बाहर से तेल आना बन्द हो जाये

तो दो-तीन महीने के बाद, हिन्दुस्तान में एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाना मुश्किल हो जायेगा। कुछ स्टेट्स इस तरह की हैं, जिन्होंने अपनी प्राइवेट आर्मीजरेज की हुई है। अगर बाहर से तेल आना बन्द हो जायेगा, तो सारे हिन्दुस्तान में फौजों का मूवमेंट बन्द हो जायेगा और ऐसी हालत में देश की एकता खतरे में पड़ सकती है। इस लिये सेल्फ-रिलायन्ट एकोनोमी बनाना बहुत जरूरी है। मैं रेलवे की डिबेट पर तो बोला था लेकिन डिफेंस की डिबेट पर बोलने का मुझे मौका नहीं मिला। उस वक़्त मैंने यह कहा था कि जितनी आप रेलें बढ़ा सकते हैं, उन को बढ़ाइये और खासकर डिफेंस की जो लाइनें हैं, वहां तक रेलें जितनी ज्यादा हो सकती हैं, होनी चाहिए। कभी ऐसी सिचुएशन पैदा होती है कि तेल की किल्लत हो जाये, तो हम अपनी सांसेंज से उस को मोट आउट कर सकें। हम अपनी सांसेंज डेवलप तो कर रहे हैं लेकिन जितनी तेजी से इंटरनेशनल सिचुएशन चेंज हो रही है, उतना हम तेल नहीं निकाल सकते। हमें अपनी मैन पावर को, अपनी वाटर पावर को ज्यादा से ज्यादा इस्तेमाल करना चाहिए। रेलों को हम जितना यूटिलायज कर सकते हैं मूवमेंट के लिए उतना करना चाहिए। जब तक हमारी सेल्फ रिलायन्ट एकोनोमी नहीं होगी, हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता।

ये मैंने कुछ मोटी मोटी बातें कहीं हैं। सेल्फ रिलायन्ट एकोनोमी हमें बनानी चाहिए क्योंकि सिचुएशन बड़ी तेजी से चेंज हो रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस दिन आपने बजट पेश किया था, उस के बाद से इंटरनेशनल सिचुएशन और ज्यादा टाइट हो गयी है। इस लिये आपको सा प्लान को री-कास्ट करना पड़ेगा। इस के बगैर आप आगे नहीं बढ़ सकते कुछ लोग कहते हैं और हमारे यहां तकरीरें कुछ लोगों ने की कि हम को फौज का

एक्सपैन्डीचर नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए। पाकिस्तान की नकल हम को नहीं करनी चाहिए। पाकिस्तान अगर एटम बम बना रहा है, तो हमको इस में पैसा नहीं लगाना चाहिए। हमारे यहां पर बड़ी प्रोबोकेटिव तकरीरें हुईं, जिन में इंडियन आर्मी के मुताबिक गलत बातें कहीं गईं, आर्मी के खिलाफ तकरीरें हुईं और जगह जगह पर ऐसी बातें कही गईं। कोशिश यह हो रही है कि हम अपनी इकोनोमी को आगे न ले जा सकें। इस लिये मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम अपनी एकोनोमी को अजसरेनो नहीं देखते, तो देश तरक्की नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि कोशिश यह हो रही है कि उस में खराबी पैदा हो और इंटरनेशनल गाइडेंस में, कम्यूनल बेसिस पर, लोकल रायट्स की बेसिस पर और कई और तरीकों से ऐसा किया जा रहा है। मैं यह कहता हूँ कि आज जो सिचुएशन बड़ी तेजी से चैज हो रही है, उस की तरफ आपको पूरा ध्यान देना होगा और इस मुल्क को मजबूत करने के लिये यह बहुत जरूरी है।

मैं जनाब एक बात और कहता हूँ। इस मुल्क का जितना अवाम है वह गांधी भक्त हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोग हैं जो कि गांधीजी को मुखालिफ करने वाले हैं। गांधीजी साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ रहे। इसलिए वे इम्पेरियलिस्ट्स फादर ऑफ दि नेशन के खिलफ हैं कि उन्होंने जुदा-जुदा लोगों को, अवाम को एक कर दिया है। जब जब मुल्क पर मुसोबत आयो तभी गांधीजी के बताये हुए रास्ते पर चल कर लोग एक हो गये। मुल्क के अवाम में जो यकीन गांधीजी ने कायम किया था, आज कुछ लोग उस यकीन को तोड़ना चाहते हैं। वे गांधीजी के खिलाफ पडित नेहरूजी के खिलाफ, उनके करेक्टर के खिलाफ, हमारा जो उनमें एतमाद है उनके खिलाफ एक फिना पैदा करने की कोशिश करना चाहते हैं। हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि मुल्क में

यह न हो पाये। हमारे लीडरों ने जो हमें सिखाया है वह हम न भूल जाएं और जब भी मुल्क में मुसोबत आती है तब हम एक हो कर उस मुसोबत को बर्दाश्त करते हैं। अवाम तो उन लोगों को कभी भूलेंगे नहीं लेकिन हमें भी यह देखना होगा कि आने वाले सालों में हम कैसे अपना एकता को कायम रखें, कैसे अपना इन्टिग्रेशन को कायम रखें और हमारी आगे बढ़ने की जो मूवमेंट है वह कैसे दुरुस्त हो। जो लोग इसके खिलाफ कोशिश करते हैं, उन्हें नाकाम विद्या जाना चाहिए।

क्रेडिट पालिसी के मामलें में डांग साहब ने बर्हा था। मैं भी इसकी तरफ आपका ध्यान दिनाता हूँ। आपने कमशियल बैंक्स में क्रेडिट को कंट्रोल किया है लेकिन एग््रीकल्चरल क्रेडिट पर आपका कोई कंट्रोल नहीं है। उसकी बजह से उसका बड़ा मिनयूज होता है। जो पोलिटिकल पार्टीज पावर्स में हैं उनके द्वारा एग््रीकल्चरल क्रेडिट का मिसयूज होता है। इसे आप कैसे रोके इसकी तरफ भी आपकी तबज्जो होनी चाहिए और एग््रीकल्चर मिनिस्टर से मिल कर इसको भी आपको कंट्रोल करना चाहिए। हम इसका फगदर मिसयूज अफोर्ड नहीं कर सकते। इसके बारे में कोई ठोस योजना बननी चाहिए। गरीब आदमी चाहे शहर में, चाहे गांव में रहता हो उसको इस योजना से फायदा मिलना चाहिए। यह सेक्टर हमारी एग््रीकल्चर में, हमारी एग्रोइंडस्ट्री से ताल्लुक रखता है इसलिए हमें ऐसी पालिसी बनानी चाहिए जिससे कि इसे हम प्रापग्ली रेगुलेट कर सकें। इस पर आपको ध्यान देना है।

**सभापति महोदय :** डांग साहब, मुझे जरा अन्दाज होना चाहिए कि आपकम से कम कितना और समय लेंगे ?

**श्री गिरधारी लाल डांगरा :** मैं जल्दी से जल्दी खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

एक बात मैं बैंक ब्रांचिज के मुताबिक कहना चाहता हूँ। ये ब्रांचिज अन्वय तो गरीबों को कर्जा देती नहीं, अगर देती हैं तो

### [श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा]

बहु दक जाता है और जब दक जाता है तो इसमें घपला होता है। अगर घपले से पैसा दे दिया जाता है तो गरीबों को कर्जा मिल जाता है बरना नहीं मिलता। इसकी तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

एक बात की मैं इस हाउस के मेम्बर्स से और इस हाउस के बाहर के लोगों से भी अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि उन्हें आज के हालत में भारत सरकार को मुल्क को बचाने में कोभाप्रेशन बेना चाहिए। हमें भी उससे कोभाप्रेशन लेनी चाहिए। जिन मसलों का मैंने जिक्र किया है, जब तक हम सब का कोभाप्रेशन नहीं लेंगे तब तक उन मसलों को सोल्व नहीं कर सकते। जब तक हम यह सोच कर नहीं बैठेंगे कि कम्पन को बोमारी हमारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के नस नस में भर गयी है तब तक हम इस मामले में कोशिश भी नहीं करेंगे। हमें सभी को मिला कर इस मामले में सहयोग करना चाहिए और इसको दूर करने को कोशिश करनी चाहिए। तभी जा कर हम इस बोमारी से निकलेंगे।

मैं कुछ ऐसे इलाकों के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ जिनका स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स से और सेन्ट्रल गवर्नमेंट दोनों से ताल्लुक है, जो कि सरहद के या बार्डर के इलाके हैं जिनकी डिफेंस के लिए बड़ी इम्पार्टेंस है, उन इलाकों के रहने वालों की तरफ, उनको हालत की तरफ हमें स्पेशल अटेंशन देना चाहिए। जब तक उनको तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया जायेगा तब तक खुशहाल नहीं होंगे। मैंने 47 को जंग देखी है, 65 को जंग देखी है, 71 को देखी है, 62 को जंग में तो मैं नहीं गया, लेकिन मेरा अनुभव है कि जहाँ-जहाँ बार्डर पर जनता डटो रही, वहाँ-वहाँ फौज को मुकाबला करने में काफी आसानी रही। जहाँ से लोग भाग गए वहाँ सैनिकों को काफी दिक्कत आई। अगर लोग वल्ले पर डटे रहें तो आर्मी का खर्च आघा हो जाता है।

लड़ाई के समय बार्डर पर लोब सभी रह सकती हैं जब उनका अपनी जमीन के प्रति इंट्रेस्ट हो, उस जगह से प्यार हो। इसीलिए पाकिस्तान के बार्डर गुजरात से लेकर जम्मू-कश्मीर तक और इस्टर्न स्टेट्स में जो बार्डर एरिया है, वहाँ पर लोगों का जमीन के साथ इंट्रेस्ट पैदा करने के लिए बेसफेयर प्रॉज्ञान होने चाहिए। जनरल स्पैरो इस बारे में अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं, 65 की जंग में ये वहाँ पर वे और वहाँ पर काम किया है। पहली जंग में इन्होंने जोजिला पास के टीक कास कराए थे, इनको पूरी स्थिति का पता है। वहाँ पर फौज भी अपने फरब से पैसा खर्च करती है, लेकिन फिर भी एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन तः अपने हाथ में नहीं ले सकती। इसलिए मेरा निबेदन है कि सरकार वहाँ पर प्रोग्राम चलाए, इस और तवज्जह देने की जरूरत है।

हम किसी से लड़ाई करना नहीं चाहते और न ही किसी देश पर हमला करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन देश के बचाव के लिए और मुल्क की एकता के लिए आवश्यक है कि हमारी बात सरहद पर के लोगों तक पहुँचें, हमारे टेलीविजन या रेडियो इस तरह से लोकेटिड हैं कि इसको हम ही पूरी तरह से नहीं सुन पाते तो बार्डर पार के लोग क्या सुनेंगे। अभी राजस्थान के एक सदस्य कह रहे थे कि हमारे लोग तो पाकिस्तान रेडियो सुनते हैं। इन सब चीजों की ओर हमारे इन्फॉर्मेशन एण्ड प्रोपेगण्डा डिपार्टमेंट का ध्यान देना चाहिये। इन चीजों से हमको मदद मिल सकती है और उनकी इकानामी को वापस अपनी पोजीशन में लाने के लिए और आम बज्जे खनरों का सामना करने के लिए ये चीजें जरूरी हैं।

समापति बहोदय : आपका मतलब है कि किराया नहीं करें।

श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा: मेरा मतलब यह है कि जैसे इन्होंने 300 करोड़ रुपया कलकत्ता के लिए रखा है, 200 करोड़ रुपया बम्बई के लिए रखा है और राजस्थान वाले कहते हैं कि हम तब पाकिस्तान रेडियो सुनते हैं। इस और मंत्री महोदय ध्यान दें।

सभापति महोदय, मैंने जो भी बातें कहीं—लैण्ड रिफॉर्मस के बारे में, इकानामी को लेफ्ट रिलायन्ट बनाने के बारे में, सुरक्षा के बारे में—इन सब बातों को मंत्री महोदय देखें और जोर काम की बातें होंगी उनसे कायदा उठायेंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।

सभापति महोदय : आपने जितने जोश के साथ अपनी बात कही है, मुझे विश्वास है कि इस और ज़रूर ध्यान दिया जाएगा।

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, since the Finance Bill is intended to give effect to the various proposals, including the Budget, it is inevitable that some of the aspects, which have been discussed and debated during the General Budget, are bound to be over-lapping. But that, of course, you will agree with me, is quite inevitable.

Unfortunately, I must observe at the very outset that for the last few years the very sanctity of our General Budget is getting destroyed. What happens is that well before the implementation of the Budget levies would be imposed, new burdens will be placed on the people and then the Finance Minister will come forward with Budget proposals—Part A and Part B—in which various structures of levies would be elaborated. This time again we found that prior to the presentation of the Budget prices of petroleum products, cement, steel other commodities went up. The economists are of the opinion that the

burden of these levies and increase in prices are roughly of the order of Rs. 2,500 crore. So, even before the Budget came, some burdens had already been put on the common man—not to refer to the Railway Budget at all, because the Railway Budget had been formulated in a proper way, and presented to the House; and the Railway Minister has the right to impose additional burdens, and it is in the normal process of the presentation of the Budget. But that too contributed to the inflationary pressure on the economy.

The pivotal point while debating and discussing the Budget is: "Whom do we represent? Whose interests do we represent? Do we represent the interests of the common man, or do we represent the interests of the better-off people or affluent sections of the society?" That is the test-stone on which I would like to judge any Budget. I tried to judge the Finance Bill on this test-stone. The Finance Minister may say that it is a Budget which is growth-oriented, which is investment-oriented and which is savings-oriented. But all the same, it is a Budget that will throw more and more burden on the common man; and it will have more and more inflationary pressure on the economy.

In this connection I will, in the beginning, take up the illustration of income-tax. In the Finance Bill that has been presented and which is under consideration, there is Clause 24 according to which priority on certain items are sought to be changed. Certain industries manufacturing certain items were having a low priority for a number of years. Ultimately, how is the priority to be fixed for income-tax? In a country where the common man's interests are to be the pivotal point, it is the needs of the common man which are to be given priority. In other words, manufactures which are for the common man are to be given priority. It is these goods which must get the necessary concession. But here we find that there are certain luxury items—some of them might



[Shri Madhu Dandavate]

not be called luxury items in the present context; but most of them are luxury items—are sought to be excluded from the 11th Schedule of the Income Tax Act. On page 13 of the Memorandum explaining the provisions in the Finance Bill, the entire list has been given. From the 11th Schedule item Nos. 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 upto 21 and then 26 and 29 are sought to be excluded. What are the items which will now get the benefit of concessions and the benefit of exemptions? These are: those industries which manufacture broadcast television receiver sets, radios, radiograms, tape recorders, electric fans, domestic electric appliances, household furniture, pressure cookers, vacuum flasks, table ware and sanitary ware, glass and glass ware, china-ware and porcelain ware, mosaic tiles and glazed tiles, organic surface active agents, synthetic detergents, pigments, colours paints, enamels, varnishes and amplifiers and any other appliances used for addressing the public. These are the items. These are not the items with which common man is so much concerned. They are sought to be excluded from the 11th Schedule to the Income Tax Act. I am just quoting this as one of the illustrations as to how only the interests of certain sections are taken note of. Income-tax is sought to be reduced by 5 per cent in the Finance Bill. What is the objective? The objective is supposed to be that if you reduce the income-tax on companies, in that case they will be able to mop up more profits. In that case, they will be able to distribute more dividends. If they are able to distribute a higher dividend, they will be able to attract more shareholders. As a result, we will find that the growth process will increase. But ultimately it is the interests of the companies and of the corporate sector which is taken note of. All this is done. All the changes are made in the name of the so-called middle class. Middle class is a

very flexible entity. I do not know how the middle class can be defined. But who gains out of this? Take for instance, the income tax concession. Out of 50 lakh income tax-payers, it will be 25 lakh income tax-payers who will be able to derive some advantage out of the changes that are suggested regarding the limit of income tax. But what about those who live below the poverty line? Almost half the population—to quote the Minister correctly 48 per cent—48 per cent of the population live below the poverty line. Here again how do you define the poverty line?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It differs from State to State.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That list has also been given. Fortunately or unfortunately, in reply to my question, State-wise what is the percentage that live below the poverty line has been given. Orissa and your State have the distinguished position of having a large number of people living below the poverty line. That answer has also been given.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Poverty in the midst of plenty.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: That is right. You may call them islands of poverty, but more islands than water. That is the tragedy. Out of these 40 lakhs, only 20 lakh will benefit. But 48 per cent of the entire population who live below the poverty line, for them what is the benefit? The only benefit for them is inflation, only fruits available for them are the inflationary pressure on the economy and rising prices.

In our country, how have you been defining the poverty line? In different countries, the poverty line has been defined in a slightly different way. But for our purpose, it is said those whose annual expenditure is Rs. 552. That will be the person who will be supposed to be living just below the poverty line. And if he is having a family of 5 members, an

average family of 5 members, the mathematicians work out this figure to be Rs. 2760. So, a man who lives below the poverty line...

MR. CHAIRMAN: You are considering it now with the position of precision.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Thank you. Thank you for your tribute to my precision. Do not have that precision in giving me time? So, it will be Rs. 2760. That will be an income of a family and such family will have no benefit, as far as income tax is concerned; they are least concerned whether you increase it from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 15,000 and, therefore, their interests are not at all the pivotal interests, as far as this budget is concerned.

Then take the case of exemption of the estate duty. The limit has been increased from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 1.5 lakh and obviously the reason offered is there have been rising prices. You have to make room for the inflationary pressure and, therefore, Rs. 15,000 have been changed to Rs. 1.5 lakh.

While considering the problems of pension, these considerations are not taken into account. But while deciding the estate duty, it is argued—I do not say that necessarily the Finance Minister argues that way—the argument made from the Treasury Benches is that at that time in 1954,—if I mistake not; he may correct me—if it was Rs. 15,000 now it is Rs. 1.5 lakh because the prices have gone up. But really if one asks the question to oneself one finds that even at that time why the limit had been Rs. 15,000. Again it is the interest of a certain section that has to be kept in mind, and it is this section for which the exemption of estate duty is already offered. Our Finance Minister and the Deputy Finance Minister always argue that they are pursuing a policy by which the inflationary pressure on the economy is going down. If we take point to point inflation, then they would point out that in a particular

month of a particular day as compared to that particular day in that month last year, the inflationary pressure is less, the price index increase is less and therefore we can have this satisfaction that the inflationary pressure on the economy is decreasing. But it is very dangerous to consider and assess the inflationary pressure by taking only a short period. Therefore, on some other occasion, as has been pointed out, if you want to correctly assess the inflationary situation in the country, try to take the last span of time. Therefore, I would like to pick up three periods. I had once referred to that in some other discussion. In 1973-74, 1974-75 if you take these periods and work out the average, you will find that in 1973-74, 1974-75 the average inflationary rate was 22.5 per cent. If you take 1977-78, 1978-79 I take the period because many people are very much enamoured of Janata. Every now and then Janata is referred. And, therefore, let us take that period of Janata Government, 1977-78 and 1978-79. The average rate of inflation was 2.5 per cent. 2.5 per cent!

MR. CHAIRMAN: But the period you were referring to earlier was immediately after the Bangladesh war.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: 1973-74, 1974-75. I am referring to that. Similar situations have already developed. For instance, if you take the post-Emergency situation, number of developments have taken place, in which there was a recoil of the situation that was developed in Emergency. In Emergency, enforced conditions were there. There was a sudden relaxation and as a result of that, you will find that at that time certain forces which were already kept under control, were all of a sudden released and as a result of that also certain charges have taken place. Also, at that time Government suffered from certain disadvantages. In spite of that the inflationary rate was 2.4 per cent, and today I dare

(Prof. Madhu Dandavate)

say that whatever may be the statistics that are offered by the Finance Minister. I am afraid, the inflationary rate is something between 16 and 18 per cent. We are again going back to the pre-emergency period as far as the inflationary pressure on the economy is concerned. And that is not good, as far as the common man is concerned.

MR. CHAIRMAN: What about the pressure in 1979-80?

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: Yes?

MR. CHAIRMAN: What about the pressure in 1979-80?

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: In 1979-80, no doubt, it has increased. But let me make it very clear. We were not at all responsible for what happened in 1979-80. It was a member of these Treasury Benches who helped his friends to bring in a Government which was supposed to be a Government that works, like the Government that is working today and as a result of that lot of complications were created.

I would like to point out to you that as far as the inflationary pressure on the economy is concerned, it is an accepted fact that uncovered deficit always plays a great role in exerting an inflationary pressure on the economy. The Finance Minister has derived great satisfaction over the estimates of uncovered deficit he had projected. He has been modest and he has stated that Rs. 1,539 crores—that is a modest figure—deficit was the deficit that he projected. But I have not the least doubt how he has worked out this deficit. What are the items in the receipts? On the receipts side up to the 31st March—that, of course, does not come into the picture for 1981-82. For 1981-82 he has projected a collection of Rs. 800 crores through the Special Bearer Bonds and up to last 31st March they were supposed to be Rs. 200 crores. I had put a question in this very House and I have received a

written reply. I had asked a question: What was the target for collections received by selling the Special Bearer Bonds till 31st March 1981? I was told that it was Rs. 200 crores. That was not the target. I really do not understand.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): The answer given to you to that question was that the Government had not fixed any target. But the Government have taken into the calculations a receipt of Rs. 200 crores up to the 31st March, 1981. That was the figure given.

PROF. MADHU DANAVATE: To give you an analogy, in the Railways if the Minister says that he was projecting a traffic of 220 tonnes, in that case probably in practical terms it need not be defined as a target. But for all practical purposes this is considered as a target. When that moment is not reached, we say that the target is not reached at all. From that point of view, repeatedly various newspapers and economic journals had stated that the target that has been fixed by the Government till the 31st March is Rs. 2,000 crores. Many of them had expressed doubts whether that target would be fulfilled. When I put the question—I am happy the Finance Minister went beyond 31st March, 1981—the reply given was that upto 8th April, 1981, the collections obtained by selling special bearer bonds were of the order of Rs. 104 crores. I remember there was a decimal point, but what appeared after the decimal point. I do not remember. It was Rs. 104 crores odd. But I do not think that this amount of Rs. 800 crores which the Finance Minister has projected as the likely collection by selling special bearer bonds is going to be achieved at all.

16.36 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Of course, some explanation must come forward. Therefore, the Finance Minister argued that because the matter is pending before the

Supreme Court—the lawyer has spoken out—and because the legislative competence of this House to bring such a measure itself is being challenged, that is why people are very much afraid. As far as black money holders are concerned, they are very courageous men. They are afraid of something else, not of law, because they can always find out loopholes in the law. I want to refer to another aspect which was referred to in this debate. The Former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, while participating in the debate, pointed out that it is necessary that we do not take an undue moral stand regarding special bearer bonds, but he had expressed the fear that one of the dangers in special bearer bonds is that it might encourage those who are generating black money to generate more and more black money and that might become the inspiration for generation of further black money. This exactly is; the danger. I am not worried about what is happening in the budget. But I am really worried that we are setting up a very bad precedent. A beginning has already been made I want to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the fact that already the Chief Minister of West Bengal has made a public announcement that since income-tax is supposed to be collected from various States and a part of the collections of income-tax is supposed to be transferred to the States, when by abolishing this particular procedure of income tax for certain categories you try to collect a certain amount through special bearer bonds, West Bengal should be able to get Rs. 100 crores. Just as you have quantified your expectation, he has already quantified his demand. I do not know how he is also able to estimate as to what exactly is the black money in West Bengal. Anyhow, by some method, he has been able to do it. The logic behind it is, all that is being done is, that the laws of the land regarding taxation are sought to be destroyed and that is why the entire matter has been taken to the Supreme Court.

As far as uncovered deficit is concerned, I have told you that there are two factors which are just speculation. As far as this Rs. 800 crores on the receipt side is concerned, one is not sure whether Rs. 800 crores will be actually received. At the same time, Rs. 1,000 crores which is the external loan which we have taken is also on the receipt side. These are not internal resources that have been mopped up on the basis of which the deficit has been calculated. The deficit works out to be Rs. 1539 crores only because certain speculations have been made. One of my colleagues in the opposition has rightly said that it is a gambler's budget. I do not want to allege that our Finance Minister is a gambler. He is a saintly man and he does not gamble. But gambling is not necessary in day to day living. Gambling can also be in politics and in economics. And I feel that in economics he has resorted to the course of gamble.

As far as the estimate of black-wealth is concerned, many economists have said that black-wealth in this country may be between Rs. 25000 crores and Rs. 30000 crores. That is the extent of black money. What are you going to do to see that the pressure of this black money economy on the official economy of the country is relieved? So many committees have been set up so far. A new commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Jha has been announced. I would like to remind this House through you that there were the Taxation Enquiry Committee in 1954, Kaldor's report on Indian Tax Reform, 1956, Direct Taxes Enquiry Committee, which is famous as Wanchoo Committee, in 1971, The very same Jha led another Committee on Indirect Taxes and now the L. K. Jha Commission. And strangely enough, one of the terms of reference is the problem of rent. I do not know why that particular issue has been added over to the terms of reference. I do not know what has happened to the enquiry committee reports. Most of the enquiry committee reports are

[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

lying in cold storage. I am sure that the same will be the fate of the Jha Commission's report which is likely to be given. I do not know what is the period that has been prescribed. But I doubt whether the Jha Commission will be able to do much difference.

I fully agree that we must rationalise the tax structure. Unless we are able to rationalise the tax structure it will not be possible to tackle the enormous problem of black-money in this country. Therefore, rationalisation of the entire tax structure is a welcome phenomenon. But I do not know how they will go in depth as far as this problem is concerned.

As far as the expenditure side is concerned, one-third of the expenditure is on defence, police and repayment of interest on loans. As far as these items are concerned, most of them are non-productive and non-developmental. With such a large non-developmental expenditure I do not know how they are going to relieve the economic pressure on the economy.

I have narrated very briefly various concessions that have been given to the affluent sections and semi affluent sections of the society. What will happen to those who are living below the poverty line? There were the Antodaya programme and Food for Work programme. These programmes were yielding very good results. They are really anti-poverty measures irrespective of the party that is in power. I think, these are concrete programmes that can be taken up as anti-poverty measures. But as far as the allocation of money to these programmes is concerned either the allocations, has been reduced or they have been scuttled. And again, therefore, the common man will suffer as a result of this.

Despite the talk of kisan rally, the National Rural Employment Programme which in 1980-81 was allocated

Rs. 340 crores, in 1981-82, its allocation has been reduced to Rs. 180 crores. I was surprised to find that as far as the allocations are concerned, these allocations have been substantially reduced. Whether it is the Command Area Development Programme or the financial institutions, in all these cases, we find that allocations have been considerably reduced. As far as agricultural financial institutions are concerned, there is a considerable reduction that has been made. These allocations have been reduced to a very considerable extent. Wherever allocations have been improved, they have been slightly improved. But somehow or other, these measures have not got adequate allocation as far as this Finance Bill is concerned and as far as budget proposals are concerned. What will happen is that the affluent section, the corporate sector, the semi-affluent sections in the society will be able to enjoy direct concessions through the budget proposals. As far as the common man is concerned, as far as people living below the poverty line are concerned, it is only what will percolate from the top and will reach the bottom will accrue to the beneficiaries. This is not the economy which any egalitarian society will like to have. I am not using the words 'socialistic society' at all, we are far away from it, but even for a society which wants to move to some extent towards egalitarianism I do not think this type of Budget proposals and this type of a Finance Bill will be able to move the nation in that particular direction and therefore, as far as the common man is concerned, the common man will have to rely and remain satisfied with the fact that whatever is accrued by the affluent sections in the society whatever percolates down, to that extent they will be the beneficiaries.

As far as direct gains from the Budget are concerned, there are no gains at all and therefore, I am afraid that these Budget proposals and the Finance Bill which tries to give effect to the various proposals which have already been made by the Finance

Minister will be able to solve the problems of the common man and I am afraid I cannot support the Finance Bill and that is the reason why I totally oppose the Finance Bill

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now, Mr. Kamal Nath may speak.

Mr. Kamal Nath you have conclude the speech at 5 p.m. and Mr. Venkataraman, the Finance Minister will intervene at 5 p.m.

**SHRI KAMAL NATH (Chhindwara):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill.

Last year when I spoke in support of the Finance Bill, my esteemed friend, Prof. Dandavate, I remember, spoke immediately after me. This time, this year, I have had the opportunity of speaking immediately after him. But you have forewarned me about time so this would not permit me to meet all his points.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** After his speech I will decide whether...

*(Interruption)*

**SHRI KAMAL NATH:** I would have enjoyed meeting his points even more had he been a professor of Economics and not physics. He is a professor of physics and a very good and experienced professor of that.

Now that the Budget Session is coming towards its last lap it is possible to examine the hopes and fears expressed with a reasonable detachment. My friends here will certainly agree with me when I say that fear have outnumbered hopes in the debate so far. Last year also fears outnumbered hopes. The Opposition Members last year and this year were gripped by fear that the Budget would bring about increased inflation and it is the same story this year of whipping up a fear syndrome. We have to remember that the Budget cannot be looked at in isolation. We have to look at this year's harvest, we have to look at international factors, we have to look at the

domestic industrial output and after close scrutiny of the Budget—not only that, but also after many discussions which I have had with the hon. Finance Minister—I can say with all emphasis that this has been done. But somehow my friends in the Opposition continue to raise fears. This has been so last year and this continues this year. Let me tell you—this has been already said by our Finance Minister, but I would like to repeat it—that four weeks after the 1979 Budget, which was Shri Charan Singh's Budget, the wholesale price index went up by 4 per cent. Last year, that was the Budget of 1980-81, the whole-sale price index rose by 2.9 per cent and this year—four weeks after the presentation of the Budget—the whole-sale price index has gone up by 1.5 per cent. This year's Budget holds certain special features which put a check on the vaulting price; but most important of all, this year's Budget is detrimental to speculative activities. It is not the kind of Budget which would make a hoarder, a profiteer or a blackmarketeer happy. This year's Budget does not allow any premium on hoarding foodgrains or on speculative buying commodities. This has been achieved not by putting further checks on demand and lowering off-take all round, but it was achieved by replacing the worn out demand philosophy with a new supply philosophy. I personally think that regulatory checks on demand instead of bringing down prices push them up in the long run. At no point in our recent economic history has any of our control systems been able to hold the price line. As such, I believe that tinkering with the demand side of the economy yields no results in to-day's context, it is only supply side economics which can work which to put it simply, is that the easiest way to bring down the price of a commodity is to make it more plentifully available. There is no need for a hoarder to hoard and there is no scope for the black marketeer if commodities and goods are available freely, openly and plentifully in the open market. It automatically weeds out black marketeers, hoarders

and controls the price line. As such the supply side economics which is being followed, I think is the correct line. We cannot ignore a very important thing that supply is a physical condition which you can control, whereas demand is a mental condition, which can be controlled only artificially and upto a point. If we analyse the cause, and because of the various social upheavals which are taking place, we will see that most of them have an economic component. Only recently, the Assam agitation, the Gujarat agitations, the Farmers' agitation took place. In all these, largely the ingredients are all economic. So mismanagement in the economy can lead to massive social unrest. We have to be very cautious of this. I think we are fortunate that the Finance Ministry is in the hands of a veteran, in the hands of someone with wide experience, but we must not be complacent, for we have a lot to do. The responsibility for economic management of the country is not only in the hands of the Executive and legislature but it is also the judiciary which has a non-constructive role to play. For example, it is astonishing to see that Rs. 175 crores of income-tax arrears have been stayed by various Courts. There are injunctions because of which the due tax arrears cannot be collected. This affects our ways and means position and leads to increase in the Budgetary deficit.

While I am at the matter of the judiciary, let me also mention something about it. Let us pause and think deeply on what is happening in the judiciary to-day and what is the relation of the Executive vis-a-vis the judiciary, the relation of the legislature vis-a-vis the judiciary. I do not want to run down the country's judiciary because it affects each and every citizen. It affects each and every one of us. Yet I would like to say with all emphasis that the various pronouncement of the Supreme Court and the High Court in the recent past are nothing but trespass into the Executive's functions.

In a democratic set-up the Executive

and Judiciary should desist from mutual interference. I am referring specifically to the recent LIC Amendment Act. I am happy that the LIC employees have been able to get bonus, but the Court declaring payment of bonus to employees without striking down the Act is an astonishing situation, is a ridiculous situation.

Take the case of the appeal against the special Bearer Bonds. I am sure that none of our judges are so ignorant so as not to understand that Rs. 1,000 crores has been taken as receipts in our Budget under this heading. The court could have held an expeditious hearing and pronounced its verdict whether the Bearer Bonds were legal or illegal, but just to sit back without taking up such a major matter is nothing short of irresponsibility. The way it is going, it seems that the judiciary has a score to settle with the Executive. It seems the judiciary's vision has been clouded. Uptil now the criticism has been that the Executive and the politicians have been tampering, even interfering with the judiciary, but now I think a stage has come when the judiciary is tampering with the Executive and is trying to usurp the powers of the Executive.

Not a day passes when one member or the other of the Bench, whether it is the Supreme Court Bench or a High Court Bench, does not sermonise the Government on how it should run, what it is doing right and what it is doing wrong. I do not mean any disrespect to the judiciary. All of us sitting here represent one constituency or other. We are all accountable in one form or other to the people for the promises we have made to our electorate. If fertilisers do not reach the people, if food-grains do not reach the people, if goods do not reach the people, we are all accountable in one form or other to the people. But my friends of the judiciary, are they accountable? Not only they are not accountable but they can not also be exposed to public criticism except for criticism in his august House. It is here that I am taking full use of this liberty and

through this House convey to the people the functioning of the judiciary. The judiciary cannot come in the way of social development and become a hindrance; it should rather help in fulfilment of the people's aspirations.

If the Supreme Court had held the Special Bearer Bonds Scheme which was a very well-conceived idea, to start with, illegal, the Government would have been obliged to scrap it. If, on the other hand, it were to hold it legal, the Government would have pursued it with still more vigour and see to it that the revenue yield reached the anticipated, the projected figure. But the silence of the Supreme Court has major malional ramifications. Do not my friends in the judiciary realise that the unbridged revenue gap of Rs. 1000 crores can play havoc with the country's economy? Does it not amount to negligence? It does not only amount to negligence but it also amounts to dereliction of duty. Is the judiciary isolated from the national mainstream. If not, the judiciary must answer for its acts of omission and commission.

Even a cursory glance at the various pronouncements by the Supreme Court and the High Courts will show that today the judiciary is trespassing—I repeat—into the executive functions of the Government. I am afraid, I do not have time to go into all such judgments. For all that I am saying here, I may be called an enemy of democracy—I don't mind—for certainly I would not like to act as an enemy of people by not protesting against the irresponsible and obstructionist judiciary.

Sir, I would conclude my speech by reiterating my support to the Finance Bill with the hope that all such artificial ingredients to development and progress which are taking place would be eliminated so that concerted efforts of the Government led by our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, can hold down the prices and ensure growth. In agriculture, we have

achieved a comfortable growth rate. We are hoping for a large industrial production. With the concessions given by our Finance Minister, and with stimulants injected into the industrial sector, I have no doubt that it will happen. But I feel that all our efforts will be set at naught if the judiciary does not believe that it too has a role to play in the historic process of India's social transformation.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister of Finance will now intervene.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: If you permit me, I would just take half a minute and mention only one thing which will help him in replying to the debate.

He has always been arguing that the substantial portion of the inflation has been due to the rise in prices of imported oil and that the import bill has gone up from Rs. 3000 crores to Rs. 5000 crores. Recently, from 20th to 25th April, there was a meeting of an Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference of 89 nations at Manila. Fortunately, I had an opportunity to attend the Conference. I would like to inform the Finance Minister that 89 nations' representatives have unanimously expressed their satisfaction over the proposal—I quote:

“The proposal by President Saddam Hussain of Iraq that the oil producing countries and all the industrial countries form a “Joint Fund for Energy and Development” with contributions proportional to the increases in oil prices and the inflation exported by the industrial countries, the Fund would be used to help developing countries which import oil or manufacture goods to carry out their development and meet their energy requirements;”

I think, this was the greatest victory of India and all the non-aligned nations, particularly, the developing nations. I hope, the Finance Minister will take full advantage of this and



[Prof. Madhu Dandavate]

continue talks so that some fruitful results can be obtained.

17 hrs.

**THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, My esteemed colleague, the Minister of State for Finance will be replying to the debate at the conclusion of all the these speeches. As I have to leave for an urgent meeting of the Asian Development Bank, I thought I would crave the indulgence of the House to make a few observations on the points made by the Hon. Members. I will confine myself largely to the general observations made by Members and my colleague who is very competent and very able, will be able to deal with the individual points raised by Members.

One of the points raised in the course of the debate related to the general economic condition or the state of the economy.

The Budget presented by my predecessor Mr. Charan Singh provided lot of grist to the mill whom I was sitting on the other side. But the Budgets which I have presented on the last two occasions have, to a large extent, disappointed the Opposition. I did not provide them with any material on which they could attack. In fact, if you look at all the speeches made either during the general debate on the Budget or even during this debate on the Finance Bill, you will find that there is very little criticism of the measures which I have introduced in the Budget or in the Finance Bill. The criticism generally relates to things which I have not done or which, according to Hon. Members, I should have done to improve the economy of the country.

So far as the state of economy is concerned, I never claimed that it is in a very good shape. At all times, I have only claimed that the economy is taking a turn for the better from

the moras into which it had fallen during the year, 1979-80.

Two reasons mainly contributed to the very lower level of our economy. One is the Budget present by my predecessor Mr. Charan Singh who levied an indiscriminate excise duty of over Rs. 650 crores recklessly and thoughtlessly on every item. The other was the natural circumstance of drought which affected this country. Together, they had turned our economy into shambles and I had to do my utmost to see that the economy is revived.

All that we could achieve in the first year, 1980-81 was to arrest this tendency of inflation and to moderate the inflationary pressure. In the calendar year, 1979, for which I should take the figure, because that is the comparable figure of the previous Government, the inflation rate was 22 per cent and in the calendar year, 1980, the inflation rate was only 13 per cent. All I said was that though a poor country like India cannot really afford to have an inflation of even 13 or 13.5 per cent, the rate of inflation at 22 per cent has been arrested and the rate of inflation has been moderated.

The strategy that we followed in respect of the handling or controlling of inflation was something different from what classical economists have always followed, namely of trying to deal with the demand management by increasing taxes, by curtailing credit, and by mopping up liquidity in various ways. On the contrary, as I said, we are offering incentives and by reducing taxes, we will follow a policy of supply management whereby the goods and services produced in the country will be able to mop up the liquidity in the economy.

We have been assured of a moderate success of this philosophy and we are encouraged to go in the same direction.

That is why we gave tax reliefs to the middle classes.

We also gave tax relief to the industrialists in the corporate sector who are engaged in production of goods and services.

We gave also certain facilities and incentives for saving. And I am again happy to say that the events of the last few weeks after the presentation of the Budget justify the line that we have taken. As has been pointed out by my esteemed friend, Shri Kamal Nath, the rate of price rise four weeks after the presentation of Shri Charan Singh's Budget was 2.9 per cent, and the rate of price rise four weeks after the presentation of this Budget was only 0.8 per cent. Therefore, I want to submit for the consideration of this House that the policy that we are now pursuing promises to bring about a measure of control over the inflationary spiral. I would also like to urge on the Members the fact that we are not living in isolation. All over the world, prices are rising. There is not a single developed country or developing country which, during the year 1980, had a lower rate of inflation than in the year 1979 except India. All the other countries had in 1980 a higher rate of inflation than the rate of inflation in 1979. Therefore, we are encouraged to pursue this policy, largely in the interest of the people of the country and in the interest of the economy of this country.

My esteemed friend, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, has said that all these concessions appear to be directed towards the well-to-do classes and not in favour of the weaker sections of the society. To the charge that some of these concessions are towards the better class of the society, I plead acceptance because, according to our philosophy, as I have explained time and again, the duty of providing goods and services to the economy rests not only on the public sector but also on the private sector. Therefore, if the private sector should play its legitimate role, it has to be given the necessary incentives to play that role. Unless we come to the conclusion that we have no need for a private sector

in this country, we must continue to give that kind of incentives to the private sector. The reason why we gave a 5 per cent concession in the corporate tax was to encourage savings and reinvestment. It is an elementary principle of the economics that without reinvestment there can be no production and without further production, there can be no decrease or lowering of prices. So it is a part of the strategy of increasing production that we have said that we will give incentives. Whether they live upto the expectations or not is a matter on which I have a quarrel with them and I have been talking to them about it. But that does not mean that we should not give the necessary incentives for the purpose of enabling them to reinvest, to save and invest in further production of wealth in the country. That is why I said that we had to give this 5 per cent reduction in the surcharge.

My hon. friend, Shri Banatwalla said that I have increased the rate of tax to 30 per cent and it is very heavy. I am quite sure that he has read page 4 of the explanatory statement. Even after raising the rate to 30 per cent on account of the fact that I have brought the nil slab rate to Rs. 15,000, a person who earns Rs. 16000 will gain about Rs. 990, right upto say Rs. 220 by a person earning Rs. 24000. It is not the rate of tax it is the amount of tax that one pays should be taken into consideration. He pays less. He pays less because instead of reducing the tax at one level, I have increased the nil slab rate to a very high level of Rs. 15000 with the result that he pays tax only on the margin between Rs. 15000 and Rs. 24000 whereas in the past he had to pay on incomes between Rs. 8000 to Rs. 24000. So it is wrong to compare the rate of tax. You must compare the amount of tax paid by a person. If the deficit is large, then it is difficult to contain the prices. In fact my predecessor reached the level of Rs. 2700 crores of deficit in the year 1979-80. Now, so far as this Government is concerned, in spite of the adverse circum-

[SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN]  
 tances in which it took office, it was able to contain the deficit to Rs. 1975 crores in 190-81 and I have this time said the deficit would be of the order of Rs. 1540 crores.

Shri Dandavate and a number of other friends said that we have taken credit for the Bearer Bonds to the tune of Rs. 800 crores and, 'Therefore, you say that' what you have to judge is not how I make up the revenue but what I make up at the end of the year. The Bearer Bond is one of the schemes and if it had been allowed to run its course, according to me, it would have fetched the anticipated revenue receipt. Nevertheless, I may point out that the Bearer Bonds is just one other kind of borrowings like any other borrowings that I am doing in the country. I borrow at 9 per cent in a certain case and I borrow at 6 per cent in certain other cases. Do I not borrow tax-free in certain cases?

I was told that the West Bengal Government has been very clever and said that the Government of India must give Rs. 100 crores because in the Bearer Bonds I have given up the tax. I do not know why they did not raise it earlier because I have been borrowing and the earlier Governments have also been borrowing tax-free. On the National Savings Certificates, we give 6 per cent and 7 per cent tax-free. On National Savings Certificates, it gives 6 per cent or 9 per cent tax-free. Could not the Government then say "Oh, you have borrowed tax-free. If you had levied the tax, it would have been so much and our share, of 80 per cent of it, would have come to us." So, this is all trying to be too clever without having commonsense.

Government has a right to borrow on various terms—it borrows on terms with reference to certain cases. In the case of bearer bonds, it went to the public to borrow a certain amount of money on certain terms, it is not taxation. If anybody said that it is taxation, it is a perversion of mind.

It is just another kind of borrowing, under Art. 292 of the Constitution, the Executive power of the Union extends to borrowing on such terms and conditions as they think fit subject only to the condition as may be prescribed by Parliament about the amount. That is all. (*Interruptions*). I can borrow from robbers, I can borrow from dacoits, I can borrow from the honest men. I can borrow from anybody. Can anybody say that we should borrow only from 'X' and not from 'Y'. (*Interruptions*) Unfortunately, people do not even look at the precedents. You look at the Gold-Bond issued in 1965. We gave the same terms. We said: whether it is smuggled gold or tax-evaded gold or any gold, we will not ask any question if you tender this gold and that gold-bond will be free from Wealth Tax or from any other tax. The 1965 bonds were being cleared in 1980. (*Interruptions*).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We objected.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Wisdom appears to have been dawned only today. Nobody objected. You look into the whole records of the Parliamentary debate. Nobody said a word about it.

Therefore, it appears to me that people who want to oppose this have no legal or moral or legitimate grounds and they are now trying to invent grounds which do not stand scrutiny. For the last three days, the bonds have picked up to such an extent that we have not been able to meet the demand of these bonds in certain Centres. One or two Members of Parliament even came and asked me (*Interruptions*). The bonds were not available, they were exhausted in Chandigarh, in Madras and in certain other parts. The Reserve Bank has rushed the bonds to the other places and the hon. Members have come and represented now that the time should be extended.

**PROF. N. G. RANGA:** We do not know whether you would like to extend the time. What is the rationale behind it?

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** I want to make it categorically clear that according to the notification which we have already issued, Government can suspend the sale of those bonds, on any date but not earlier than the 30th of April. And Government have decided to suspend the sale of these bonds at the last working hour of the 30th of April. We will suspend the sale of these bonds. The one result will be that the bonds will be at a premium very soon. It is only a suspension. We have now decided that it will be suspended at the expiry of the last working hour of the 30th of April. It is not as if we have been soft on the tax evaders. I have given figures repeatedly in this House about the number of raids that have been carried out in this year and in the previous year as against the number of raids which have been carried out in the past.

In the first year of the Janata rule the total number of raids carried out was 617. The total number of raids which we have carried out during the last year is 3,400. Nobody can say that we have been softer than the predecessor Government if figures mean anything at all.

Sir, we have also brought forward the Bill giving powers to the Government to acquire the flats which are now passing hands at a premium and in black-money. If the Government are satisfied about the ostensible value of the flats being lower than that of the real price at which it is transferred Government is empowered to acquire these flats and this Bill we have introduced. So, you cannot say that we have been soft to anybody. The number of raids which have been carried out throughout the country will bear testimony to it.

In fact, I want the House to give fullest support to the officers who

carry out this very difficult and very risky operation. I am very sorry that some of the officers who went to Srinagar for the purpose of conducting these raids have been mal-treated and have been beaten up. It is very unfortunate and I am quite sure the House will join with me in paying tribute to the officers who have been able to stand upto it. I repeat once again to the benefit of this House that the raids, searches and seizures are carried out by officers on receipt of information which after scrutiny they consider credible and no interference of any kind occurs either from the top or bottom or anywhere. In fact, we do not even know where they are going. I honestly tell you that I did not know that there was going to be a raid in Srinagar or anywhere else...

**DR. FAROOQ ABDULLAH:** The only problem is that this was the most inopportune time because of tourist season.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** And the searches prove that the information is correct. These were the things seized there: About two lakhs worth of foreign exchange, 20 lakhs worth of jewellery—all unaccounted. And what do you want the Government to do? To sit quite and watch and then say that the Government is soft to the tax evaders and tax dodgers. Government does not have X-ray eyes. They do not know who exactly has what. They can only go by the information they get and if the information is checked and double checked and found to be credible then they have to carry out otherwise there will be dereliction of duty on the part of the officers.

Therefore, I wish to again emphasise that we will give no quarter whatsoever to the tax dodgers and we will certainly carry out these searches and seizures for the purpose of unearthing black-money. Not only that we will take stringent measures also which will come out in due course to control this money circulating outside the banking system.

**SHRI BALASAHEB VIKHE PATIL** (Kopargaon): What about counter-feit currency?

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** The point really is this. Government have to protect the honest man and they do everything possible to see that the honest man is not harassed. In my last address to the Income-tax Commissioners I said "it is very difficult for people to tax and please, but do not by any chance go and tax and tease". We do not want to harass anybody. But at the same time where we have credible information about the possession of black money, of unaccounted money of these transactions, Government have to take the action and I want every support from every section of this House. Other-wise, Government will not be able to carry out its work.

A point was raised that if you do not get this amount of Rs. 900 crores or Rs. 800 crores, how will you make up? Government can make up in a number of ways and I will not say how I will make up. But I can say the ways in which it can be made up. The ways in which it makes up is: (1) higher taxation, and (2) larger borrowings. There are so many things which we can do and I still hope that I would not be driven to the extreme necessity of having to raise taxes. But if it becomes unavoidable or inevitable, I want to assure the House that I will not shrink from it, I will not back out from it.

Now, a few points have been made, namely, that supply of some of these commodities is not equitably distributed and they are not adequate to the needs. Sir, I will concede that so far as the pulses are concerned, there is a short supply and pulses are produced only in this country and they cannot be imported. If any commodity goes into short supply and as a result thereof it is not possible to give adequate quantities, particularly to the weaker and vulnerable section of the society, I give this assurance that I

will import it and have it distributed in the country. Edible oil, for instance, is one where we are hopeful that we will be able to manage with the oil that we have, but if the prices still persist, it may be one of the items which we have to consider. Even in case of sugar where we have about 10 per cent more production over the last year—our expected production is about 52 lakh tonnes—and if this proves inadequate, the prospect of importing is not ruled out. But we will try as much as possible to have more equitable distribution system to meet our needs with the stocks that we have. But at the same time, I want to assure the House that when it becomes necessary, we will not shirk or shrink from importing it to meet the needs of the people.

A point was made by Mr. Kosalram that Appellate Tribunal has been delayed. The Appellate Tribunal is almost ready. For this institution, the only question which delayed it was the question of the Chairman. My view has always been that it should be presided over by a judge of the High Court sitting or retired and I am happy to say that that has been accepted and we will be constituting it very soon.

So far as Exise Notification is concerned, which my esteemed friend Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu wanted that it should be discussed before notified, I have to point out that it is impracticable. There are occasions when we have to raise the export duty in order to preserve the commodity within the country. There are occasions when we have to suddenly impose duty in order to prevent dumping of certain goods from certain other countries. And this has to be done without the knowledge of the commercial community otherwise they will fabricate contracts of having been entered into earlier and then try to get the benefit of a lesser tax and so on. All that we do is, as soon as the notification is made, it is laid on the Table of the House and the hon. Members have, according to the

rules, the right to move for any modification thereto, within thirty days. Even if they do not succeed, the matter could be discussed by giving a notice and it has been discussed in our House on several occasions. Therefore, I do not think it would be possible to accept the suggestion made by my friend.

Shri Banatwalla said that the additional excise duty on textiles was a harsh levy. Apparently, he did not know the legislative history of this levy. At one time, the textile mills were obliged to produce a certain percentage of their goods as controlled cloth for distribution to the weaker section of the society. The textile mills themselves represented that they would rather pay an additional excise duty than produce this cloth because it interferes with their general scheme of production. Thereupon, a 10 per cent additional excise duty was levied and this amount was transferred to the account of standard cloth and the price was reduced to that extent. Today, the cost of production of the controlled cloth has gone up and if I do not levy this additional 15 per cent excise duty, then the weaker section, the poorer section, will have to pay that additional cost from their pocket.

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA:** I am very much obliged to the Finance Minister to reply to the point made by me. While speaking on the budget I had spoken at length on this. If the textile industry then had made such a representation, it does not mean that the Finance Minister may go on increasing this burden to any level he may like. I agree with the objective for having this cloth for the poor people, but then this is a national objective and the national objective be met not only from the textile industry, but from our general revenues.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** I have absolutely no objection; if the textile industry will agree to produce the controlled cloth, I will take away the excise duty.

**PROF. N. G. RANGA:** But, they failed to do it last year.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** Yes, they failed to do it, and that is why, we have to levy it and give it as subsidy to the consumers.

The second thing is that when the cost of the standard cloth goes up, it is the duty of the textile industry which wanted to escape the liability of producing the standard cloth to bear the additional cost of the standard cloth. It is not for the society to bear it. If I do not levy this 15 per cent additional levy, which comes to 32 crores, it would be added to the deficit and it will be borne by the average citizen in the country. Why do you want the textile industry which has an obligation to produce a certain quantity of standard cloth for the benefit of the community to be relieved of the obligation to pay the excise duty. I do not think, even the textile industry has made that representation which Shri Banatwalla has made.

Now Sir, one or two more points.

There was a general statement that Budget does not show much concern for the weaker and poorer sections. Mr. Dandavate also mentioned this, but he will agree with me that this National Rural Employment Programme is an improvement on the old Food for Work Programme. It is not a different programme. It is an improvement. It is an improvement in the sense that while the Food for Work gave only food and nothing else, the National Employment Programme gives food and cash for the purpose of meeting some of the expenses which will go to the creation of durable assets. For instance, if you wanted to lay a road, if you gave only food, then they will lay mud road, but if you give food and some cash, they will lay a metal road. Similarly, if you want to build a culvert, they will not build it, because there is no cash component in it. Now, if you give

[Shri R. Venkataraman]

food and cash component, they will build culvert. Therefore, this is a refinement and improvement of the old Food for Work Programme and the National Employment Programme is intended to give work for nine million man days.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE:** Finance Minister, the figures which you have given for 1980-81 is Rs. 340 crores, while for the 1981-82 Budget it is Rs. 380 crores. Both are cash components.

**SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN:** I will tell you this. In 1980-81, the Centre met the whole thing. In 1981-82 the allocations between the Centre and the States were made and it became 50-50. Fifty per cent is met by the State and 50 per cent by the Centre. Therefore, while it was Rs. 340 crores last year, it is Rs. 380 crores this year. Centre makes calculation of the State Plan and then makes calculation of the resources that States are able to raise, then it makes up the balance for carrying out the Plan. As a result of it it has gone up by another Rs. 40 crores. That is why in the Central Budget you will find half the figure and half the figure in the State Budget. Together it comes to Rs. 380 crores.

Secondly, in the Integrated Rural Development Programme we have also enhanced the allocation this year and we have provided Rs. 110 crores for the Rural Water Supply Scheme and thirty-six thousand villages are going to be provided with water supply. A number of schemes have been added. If you total them up, you will find that Rural sector will get adequate funds for the purpose of providing employment not only to the unemployed, but also the under-employed in the entire area. That is the scheme and I have no doubt that if the States utilise the various funds, which have been allocated under these heads the National Rural Employment Programme, the Integrated Rural Programme and the Water Sup-

ply Schemes, all these things, will be able to provide a large amount of employment to the rural population.

Sir I do not want to take away all the points. My esteemed friend, Shri Sisodia, is going to deal with rest of the points that have been raised by the Members. I thank the Members for the patient hearing.

**THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA):** Sir, I have to make two submissions.

One is that many Members on both sides want to speak on the Finance Bill. If they want to sit beyond six today and tomorrow go on without lunch break, I think this will satisfy the hon. Members who want to participate in the debate.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** After 6 p.m. today?

**SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA:** After six because tomorrow you have fixed discussion under Rule 193.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Many members have gone.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** If they are prepared to sit, then you can have beyond six and tomorrow no lunch hour because we have got to finalise it tomorrow at least.

Is it the pleasure of the House to sit even after 6 p.m.?

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Upto what time?

**SHRI SAWAI SINGH SISODIA:** Upto 8 p.m., Sir.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Upto 7 p.m.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Upto 7 p.m. today and tomorrow there will be no lunch interval.

Tomorrow, there won't be lunch hour.

(Interruptions)

**SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA:** What is the final decision, Sir?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** There will be no lunch hour tomorrow; and the House will to-day sit till 7 p.m. Only one hour we have extended.

Such of those Members who want to speak, want this. They are prepared to speak. Why should we spoil their chance? U

प्र० अजित कुमार मेहता : (समस्तीपुर)  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 1980 में जनता पार्टी के विघटन से निराशाजनित क्रोध में जनता ने श्रीमती गांधी को एक और अवसर प्रदान किया था। प्रजातन्त्र को बचाने का यह अमूल्य अवसर उनको मिला, किन्तु सवा साल इस सरकार ने जनता शासन के दोषों को गिनाने में गंवा दिया और अब प्रधान मंत्री शिकायत करती हैं कि यदि लोगों ने काफ नहीं किया तो जनता व्यवस्था बदल देगी। पता नहीं, उनकी यह शिकायत किनसे है? क्योंकि सत्ता में तो वही हैं।

हमने आशा किया था कि विद्वान वित्त मंत्री पिछले साल के बजट से सबके लेंगे, किन्तु खेद है कि वसा नहीं हुआ। उनके अनुसार 24,871 करोड़ का इस बजट का आधार आवश्यक सामानों के उत्पादन में वृद्धि करके मूल्य वृद्धि, अभाव और मुद्रास्फीति को रोकने का था, किन्तु केवल मन में अच्छा उद्देश्य रखने से ही परिणाम अच्छा नहीं हो जाता। उसके लिए सही और कारगर कदम उठाने पड़ते हैं। उसके अभाव में परिणाम वही हुआ जो होना था। मुद्रास्फीति और कीमते और बढ़ी। स्वयं उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है कि बजट के बाद थोक मूल्य सूचकांक 1.5 प्रतिशत बढ़ा। किन्तु वास्तव में यह 13 प्रतिशत से बढ़कर 18 प्रतिशत हो गया है। खुदरा बाजार में मूल्य वृद्धि 20 प्रतिशत से 50 प्रतिशत तक हुई है। उदाहरण के लिए इस्पात का मूल्य लैं। सीमेंट 30 रुपए प्रति बोही के बजाय 60 रुपए में भी उपलब्ध नहीं है। चीनी के विषय में सबको ज्ञात है। यह रांची में 40 रुपए प्रति किलो पर अप्राप्य है।

बजट पर हमने आशंका प्रकट की थी कि उत्पादन वृद्धि के नाम पर उद्योगों को दी जाने वाली रियायत का अनुचित लाभ पूंजीवादी उद्योगपति उठ योगे। इही हो रहा है। बजट के बाद पूंजी निवेश, वितरण और मूल्य निर्धारण पर नियंत्रण नहीं रह गया है। फलतः अस्थिरता फ्री एकोनोमी की हो गई है, जिससे 15 प्रतिशत लोग बाकी 85 प्रतिशत को लूट रहे हैं। प्रधान मंत्री और वित्त मंत्री कबल चोपानी देते रहे किन्तु उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा। एक उदाहरण है टाटा कैमिकल्स का 1939 में 1 करोड़ 16 लाख की पूंजी बनी यह कम्पनी 1974 में 30 करोड़ 74 लाख 80 हजार की हो गई और 1975 के बाद उसमें 44 करोड़ का और पूंजी निवेश हुआ और आज उसकी मिल्कियत 74 करोड़ से भी अधिक की है। डेप्रेसिएशन और टैक्स रिबैट के मद में उनको 30 करोड़ का लाभ मिल चुका है। किन्तु उत्पादन का हाल यह है कि 1975 में उनकी कैपैसिटी 1 हजार टन प्रति दिन की थी वही आज भी कायम है।]

मूल्य निर्धारण की नीति हमेशा ही किसान विरोधी रही है। मुद्रास्फीति को नियंत्रित रखने के नाम पर किसानों को उत्पादन का लाभकर मूल्य देने का विरोध किया गया। 10 अप्रैल, 1976 को प्रथम इंडियन एग्रीकल्चर कांग्रेस को संबोधित करते हुए प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था :

"We cannot keep up the prices of farm produce at the high level reached during periods of scarcity. Inflation does not help farmers. High prices for foodgrains and commercial crops ultimately lead to demand for higher wages, dearness allowances etc. Industries and farmers themselves are then constrained to pay higher prices for inputs."



मगर प्रधान मंत्री भूलती हैं कि मुद्रा-स्फीति घनाज की कीमत बढ़ने से नहीं बढ़ी, उल्टे घनाज की कीमत बाजार दर बढ़ने के कारण जो सरकार द्वारा अर्ध-व्यवस्था में अधिक मनो पर्य करने के कारण, अधिक धनी सप्लाई के कारण यह इन्फ्ले-क्शन बढ़ा है। उदाहरण के लिए महाराष्ट्र में 1960 से 1974 तक सिंचाई पर सरकार ने 1800 करोड़ रुपए खर्च किए, पर सिंचित भूमि में केवल 2-1/2 प्रति-शत वृद्धि हुई और आज भी सिंचित भूमि कुल भूमि का 9.7 प्रतिशत है। यह सारा पैसा कहाँ गया? अभी स्थिति यह है कि तीन मिलियन हैक्टेयर का इरि-गेशन पोर्टफोलियो उपयोग में नहीं है।

सच तो यह है कि हमारी योजनाएँ खर्च-मूलक हैं, परिणाम मूलक नहीं। हम मापदंड खर्च के हिसाब से करते हमें परिणाम के हिसाब से नहीं करते हैं। फिर नियोजित विनास में सार्वजनिक साधनों का अधिक लाभ उद्योगों को दिया गया। इसी नीति के परिणामस्वरूप सर-कार ने गन्ने की कीमत 13.70 रु० प्रति किंटल निर्धारित कर किसानों को आन्दोलन करने पर विवश कर दिया। सिजन के अन्त तक मिल मालिकों ने गन्ने को 30 रु० से 35 रु० प्रति किंटल खरीदा। इसी प्रकार सरकार ने गेहूँ का मूल्य 130 रु० किंटल निर्धारित किया है तथा मूल्य गिराने के लिए गेहूँ के अन्तःप्रान्तीय आवागमन पर रोक लगा दिया है।

श्रीमन्, इस बजट के सोमान्त किसान और खेतिहर मजदूर सबसे अधिक प्रता-डित हैं। स्लैक सीजन में उनको काम देने के लिए तथा उनकी न्यूनतम मजदूरी को गिरने से रोकने के लिए "काम के लिए भोजन" योजना को व्यवस्था नहीं है।

आज स्थिति यह है कि बिजली उत्पा-दन आदि बड़े उद्योगों और लघु उद्योगों में लगाने के लिए पैसे नहीं हैं। योजना और उसके कार्यान्वयन का यह हाल है कि समाज में आर्थिक विषमता बढ़ती जा रही है। धनी और गरीब की दूरी बढ़ती जा रही है और धन 15 प्रतिशत लोगों में सिमटता जा रहा है। इस बजट से उस प्रक्रिया में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है।

बजट में बड़े पैमाने पर रोजगार उत्पन्न करने के लिए कुछ नहीं है। वित्त मंत्री को आशा है कि 30 लाख लोगों को गरीबों की रेखा से ऊपर लाया जाएगा। आज हमारे यहां 50 प्रतिशत लोग गरीबों की रेखा के नीचे हैं यानी 34 करोड़। यदि यही स्तर रहो तो वित्त मंत्री को सौ वर्ष से अधिक सबको उठाने में लगेगा और इस बीच कितने ही नीचे चले जायेंगे, उन तो कोई हिसाब नहीं है।

मान्यवर, बेरोजगारी ही हमारी मूल समस्या है। यही असम और आरक्षण विरोधी आन्दोलन की जड़ में है। सारा ताब इसी कारण है। सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार एक करोड़ 51 लाख नी-ज्जान बेरोजगार हैं वास्तविक संख्या 3.5 करोड़ है, क्योंकि देहात में लोग रोजगार दफ्तर में अपना नाम निबन्धित नहीं कराते। हैं। जहाँ इतने लोग बेरोजगार हों, वहाँ यह जानकार दुःख होता है कि बिहार से सॉल्फ एम्प्लायमेंट स्कीम को 10 करोड़ को राशि वापस कर दी गई है।

श्रीमन्, करोड़ों बेरोजगारों को लघु उद्योग ही काम दे सकता है। मैं यहाँ एस्टोमेट कमेटी का रिपोर्ट का उद्धरण प्रस्तुत करता हूँ :

"The level of satisfaction in the small scale section in the matter of raw material from official channel

is only 30 to 40 per cent. If with such a low level of raw material supplies the small sector could achieve a production worth 21,000 crore (32 per cent of total production), make export with Rs. 1,100 crore (1 per cent of total) and provide employment to 70 lakh persons the full potential of this sector is not difficult to visualise if their raw material requirements are met in full."

महोदय, अब मैं अपने राज्य पर आता हूँ। यह सचमुच आश्चर्य का विषय है कि सबसे गरीब लोग प्राकृतिक सम्पदा और साधनों में सबसे समृद्ध राज्य बिहार में बसते हैं। यह राज्य सदा से उपेक्षित रहा है। आज तक उत्तर बिहार को दक्षिण बिहार से रेल द्वारा नहीं जोड़ा जा सका और पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में रेल-लाइन नहीं बिछायी गई जा सकी, यद्यपि यहाँ के चार यशस्वी रेल मंत्रो हुये हैं। समस्तीपुर में "फ्रेफाइट कारखाने" की योजना वर्षों से लम्बित है। मुफज़फरपुर का ताप विजली घर परियोजना का भी यही हाल है। विभूतिपुर और दर्जिसह सराय तथा पटोरी की हजारों एकड़ भूमि बरसात में पानी में डूबी रहती है। विभूतिपुर का कुछ इलाका तो तीन-चार महोने पानी से घिरा रहता है। रास्ता तक बन्द हो जाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में यदि कोई बोमार हो जाय तो दवा-दारू और डाक्टर के अभाव में मौत का शिकार होता है। मोहिजहोन नगर का दक्षिणी हिस्सा गंगा के कटाव से ग्रस्त रहता है और उत्तरी हिस्सा बरसाती पानी के जमाव से प्रभावित रहता है। टूयूबवेल की बिजली नहीं मिलती और कई तो बैसे हीं बँकार पड़े हैं। कुछ ही समय तक बिजली उपलब्ध हो पाती है जिसके कारण किसानों को सिंचाई की अत्यन्त कठिनाई होती है। जो टूयूबवेल मरम्मत के कारण बँकार पड़े रहते हैं—उनके मरम्मत के कोई अर्थ नहीं है।

विधि-व्यवस्था की हालत यह है कि धान के बगल में उकती होती है लेकिन धान को कुछ पता नहीं रहता है। यहाँ पर यह उल्लेख कर देना भी ठीक ही होगा कि समस्तीपुर के कुछ ही किलोमीटर के अन्दर साल में तीन मर्तबा गोली-काण्ड हो चुका है। ऐसा समझा जाता है कि वहाँ की सरकार समस्याओं का समाधान गोली चला ही कर सकती है।

इन्हीं सब कारणों से मैं इस वित्त विधेयक का विरोध करते हुये अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ धन्यवाद।

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI (Raiganj):  
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Finance Bill and to speak a few words in this connection. This is the last phase of the budget discussion and I want to make a few observations.

I must congratulate the Union Finance Minister for courageously and boldly facing the country's economic problems and making an all-out effort to put it on the rails. Of course, the present Finance Bill which is sought to be passed, is undoubtedly a commendable attempt out of the present situation, where he has tried to restrict the deficit than the past years. What I like to draw his attention to is that any country's economic development, its prosperity, depend upon a successful domestic policy of the Government and implementation of the policies very much depends on its employees. What do I find today in the domestic field? I come from the State of West Bengal, a State which is ruled by a Government named Left Front Government, particularly dominated by the CPI(M), who are out and out authoritarian in their design and activities, who believe in the politics of violence, who believe in the politics of killings and murders and letting loose the law and order situation in that part of the country.

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA (Ban-kura): Is he speaking on the Finance

[Shri Basudeb Acharia]

Ell? He is speaking on the law and order situation.

DR GOLAM YAZDANI: Sir, India is one. If any part of this country where the lives and properties of the citizens are not safe, where political parties, who do not subscribe to the ruling Left Front policies are subjected to coercion, workers and leaders are beaten mercilessly, they are killed and their houses are burnt, a reign of terror is established and a reign of fascist character is established, I do not know how you will be achieving your objectives. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: West Bengal is a part of India. He can speak what he wants. Why are you so much intolerant? You must hear him. If there is something you can reply. But I have to decide whether it is relevant or not. It is for me to decide; it is not for you to decide.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI: When I heard the speeches of Comrade Niren Ghosh and Mr Chitta Basu, while they were speaking on the Home Ministry's Grants, they said that the Central Government want to topple the West Bengal Left Front Government. Mr Chitta Basu also said that Congress (I) is deliberately creating law and order problem in the State. Sir, they are suffering from inferiority complex, because the CPM dominated Left Front Government is responsible for the precarious law and order situation in the state, because of which no person feels secure there and life and security of the people have become a play-thing and so, constant fear is present in their minds and also in the minds of the CPM Government that for the misdeeds of the State Government, the Centre will dismiss the State Government. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He belongs to West Bengal. Why are you so much intolerant? If things are not

like that in West Bengal, you can reply. (*Interruptions*). Only if he yields, you can interrupt. Otherwise you cannot interrupt.

AN HON. MEMBER: Why is he reading his speech?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is not reading.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI: I am not reading. I am only referring to the points in notes.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS AND DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH): There were instances from that side when they were reading. He is not reading. He is only referring to his notes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: When any member is speaking, if you want to interrupt and ask some clarification, the speaker must yield; only then you can interrupt.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI: For the deterioration of the law and order, they are blaming the Congress (I). But actual facts are different. Only recently on the 30th of last month Congress (I) organised demonstrations and processions for March to the Assembly' to protest against the misrule, anarchy in the domain of education, deterioration of law and order situation in West Bengal. But the peaceful processions were halted by the police at three points and then dispersed by violent methods. The Police lathi-charged, teargased and shot the peaceful processionists indiscriminately. The police fired 46 rounds and burst 51 tear gas shells. They fired shots on the Congress (I) men from behind when they were running away. As a result, seven men were killed of whom three were taken to hospital and four were taken to unknown destination by the police. One boy who sat on a standing tram was shot and he died. One woman,

Shrimati Murmu, lay on the foot-path seriously injured and she was taken away to some unknown place. The total number of injured were more than 800 and 154 were taken to the hospital. One ex-MLA, Mr. Hardan Mandal fell down and the police bayoneted his right foot through and through. To show respect to the dead people, Congress(I) took out a mourning procession on 31-3-81 and declared a 'bandh' throughout West Bengal on 3-4-81. On the bandh day, the police become very violent. They started hurling bombs and using fire-arms on the peaceful Congress(I) demonstrators. Upto noon they did not attack but in the afternoon, they started hurling bombs and used fire arms. This was done with the assistance of the Left Front cadres... (Interruptions) If you have got anything, you can say. I am narrating the facts. Why are you afraid? (Interruptions) Because of this 22 people died of whom 17 were Congress(I) men. They say that the Congress(I) men hurled the bombs. Surely the Congress(I) men would not throw bombs on their men.

18 hrs.

On the eve of the bandh, police arrested about 4000 Congress(I) men. On the bandh day Police, CPM and other Left Front cadres were violent... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: One more member from CPM Party will speak tomorrow. He can reply to the charges made by him.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI: On the bandh day, not more than 10 to 12 buses and trams were on the road but later on, an exhibition of about 200 damaged trams and buses was opened. Most of these damaged trams and buses were already in the depot and brought for the exhibition. Police and CPM cadres threw bombs on buses in which three women passengers were killed.

By these violent means, they wanted to see that the bandh should not be a success. But the bandh was successful throughout whole of West Bengal... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You are dealing with the law and order situation in West Bengal. Come to the Finance Bill.

DR. GOLAM YAZDANI: I said in the beginning that the country's economic development, its prosperity, depends upon a successful domestic policy of the Government and implementation of the policies very much depends on its employees. But what do I find today in the domestic field? I see no law and order in West Bengal. So, our money is being misused. (Interruptions) Since they are challenging, I will refer to my notes.

Recently, on the night of 13-4-81, a 'Gana Adalat' was held by CPM men at Rahmatpur village in Harishchandrapur P. S. of Malda district in West Bengal. Idris Ali, son of Sakhabat and Chand Mohd. son of Bhim and Mumtaz son of Hafiz were caught and produced before the 'Gana Adalat' where they were inhumanly beaten and tortured throughout the night. Next morning the injured were handed over to relatives who took them to the Harishchandra P. S. Idris lodged a diary giving names of the accused. But in the way to hospital he died. Chand Mohd. is now in Malda hospital in a serious condition. In spite of the diary, the police has not yet arrested the CPM men.

When the hon. Deputy Minister, Mr. Makwana visited Asansol and Durgapur in West Bengal on 18-4-1981, he saw that one Abdul Mannan of Congress(I) was murdered by CPM men and on the same day 7 men were killed in Patherasthali in Burdwan district when two groups of villagers chased.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Makwana is not the Finance Minister. He is the Home Minister.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** What he said was that the law and order situation in West Bengal was very serious.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You are dealing with the law and order situation in the whole of India, I think.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** Murderers, dacoits, goondas and other anti-social elements are enjoying open patronage from rank and file of CPM.  
(Interruptions).

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Do not disturb. This is not the way. I told him, he will come to the Finance Bill.  
(Interruptions).

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** The West Bengal police has been largely infiltrated by CPM cadres. All these police officers and men who try to do their duties honestly and do not toe the CPM line are being transferred and action is taken against them. The entire West Bengal police is demoralised and it will not be wrong if I say that the police in West Bengal has been made the instrument of CPM to fulfil their political ends.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Doctor, come to the Finance Bill.  
(Interruptions).

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You have spoken sufficiently on the law and order situation in West Bengal. Now, come to the Finance Bill.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** I shall come ultimately to the Finance Bill. But all these have got relation to the Finance Bill. Until and unless all these are okeyed, how are you going to finance for the country's development?

This is the law and order situation in the country. What has happened is that the CPM people are just controlling the police people and...  
(Interruptions)

**SHRI P. K. KODIYAN (Adoor):** Sir, will any one of us be permitted to attack any Congress ruled State?

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You see, he cannot use the words 'bureaucracy' or anything like that. But he can speak. He has got freedom of speech here. That should be allowed.  
(Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You can reply to him when you speak.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** The law and order situation in West Bengal is very bad and people are groaning under the rule of CPM dominated Left Front Government. I think when the people in West Bengal are not getting justice from the Government, the Centre has got to look into the matter. So, I demand that the Central Government must feel the helpless condition of the people of West Bengal and they should come to their rescue to save them from the misrule of West Bengal Government by removing this tyrant government and declare immediately President's rule in the State so that the situation there cannot be further aggravated.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now he has come to the Finance Bill.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** I shall come to another point. The other day from that side it was said that the Election Commissioner is purposely postponing the bye-election in West Bengal, but I can say that there are so many mistakes in the voters' lists and the votes were rigged so much in the last election that many complaints were made to the Election Commissioner and we know that there is no doubt in the minds of a very large number of people in West Bengal...

(Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Let him say. He is not talking about you.

(Interruptions)

Take it sportingly and reply to him.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:**... that fair and free elections cannot take place in West Bengal under the administrative control of CPM dominated Left Front Government. Election

should be held only after the CPM Government is removed and President's rule is imposed.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now only you have come to the Central Government from West Bengal.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** Now I come to some other point. The other day...

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Leave those points in West Bengal itself.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** I am coming to the communal disturbances.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Please conclude because you have taken more time.

**DR. GOLAM YAZDANI:** Give me a little more time so that I shall cover this.

For communal disturbances how much money of the Government is wasted or spent? So, I am just giving some suggestions to the Government to cope with this.

The Government has admitted that the communal riots are increasing every year and it is the Government's responsibility to protect lives and properties of Muslims and other minorities.

Now I have got a suggestion to make. There are so many suggestions given. What is the cause of the communal riots? Somebody has said this and that etc., but it seems to me that the main cause should be just diagnosed and the illness should be treated in the right way.

It seems to me that the very root cause is not given proper attention. The main cause is the hatred against the Muslims which is imparted in the minds of the majority community boys from the very primary school stages and sustained up to higher education stages. Many text-books from primary to higher stages contain

false, distorted facts about the religion, culture and history of Muslims. So many non-Muslims boys who are educated side by side with Muslim boys develop hatred against Muslims.

When the communally educated boys grow up and are engaged in various kinds of job and work they express this hatred in their own way when any communal incident occurs in any part of the country. The press ventilates this hatred easily as was found during the last Muradabad riots. It is gratifying to note that the 'Communal Harmony Cell' of the Home Department has noted down this and has decided to keep a close watch on the press against inflammatory writings.

This hatred is spread not only by books but also in other ways. About eight years back I read in an English 'Motherland' newspaper in New Delhi that 'Taj Mahal' was not built by Shahjahan but it was built by a non Muslim and was named "Teja Maha Alaya" and later on Shahjahan forcibly took possession of this building and renamed it "Taj Mahal". This is distortion of history. It is found that the "guides" who explain historical facts to all kinds of visitors from villages, town and abroad, narrate many false historical facts. I have heard with my own ears that a guide in Kutub Minar was narrating to the visitors that Kutub Minar was built by Prithviraj. Such distortions of history surely impart hatred against Muslims even in the minds of uneducated villagers. This should be looked into and prevented.

The other day Hon. Member Zainul Basher showed how scanty are the number of Muslim officers in Delhi. Not only in Delhi such is the condition of Muslim everywhere in the country. Though Article 16 of the Indian Constitution protects Muslims and other minorities for getting employment still Muslims do not get fair chance for employment anywhere in any service. Muslims are backward in all respects and reservation of their employment in Government services

[Mr. Golam Yazdani]  
is not against Article 16 which allows Parliament to make law, and order the State Governments to reserve seats for such minorities. After 33 years of independence it is now being felt that there is a strong case for reservation of seats in Government services and public undertakings for Muslims and other minorities. As one of the means to regain confidence in the minds of Muslims, it was assured during Muradabad riots that the P.A.C. would be reorganised and Muslims would be taken in adequate numbers in P.A.C. and also in other departments of police and other administrations. I do not know how far this has been implemented. If not, serious attempts should be made to take Muslims in various kinds of employment in the country. The Central Government have desired to raise 3 battalions in C.R.P. as a "Special Peace Force" where adequate number of minorities and Scheduled Castes and Tribes would be taken and recruitment for this force is reported to be taken place at Durgapur, Jammu and Ahmedabad. I feel that at these 3 places where Muslims population is negligible, sufficient numbers of Muslims may not come forward. In West Bengal the recruitment should be made from Malda or Murshidabad District. In the same way, recruitment should be made also from Delhi, U.P., Bihar, Karnataka and Kerala.

Now I want to give a suggestion. I request the Central Government to see that misrepresentation of facts about Muslims are omitted from various books. I am very glad to say that the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and the right-thinking members of the majority community are conscious of this problem and have been trying to bring communal harmony in the country and to preserve the secular character of our country.

To do away with objectionable writings about any community in various books and distortion of history and other books expert committees consisting of local scholars and his-

torians should be set up for every province to check up books in local language and also a Central Committee should be set up for this purpose. On their reports and recommendations, the Government should take steps to remove communal matters and distortions of history from various books. To implement this suggestion, much money will be required and I request the hon. Finance Minister to provide adequate money for this vital and noble national cause.

So, this is about finance. I started with the Finance Bill and I am ending with finance and I am making an appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to provide more funds for this noble cause.

श्री रामजीना बिष (सलेमपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका आभारी हूँ कि आपने वित्त विधेयक पर हमें भी अपना मत व्यक्त करने का अवसर प्रदान किया। मान्यवर, जब हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपना बजट पेश किया तो हम समझते हैं कि देश के चारों طرف से उनकी प्रशंसा हुई, नाम मात्र के एक आघ विरोधी निकले। यहाँ तक कि विरोधी दल के लोगों ने भी प्रशंसा की। और यह बात सही है कि हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी देश के इतिहास प्रशंसकियों में से हैं और उन्होंने अपनी विद्वता के अनुरूप देश को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये जो बजट पेश किया उसकी जितनी भी प्रशंसा लोगों ने की और हम लोग करते हैं वह कम है। मैं उदा. संदर्भ में नहीं जाऊंगा और न अधिक कहना ही है, एक और विपक्ष दोनों का फायदा मारी बातें आ चुकी हैं। मैं शुद्ध देहात का रहने वाला हूँ इसलिए जो अपना निजी अनुभव है, जो सामने देख रहा हूँ वह आपके माध्यम से जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ। यह बात सत्य है कि हमेशा हम लोग कहते हैं कि गांधी का विकास करेंगे, गांधी ने रहने वाले किसानों को अधिक सुख सुविधा देंगे। किन्तु

आज वास्तविकता क्या है ? वास्तविकता यह है कि जैसे एक बड़िया घड़ा हो और उसमें दूध भर जा रहा हो और दूध भरने वाला आदमी यह गौन न करे कि बड़े में सुराब है, और वास्तव में उसमें सुराब हो, ऊपर से दूध भरता जाय और सुराब में से दूध निकल रहा है, और जितना मिलना चाहिये उसको नहीं मिल रहा है। आज ठीक यही पोजीशन है।

समस्त पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ, आधी, आठवीं १० खर्च हुआ सचमुच में जो लाभ किसानों को मिलना चाहिये आज तक नहीं मिल पा रहा है। आज वास्तविकता यह है कि 1,000 रुपये बेतन पाने वाला आदमी अपने परिवार का किस तरह से गुजरा करता है, यह हम भली भाँति जानते हैं। देहात में आज सीलिंग है, 18 से 27 एकड़ तक खेत एक परिवार रख सकता है। आप पता लगायें जिस परिवार के पास 18 एकड़ से 27 एकड़ तक खेत है तो उसको दोनों वक्का सब्जी, दाल और रोटी नहीं मिल पाती और कर्जों से लदा हुआ है। शायद ही कोई ऐसा किसान हो जो कर्जों से लदा नहीं। एक गाँव में जो इंटर के घर लगे हुए हैं, ट्रेक्टर है, वास्तविकता यह है कि ट्रेक्टर कर्जों में है और उस पर कर्जा लदा हुआ है। और बार-बार हमारी स्कीम बनती है गाँव के विकास के लिये, हम सारी योजनाएँ बना कर रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं। एक निजी अनुभव और सुझाव वित्त मंत्री जी को दे रहा हूँ। मैं समझता हूँ कि कई अरब १० हम किसानों को सब्सिडी के रूप में देते हैं फर्टिलाइजर इत्यादि पर। लेकिन उसका लाभ किसान तक नहीं पहुँच पाता और अरबों १० जो खर्च करते हैं तो उसमें किसानों की जो फसल है, जो गेहूँ, गन्ना या अन्य चीजें वह पैदा करते हैं उसका मूल्य हम

कम कर देते हैं। मैं मंत्री जी से कहूँगा यह जो सब्सिडी की रकम है वह दूसरे रूप में दीजिये। वह किसानों को न दे कर के उपभोक्ताओं को दी जाय। किस तरह से दी जाय ? फर्ज कीजिये 6 अरब १० सब्सिडी में दे रहे हैं वह भी उपभोक्ता को दें और उसकी एवज में किसानों की जो फसल है आज इत्यादि उसकी कीमत बढ़ा दें। मसलन गत वर्ष आपने 105, 110 १० पर गहूँ खरीदा और उसको 130 १० में दिया। किसान समझता है कि हमको कुछ मिला नहीं, हमारे अनाज का दाम कम मिला.. उपभोक्ता कहता है कि किसानों से 105 रुपये में लिया और हमको 130 रुपये में दिया। दोनों समझते नहीं कि वास्तव में हमारी कोई मदद कर रहा है या नहीं। मेरा सुझाव है कि सब्सिडी की रकम से अनाज की कीमतों में बढ़ोतरी की जाये और अनाज उपभोक्ताओं को 145 और 150 रुपये क्विंटल पर देना है, उसे 2, 3 रुपये क्विंटल कम कर के दिया जाये ताकि उपभोक्ता समझे कि सरकार हमको 2,3 रुपये कम पर अनाज दे रही है, वास्तव में कीमत 150 रुपये है और सरकार 2, 3 रुपये कम पर दे रही है। अगर किसानों से खरीदने की कीमत 125 रुपये पड़ती है तो उसे 5 रुपये बढ़ाकर 130 १० दीजिये। वास्तव में जिनके पास यह रकम पहुँचनी चाहिये, इस तरह से वह उनकी पहुँच जाये। हो सकता है कि मैं ठीक से एक्सप्लेन नहीं कर पाया हूँ, लेकिन आप मेरी भावना को समझकर स्वतः समझ लें कि क्या करना है।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि जितनी बड़ी बड़ी फर्म हैं, उनकी शासन और बैंक के द्वारा जो लोन मिलता है, वह 10, 12 परसेंट पर मिलता है, शायद इससे अधिक न हो। आपको आश्चर्य होगा हम किसानों के हितैषी हैं, मैं उत्तर प्रदेश



### [श्री रामनगीना मिश्र]

को बात कहता हूँ, वहाँ पर किसानों को जो फर्टिलाइजर दिया जाता है, उर्वरक दिया जाता है, वह गन्ना सोसाइटियों के द्वारा दिया जाता है। वहाँ 80 फँक्टरियों हैं 125 गन्ना संघ हैं, उनका एक बहुत बड़ा कार्यालय उत्तर प्रदेश में है जो उनसे साढ़े 18 परसेंट सूद लेता है।

वहाँ वित्त पोषण स्कीम बनी हुई है, मैं समझता हूँ कि वह हमारे गन्ना किसानों के लिये काला कानून है। इस स्कीम का मतलब यह होता है कि खाद तो गन्ना सोसाइटियाँ बेती हैं और गाँव को जो को-ऑपरेटिव सोसाइटी है वह पच्ची देती है। खाद किसान ले जाता है, बानी खाद का दाम वसूल करती है गन्ना सोसाइटी और वह 1, डेढ़ परसेंट सूद ज्यादा लेती है और एन्ट्रो नहीं देती है। किसान मारा मारा फिरता है। आज उत्तर प्रदेश के गन्ना बोने वाले किसानों से अगर पूछा जाये तो वह समझते हैं कि हमारे ऊपर यह काला कानून है। गन्ना संघ वालों ने उत्तर प्रदेश के वित्त मंत्री और योजना मंत्री को एप्रोच किया और कहा कि इससे उनको बहुत नुकसान हो रहा है, जितना किसानों को फायदा मिलना चाहिये वह नहीं दे पा रहे हैं।

अपने यहाँ मिश्रित अर्थव्यवस्था है। प्राइवेट सैक्टर में भी फँक्टरियाँ हैं और सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में भी। यदि आंकड़े देखे जायें तो मैं समझता हूँ कि मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था सब जगह चालू है। इसको कहां तक सफलता मिली है, मेरे देखने में तो यह आता है कि जो सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में काम हो रहे हैं, उसमें तरक्की नहीं हो रही है। जो प्राइवेट सैक्टर में काम हो रहे हैं, उसमें तरक्की हो रही है। आज हमारे में यह भावना नहीं है।

सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो उद्योग हम चला रहे हैं, उसमें काम करने वाले अधिकारी और कर्मचारी यह नहीं समझते कि वास्तव में यह हमारी सम्पत्ति है। मेरा सर्वश्रुत है कि सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में जो उद्योग चलाये जायें, उसमें वहाँ के मजदूरों की भी जिम्मेदारी लगा दी जाये कि अगर प्राफिट होगा तो उतनी ही रेशों कि आपको बोनस देंगे, अगर प्राफिट नहीं होगा तो बोनस नहीं देंगे, अगर घाटा पड़ा तो आपके वेतन से काटेंगे। उनकी जिम्मेदारी होनी चाहिये कि जितना काम करेंगे, उतना प्राफिट मिलेगा। यह नियम अगर सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में लागू कर दें तो शायद सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र निजी उद्योग से और आगे बढ़ जाये।

हमको कुछ अधिक नहीं कहना है, मैं एक लेख पढ़ रहा था, उससे यह मालूम हुआ है कि आज तक पंच-वर्षीय योजनाओं में 2,53,671 करोड़ रुपये खर्च हुए हैं। हिसाब जोड़ने से यह मालूम होता है कि एक परिवार पर 25,000 रुपये खर्च हुए हैं। मगर वास्तविकता क्या है? क्या सचमुच एक साधारण परिवार को, जो गाँव में रहता है, जिसके पास रहने के लिए मकई भी नहीं है, 25,000 रुपये प्राप्त हुए हैं? वातस्व में यह स्थिति नहीं है। हमारे यहाँ मुहावरा है "लेखा-जोखा थाह, लड़िका बूड़े, का है", अर्थात् हिसाब-किताब तो ठीक है, लड़िका कैसे डूब गया। हिसाब-किताब में तो हम ठीक हैं, किन्तु वास्तविकता यह है कि वह रुपया गरीबों तक नहीं पहुँचा है। प्रति-व्यक्ति आय के आंकड़े भी ठीक हैं, लेकिन देहात में ऐसे भी लोग हैं, जिन्हें 40 रुपये महीना—एक दिन का एक, डेढ़ रुपया—भी नहीं मिलता है। एक को आठ हजार रुपये मिलते हैं और एक को डेढ़ रुपया मिलता है, और

उन दोनों को जोड़ कर औसत आय निकाल ली जाती है ।

ग्ररबीं रुपयों खर्च किये गये हैं, लेकिन आज गांवों की हालत देखिए । अभी प्रा० दंडवते ने बड़ी उदारता बरती । हमने तो पढ़ा कि हमारे देश में 50 परसेंट से अधिक लोग गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे हैं । आज भी हमारे देश में 35 करोड़ ऐसे लोग हैं, जिनकी इनकम 40 रुपये प्रति-मास है। 1947 में 19 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे थे, जबकि आज 35 करोड़ लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं । इतना रुपया खर्च हो रहा है, लेकिन एक तरफ देहात उजड़ रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ शहरों में जहां पहले पांच सात मंजिलों के मकान बनते थे, वहां आज दस पंद्रह मंजिलों के मकान बन रहे हैं । क्या यह समाजवाद है ।

जब मूरज निकलता है, तो उसकी गर्मी सब पर बराबर पड़ती है । अगर विड़ला जो और निरूह गंगा जी में स्नान करें, तो दोनों का पानी ठंडा लगेगा । इसी तरह पुरुवा और पछवा हवा सब को बराबर लगती है । क्या पृथ्वी ही ऐसी चोज है कि निरूह का लड़का जन्म ले, तो उसके रहने के लिए झोंपड़ी भां न हो और अगर किसी करोड़पति का लड़का जन्म ले तो, तो उसके लिए बैंकों में करोड़ों रुपये जमा हों ? मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इसको समाजवाद कहें, पूंजावाद कहें या मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था का नमूना कहें ।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, आज शहर दिनों-दिन बढ़ते जा रहे हैं और गांव उजड़ते जा रहे हैं । हमें वह दिन याद है, जब गांवों में बाप-दादा ने जो पच्चोस, तोस, चालोस एकड़ जमीन बचा रखी

थी वह ले ली गई और 18 एकड़ की सोलिंग लगा दी गई । क्या शहरों में रहने वाले ग्ररबपतियों और करोड़पतियों पर कोई सोलिंग लागू नहीं होगी ? मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि गांवों में रहने वालों की तरह शहर में रहने वालों पर भी सोलिंग लागू हो । अभी अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ते कहा कि इस देश में चन्द इने गिने परिवार ऐसे हैं, जिनकी पूंजी 300 करोड़ रुपये से बढ़ कर 700 करोड़ रुपये हो गई है । ऐसे लोगों पर सोलिंग क्यों नहीं लगाई जाती है ।

श्रम का उचित मूल्य न देने से ही तो पूंजी इकट्ठी होती है । अगर श्रम का उचित मूल्य दिया जाता तो शायब इतनी पूंजी इकट्ठी न हो पाती । सब से बड़ी कठिनाई यह है—गांवों के निवासियों को इसका अनुभव होगा— कि गांवों में रहने वालों को शुद्ध पीने का पानी भी नहीं मिलता है । स्फुट शब्दों में कैसे कहें ?—गांवों में पर्दे का रिवाज है, कोई बीमारी होने पर भी औरतों को अपना नित्य-कर्म करने के लिए बाहर जाना मुश्किल हो जाता है और घुट घुट कर के घरों में मरती हैं। आधा समाजवाद देश में आ जाय अगर गांवों में पीने के पानी और सार्वजनिक शौचालय की व्यवस्था हो जाय ।

आप के आदेश का पालन करते हुए मैं अन्त में यही निवेदन करूंगा कि चन्द चोज जो हैं उन की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाय । अभी हमारे यहां सड़क नहीं है, सारी फैक्ट्रियां शहरों में बन रही हैं । समूचे विश्व में गरीब भारत, भारत में गरीब उत्तर प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश में गरीब देवरिया जनपद है । देवरिया के लोग बम्बई कलकत्ता आदि जगहों में

## [श्री रामनवीला मिश्र]

मजदूरी करने जाते हैं। एक फँट्टी ही सलेमपुर में बनाना कम से कम बित्त मंत्री जी और योजना मंत्री जी तय कर दें जिस से उस मरीब इलाके के लोगों को रोजगार मिल सके और उन की रोषी रोटी की व्यवस्था हो सके। सड़कों का वहाँ इतना खराब है कि अगर कोई बीमार हो जाय तो अस्पताल में जाना मुश्किल है। ती कम से कम कच्ची सड़क ही बनवा दें अगर पक्की नहीं बनवा सकते।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं कहूंगा कि जो गरीब इलाके हैं उन पर मंत्री जो को विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए। मैं इस विधेयक का समर्थन करता हुआ अपना बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

18-30 hrs.

**STATEMENT RE. DAMAGE TO THE AIR INDIA AIRCRAFT EARMARKED FOR PRIME MINISTER'S USE DURING HER SCHEDULED OFFICIAL VISIT TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Now, the Home Minister will make a statement.

**THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI ZAIL SINGH):** Sir, I rise to inform the House of a certain serious development that has come to the notice of the Government.

Hon. Members are not doubt aware that the Prime Minister is proposing to visit Switzerland, Kuwait and United Arab Emirates between the 5th and the 13th of May, 1981. The Air India Boeing 707 aircraft No. VT DPM MAKALU was earmarked for the use of Prime Minister during her foreign visit. This is one of the aircrafts that is customarily used

for carrying VVIPs when they travel abroad.

The aircraft MAKALU returned to Bombay from Abu Dhabi on the 15th April, 1981. The periodic inspection of category p.3 started on the aircraft the same day in the Air India's hangers at Santa Cruz. On the 17th instant all the necessary control cables were inspected and were certified to be satisfactory except for one elevator cable which was found to be slightly frayed. A decision was accordingly taken to replace this cable and action for such replacement was taken on the 20th instant. On that day some further unnatural defects in the cable system came to notice. Thereafter an order was given for a re-inspection of all cables in the aircraft. The final check up showed that four vital cable systems, namely those relating to elevator, rudder, horizontal stabilizer and rudder trim had been affected and that this could not have been due to normal causes but that they were intentionally cut in a manner so as to ordinarily preclude detection.

A high level team of officers including technical personnel was deputed to make a preliminary enquiry and they have expressed the opinion that this is a clear case of attempted sabotage... (Interruptions) If the mischief had not been fortunately detected in time, this would have resulted in the crash of the aircraft, not immediately but after lapse of some time. The known fact that the aircraft would be used by the Prime Minister during her visit leads to obvious and grave conclusions about the motivation of those who perpetrated this outrageous deed.

The AIR-INDIA authorities have lodged a formal complaint with the C.B.I. and the matter is under investigation. The investigation will, no doubt, disclose all the details of what happened. I felt, however, that in a matter of such grave importance I should take the earliest opportunity to