

more women are thrown out of jobs from textile, jute, coir and other industries.

Decline in the employment of women and their participation in the economic activities has resulted in lowering of their status in the society on the one hand and increase in the incidence of atrocities against them on the other hand.

Different surveys have revealed that thirty five per cent of the heads of families are women. The increasing unemployment among women also affects family welfare.

While drafting the Sixth Five year Plan, planners for the first time took cognizance of the fact and treated women as a special target group for creating job opportunities. Government has assured repeatedly on the Floor of the House that special efforts would be made to improve the situation. However, there is no visible result. On the contrary, the increase in the per centage of job opportunities in the organised sector during 1983 has declined to only 2.9% as compared to 1981-82.

The Seventh Five-year Plan is being drafted. I would request the Government to discuss with the representatives of women's organisations and researchers about the plan allocations for the women development before finalising the Plan.

(viii) Need for giving clearance to 'Neorakhola Project' of Kalinpong and funds to West Bengal government for provision of drinking water in Darjeeling and other areas.

SHRI ANANDA PATHAK (Darjeeling) : Sir, shortage of drinking water is engulfing the major town areas of Darjeeling District especially, Kalimpong and Darjeeling Hill Towns. Darjeeling is a famous tourist centre and it is aptly known as the Queen of Hills all over the world. Thousands of seasoners and tourists from different parts of the country and abroad visit Darjeeling every year. As a matter of fact, tourism is the only economic mainstay, next to tea industry of Darjeeling. But the growing need and shortage of water is badly telling upon the inflow of tourists. It is also adversely affecting the local residents of Darjeeling. In the hill areas, situated at the altitude of 5/6 thousands, no water could be drawn from the earth by digging the well. There are some perennial streams and revu-

lets which could augment the water supply system but it requires heavy amount of money which is beyond the means of the State Government. In Kalimpong there is a large number of defence population adding to the growing number of local population. To alleviate this acute problem, the Military Engineers of Defence Department and Civil Engineers of State Government prepared the popular "Neorakhola Project" and submitted it to the Central Government for clearance and sharing the expenditure of the project two years back, but it has not yet been sanctioned.

I, therefore, urge upon the Central Government to help the State Government, of West Bengal and grant the necessary fund for the augmentation of drinking water in the hill areas of Darjeeling and also give them clearance and fund for the "Neorakhola Project" at Kalimpong immediately.

#### FINANCE BILL, 1984

12.45 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, we take up discussing on the Finance Bill. Mr. Satish Agarwal to speak.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL (Jaipur) : Thank you very much, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, for giving me this opportunity to speak on the Finance Bill. Sir, this is the last Budget Session of the Seventh Lok Sabha and this is the last Finance Bill of the Seventh Lok Sabha. While participating in the debate on the General Budget, I had drawn the attention of the Government in detail regarding certain distortions and aberrations in our tax laws and tax policy and also the rampant corruption in the tax administration. Apart from the need to streamline the tax administration, I had drawn the attention of the Government to strengthening the Committee system in Parliament so as to scrutinise each item of revenue and each item of expenditure in detail by a Committee of Parliament.

Sir, you will kindly recall that when in 1980, the then Finance Minister, Shri R. Venkataraman, presented his budget he talked of crisis management and when in 1981 he presented his budget, he talked of growth management and later on in 1982, the Government talked of credit management. But now, I apprehend that with this massive borrowing policy of the Government of

India of the day, the days ahead are of debt management. Sir, the tax policy is an instrument, is a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government to give a proper direction to the economy.

At this particular juncture, I would like to remind the House that according to our tax laws obtaining as on date, whatever direction we want to give to our economy, tax instrument is a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government, to curb the growth of a particular sector, a particular sphere, or to give a new direction for a new growth or development in any particular sector of our economy. And this is one good reason that during all these years, our Income tax Act has been overburdened with as many as more than a thousand amendments, modifications, insertions or alterations. The law has become so cumbersome—the law has become so unintelligible that an ordinary man cannot understand the implications of the day-to-day amendments, or modifications in the law. I, with thirty years of standing at the Bar, being a Commerce Post-graduate, and having been in the Ministry of Finance for two years, am not able to fill my incometax return myself. A demand has been made in this House for the rationalisation and simplification of our tax laws, so that an ordinary common man in this country can understand our tax system and tax legislation. But unfortunately, despite tall promises made by the Government in the past, despite the report of the Choksi Committee and despite the recommendations of various experts in our country, the Government has not brought forward any piece of legislation which simplifies and rationalises the whole tax laws in this country. This is overdue and once again I repeat my demand.

So far as the tax legislations of this country are concerned, they are very complicated, complex and burdened with so many alterations, additions and modifications and amendments every year, and it is very difficult to understand them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I remember you mentioned about it last year also.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : There are certain matters about which I have got certain convictions and I am pleading for that whenever I get an opportunity to speak in this House.

You may also kindly recall that with regard to the constitution of Parliamentary Committees, I am one who is persistently following a particular line. You will agree that in a democracy, opposition has got its say, and the Government has got its way. We can simply persuade the Government and we can bring the Government round to our view point to accept our suggestions, and I am convinced that this theme or thesis has some impact on the Government. Last year also, when I submitted various reports of the Public Accounts Committee to the Parliament, this Government was responsive to accept certain recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee as also other Parliamentary Committees and incorporated certain suggestions and recommendations in the budget proposal itself. This year also, you may kindly recall that of the amendments that I have moved in this House, which are to come in this House hereafter, many have been accepted by the Government, by the Finance Minister himself while initiating the discussions on the Finance Bill on the 18th April in this House. I compliment the Finance Minister to that extent that he is responsive to the concrete and constructive suggestions made by the hon. Members in this House. If a democratic Government ceases to be responsive and responsible to various constructive suggestions made in the interest of the national economy, then there is no democracy in this country. I am one who holds that view, and it is only in that light that I have been making constructive suggestions and concrete suggestions for the betterment of our tax laws and tax administration.

In this particular context, I would like to draw your attention to certain facts which have come to light. The Finance Minister made a mention about the tax evasion and avoidance in his budget speech as well as he has initiated certain measures for the effective curbing of this tendency of tax evasion and avoidance. I am sorry to say that despite all that, the tax evasion is on a massive scale.

Tax avoidance is also very much there. The Hon'ble Agriculture Minister is here. He made a mention in the House during the question hour that India has produced 7 million tonnes more of foodgrains, extra than the targeted one, and it is in the vicinity of 150 million tonnes. Now, Sir, I fail to under-

stand that with this bumper crop this year, 7 million tonnes more than what was targeted for, how it is that the prices of every commodity practically are rising. I am not one of those who are going to be satisfied by the Finance Minister's reply that we have been able to contain inflation within one digit, i. e., 8... Sir, prices are rising. During the last 4 years, prices have risen by practically 100 points, that is, the wholesale prices, that is—2 points per month. Now this 100—point rise during the last 50 months is something fantastic. Essential commodities which are being used by the common man in this country have been hit hard. Their prices have risen enormously. Look at the prices of vegetables, look at the prices of vegetable oils, edible oils, soap, tooth-paste and items of mass consumption like tea, mustard oil, and so on and so forth. So, mere statistics are not going to satisfy the common man, and in this particular context, I am sorry to say that the Government have miserably failed on the price front. Statistical jugglery is not going to solve the problem. Mere statistics are not going to solve the problem. Sir, I have been in the Ministry and I know that statistics are sometimes manipulated to give a particular colour to the Government's policy, to Government's view point and I have always differed with that particular approach even then and even now.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I hope you are not letting out a secret.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : This should not be resorted to. This should be told to Parliament, whatever by the position. Our economy is in a bad shape, prices are rising and they have risen. There are certain factors which are beyond your control. There is the generation of black money. Now, according to a certain studies, the quantum of black money in our economy is 16 per cent in 1971-72, 16 per cent of the Gross National Product. Now, as on date, it is said to be more than 52 per cent. 52 per cent of the GNP, i. e., our national economy, is now encircled and engulfed by black money. The major share in our national economy is of black money. So, the major shareholder in our national economy is not the white money, it is black money. So, it is a black money economy. The national economy has been converted into a black money economy by the wrong policies that you have pursued and by the ineffective measures that the Government have taken

with regard to unearthing black money. Researches and studies and surveys are not a solution to the problem. Get me make it very clear.

Now Sir, so far as the tax system is concerned, it has done well. India has been able to mobilise resources through its tax instrument in a very successful way. If you look at the figures, in 1950-51 the tax revenue of the Centre, States and Union Territories was Rs. 627 crores, i. e., 7 per cent of the national income. In 1960-61 the tax revenue of Centre, States and Union Territories was Rs. 1350 crores, in 1970-71 it rose to Rs. 4752 crores, in 1980-81 to Rs. 19,844 crores and in 1983-84 it has risen to Rs. 31,400 crores, which is going to be 23 per cent of the national economy. So, so far as our tax revenues are concerned, the revenue of the Centre, States and Union Territories has risen from a mere Rs. 627 crores to Rs. 31400 crores in 1983-84. The phenomenal rise so far as the mobilisation of resources through the tax instrument is concerned, it is 23% of our GNP. It is practically the maximum tax realization in this country, so far as the relationship to GNP is concerned. The taxing capacity of this nation has come to a saturation point. You cannot go further now, particularly because about each and every single penny which goes into the hands of the Government the tax-payers are not sour. Rather we, are sour of one thing : it is going to be inefficiently used. Fifty per cent of Government expenditure is a waste; 50% of expenditure by Government is going down the drain.

13 hrs.

Look at the figures as to how Government expenditure has risen over the years. About growth of Government expenditure, I will give you certain figures—for the benefit of this House. In 1950-51, the expenditure by Government, Central as well as States, was Rs. 950 crores, and it was then 10% of our GNP. Tax collection was 7% of the GNP. Government expenditure was 10% of the GNP, but in 1982-83, Government expenditure has risen to Rs. 52,125 crores which is 33.5% of our GNP. So, taxes have risen by 23% of the GNP, and the Government expenditure has risen upto 33.5% of our GNP. That is, the major economic activity is now in the governmental hands. But how are the scarce resources of this poor country being utilized by Government ? I will give only one illustration.

I am very happy to see that Mr. Y. B. Chavan is also here. He happens to head the Finance Commission of this country, which is a very important constitutional authority. He had been the Deputy Prime Minister, and he had been the Finance Minister. He is a very seasoned and able Parliamentarian, and a veteran freedom fighter. Having spent Rs. 3,300,000 crores during all these years—we started the era of planning in 1950-51—there is not even a single project in this country which has been completed within the time-scheduled and within the approved sanctions given by parliament or State legislatures. I am talking about major projects, and not about minor irrigation projects, or very minor projects. Not even a single project. This is the position.

The cost over run in certain cases of projects is 10, 12 or 14 times. The time-run over in certain cases is 5, 8, 10 or 15 years. Look at the case of Rajasthan Canal, Kosi project, Gandak project, Nagarjuna Sagar project, Salal hydel Project in Jammu and Kashmir—there are more than eight irrigation projects which are lagging behind completion for more than two decade. The whole community has been deprived of the fruits of development, so far as irrigation potential is concerned. It is on record, and it is also mentioned in the report of the Public Accounts Committee regarding planning Commission which I submitted last year: had this irrigation potential been created, and had this potential been utilized by Government, this country would have had an additional foodgrains production of 23 million tonnes. In that case, this country would not have had to resort to imports of wheat and rice from other countries, and waste and spend our scarce foreign exchange resources.

This is the position. So, there is a need to curb Government expenditure. Government expenditure is rising phenomenally. That too, if it is utilized, if it goes to the benefit of persons for whom it is meant, I can understand and appreciate it. But in all Government expenditure, the component of wastage and nugatory expenditure including corruption is not less than 50%. This I am saying with all sense of responsibility. So, the increase in governmental expenditure is there. We go on increasing the plan allocations.

But we do not bother about the implementation aspect of the same. An increase in the plan allocation every year satisfied the members. Look here, this government is increasing plan allocation by 26 per cent. So, all members feel satisfied. But every member in this House is complaining that IRDP, and NREP and other REGP, removal of poverty programme, they are suffering a setback. Money is not reaching the beneficiaries for whom it is meant. There is everyday a complaint on the Floor of Parliament about it; even Congress (I) members are complaining about the faulty implementation of the 20-point programme. Under the 20-point programme, you may be aware that during the last 6 months, April 1983 to September 1983, according to the Planning Commission's evaluation, in no sector under the 20-point programme, the achievement is more than 35 per cent and in certain sectors, it is 9 per cent. I do not have the time to go into the detail but I have got all those statistics with me.

Even after having spent Rs. 300,000 crores over planning in this country, we have got 40 per cent villages in this country which are problem villages so far as drinking water is concerned. There are no roads; there are no primary health centres; there are no nursery centres; there is no primary education. The whole literacy is 30 to 35 per cent in certain areas. How far we have been able to bring this country above the poverty line. If more than 40 crores of people in this country are below the poverty line, then organising a loan *mela* is not going to solve the problem. After all the capital assets have to be created. Simply giving Rs. 500 or Rs. 5000/- to a poor man for which you are trying day-in-and-day-out is not going to solve the problem and that is why people are criticising this. I am not against the grant of loan to the poor people. I know that even one single individual can devour, a big industrialist can devour, Rs. 50 crores in one stroke; that goes against; money is not recoverable; that is a bad debt. If 5 lakh people devour this money, it is immaterial; I do not mind it; I will condone it. But how are you handling the affairs? You are incharge of the banking operation. It is in your notice what happened in the Central Bank of India's Branch in London. I am not going into detail with regard to that aspect because we had a discussion with the Finance Minister in his chamber; and at his instance, he wanted not

to discuss, this issue on the Floor of the Parliament, because it will adversely affect our banking operations in London; and see the cooperation that we gave; we said, all right, we will not discuss it. But I am drawing your attention to some major aspect of the whole episode. How was this money advanced to Mr. Sethia against inadequate security? And the man who had advanced it, that gentleman, who was responsible for this so much advance, he is now in the service of Mr. Sethia, after retirement. How is it that for the same gentleman, the Central Bank Chairman and Managing Director recommended to your Ministry that extension may be given to him? Unfortunately, that could not be given. Now, you have given extension to the Chairman. So far so good. That is your prerogative. I have got nothing to say on that. This is how this whole sector is functioning.

So far as your monetary policy is concerned, so far as economy is concerned, the major aspect of the whole economic development encompasses within itself your fiscal policy, your monetary policy. So far as your monetary policies are concerned, they are mostly governed, regulated by the RBI, which is an apex body. It regulates all the banking operations in this country; whether particular loans are given to the priority sector or to the weaker section of the society; what has to be the credit policy of the government. Now, the government has got so powerful an instrument in their hands to regulate the whole economy, to regulate the whole development, to regulate the whole direction so far as the the development of this country is concerned that naturally it is you who has to pocket all the abuses which are levelled on the floor of this Parliament. Otherwise, I have also expressed my sympathy with the Finance Ministry on the last occasion that it is the other Ministries which are doing wrong and like the grand mother, the Finance Minister, has to hear all abuses from the neighbours, that her children are not behaving well. You all know that if taxes have to be levied, abuses have to be heard and it is the Finance Ministry which has to do it. Money is not given to others. Why is it not given?

This is the thing as far as the Central resources are concerned. There is no railway because there are no finances. and Whenever there are any shortages, it is the Finance Minister who is the accused for every act, of

ommission and commission/by any other Ministry so far as the Control Government is concerned. But he should be happy in one sense, that after all is the Finance Minister. He should not have opted for the Finance Ministry, why did he opt for the Finance Ministry? He may very well say that it was not his option, that it was given by his leader. But if somebody asks the grand mother, the grand mother has to see that every child is fed well. There should not be any favouritism, she should not favour one and leave another.

AN. HON. MEMBER : You were also in that Ministry.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : I was only a step mother because I was only a Minister of State.

So, in this particular context, I was just making a point that your taxes have risen phenomenally in these thirty years, and the Government expenditure is also rising.

The Finance Minister in his budget speech said that introduction of the summary assessment scheme — — for which previously the limit was Rs. 25,000 but now it has been raised to Rs. 100,000 — — now up to Rs. 100,000 if the returned income is less than that, then so far as such assessments are concerned they will be deemed to be summary assessments and so those people have not to appear before the Income Tax Officers for a detailed scrutiny or a critical examination of their assessments. I welcome the scheme and I welcomed the scheme earlier also. I had made a note of this scheme in my PAC report also. But how is it that as on 31-3-1983 the pending arrears of assessment are Rs. 25,83,254 — — the total number of assesseees is nearly about four and a half million, which is nearly about 4 per cent out of 45 crore of assesseees? The pending arrears of assessment as on 31-3-1983 were 25,83,000 and the arrears of pending income tax as on 31-3-1983 is Rs. 10,86,017 while the summary assessments are 14,94,237. When we have issued instructions that so far as summary assessments are concerned, there should not be a detailed scrutiny, why are these assessments kept pending? All these assessments are decided only when the question of limitation comes. If the limitation is two years, then immediately before two days these assessments are decided. What is the fun in introducing

such a scheme? What effective steps have you taken to issue a circular from the Central Board of Direct Taxes to all the Income Tax Officers that so far as summary assessments are concerned, the Government's idea was not to harass the summary assessee and ask those assessee to come and appear before the ITO and then dispose of the matter.

Similarly, what about the arrears of corporation tax, income tax, penalty? The gross arrears as on 31.3.1983 were Rs. 1451.72 crores. It is only direct taxes side, This House will be surprised to see the break up of these arrears. It is like this. Upto Rs. 1 lakh slab the arrears are Rs. 628 crores, upto Rs. 15 lakhs slab, Rs. 148 crores, upto Rs. 10 lakh, Rs. 84 crores, upto Rs. 25 lakhs Rs. 89 crores and over Rs. 25 lakhs Rs. 520 crores. How is it that those people whose income is more than Rs. 25 lakhs a year after deducting all your allowances as you have embodied in the income-tax laws, are not able to pay the tax? Here the hon. Members demand Rs. 5 crores for drinking water. I demand during Question Hour special assistance for drought prone areas. But there the question of scarce resources come. So far as indirect taxes are concerned, roundabout Rs. 2000 crores are locked up in court cases. Every year this complaint is being made and every year we are given assurance. I understand that you are also worried about it. If you have more money, your problem will be solved. But what have you done with regard to this? What solution do you have in mind to tackle this problem? During my time, the proposal for creation of the Central Excise and Customs Tribunal was initiated. Your Government gave a concrete shape to it. You have brought some amendments with regard to that. Even now persons are going to the High Courts and Supreme Court and getting stay orders. Naturally Government revenues are locked up in all that litigation. I will not be satisfied if you say, what can I do so far as courts are concerned? You have to find a way out. I cannot suggest a way within one minute. I think, you hold a discussion with the Members of Parliament and then devise some methods with regard to that.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : Why do you not suggest one?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : One suggestion can be that we have got third rate lawyers to defend the Department, because these lawyers are deputed by the Law Ministry and they are not under the control of the Finance Ministry. This Department cannot engage lawyers independently. It has to take up the matter with the law Ministry. Where heavy sums are involved, you should have a panel of senior lawyers. You pay them well. Nobody is going to appear for you just for Rs. 500/- because he will get Rs. 5000/- from outside. Even Mr. A.K. Sen will not appear for you for that amount. Why should he appear for you when he gets hundred thousand rupees in one day. This is one solution to the problem. You devise a method or you create a department of prosecution and defence within the Finance Ministry. Take up the question to the Cabinet and get a decision. So far as your revenues are concerned, you should have an independent panel of lawyers to defend the Department in the High Courts; and the Supreme Courts, particularly in the High Court of Calcutta because it is very easy to get a stay order from there. Even smugglers residing in the south gets stay orders in Calcutta. You have, to engage senior lawyers.

Similar is the problem with regard to the excise money. That is also locked up in litigation. You have to provide some penal interest with regard to that. Previously it was not so. We made a recommendation in our PAC report as to why no penal interest is realised from those who ultimately lose the case in the court. Why do you not provide for 18 to 20 per cent penal interest from the assessee who loses the case in the Supreme Court but gets the benefits of the money for five to eight years? He does not pay any money to the Department in this period. He gets the money. He utilises the money and he is getting money from the bank at the rate of 18 to 20 per cent. But he pays 12 or 6 per cent in certain cases to the Government so far as outstandings are concerned. If my memory does not fail me, it was during 1978-79 that the hon. Minister promised to this House that he will bring forward a comprehensive Excise Bill. What has happened to that? Now it is more than six years that the Bill has not been brought forward before this House because our Government fell in 1979. If my memory does not fail me, a Cell was also set up for drafting such a Bill. You also promised

last time and you also replied and Mr. Venkataraman also replied to my query in 1981 that the comprehensive Excise Bill will see the light of the day and will be brought forward before the House. Why are you hesitating to bring forward this Bill? This Bill will strengthen your hands, this will streamline the administration, this will give you better powers. So, on that particular score, I would like the Finance Minister to enlighten the House.

Now, certain demands are also written off. I do not want to go much more into the details that in cases of non-company assesseees some individuals here and there, the Department says that they are not traceable, they do not have any property, they have fled away, they have gone away. Only in one individual case of Bihar the Department had written off the sums to the tune of Rs. one and a half crores.

That was the case of one ex-MLA-Minister in Bihar and all that-but that was a singular case, a typical case of its own type. We have reported that in our Report. But in cases of company assesseees, Rs. 224 lakhs which have been written off, relate to 84 company assesseees. I fail to understand how is it that such huge amounts are written off in the case of company assesseees. The number of non-company assesseees is 23,167 and the amount written off is Rs. 260 lakhs but how such a huge amount is written off in the case of company assesseees, I fail to understand. The companies come into existence, the companies have to be registered, there are so many controls over the companies, so, I am sure some effective mechanism has to be evolved to see that at least in cases of company assesseees this situation does not arise so far as the question of writing off of the arrears is concerned.

There are cases of under-assessment also. The amount involved in under-assessment in more than 18,000 cases is Rs. 39,36,00,000. Under-assessment means under-realisation. It is to the extent of Rs. 40 lakhs. It is much more than the entire collections under the Gift Tax Act, and the Estate Duty Act. It is 50 per cent of the entire Wealth-tax collections. This particular phenomenon is recurring every year, so, as Finance Minister you have to do something with regard to this.

As I was mentioning earlier also the problem of black money cannot be tackled merely by searches and seizures. I need not dwell upon that particular point, the analysis of the 1975 Disclosure Scheme should convince you that it is the middle-class people and the lower middle class people, say, people with below Rs. 45,000 income, whose contribution to the Disclosure Scheme in 1975 was much more than the contribution of large industrial houses in this country. I do not want to take the valuable time of this House. So, with this particular point of searches and seizures in mind the problem of black money is not going to be solved. What is the results of searches and seizures? Of course, it creates some sort of psychological impact on the minds of tax dodgers, no doubt. But the impact is not that much. If you look into the Searches and Seizures, in 1982-83 the number of assesseees involved was 3,070. the search cases in which assessments were awaiting compilation on 31.3.83 was 5,107. The concealed income found in the case of 1,465 assesseees come to Rs. 33.84 crores. The total number of convictions obtained in all these cases was only 17 during 1982-83. So, this does not have much effect. If you feel that this has some effect, then let me know how much is the net addition to the revenue through these searches and seizures. You have confiscated for the time being Rs. 34 crores worth of assets during a particular year. But how much has been added to the revenue on that account when ultimately the whole matter was settled? This is really a great problem.

Coming to penalties and prosecutions, penalty orders were issued in 31,184 cases. The concealed income was Rs. 16.09 crores and the total penalty levied is Rs. 13.11 crores. But the amount collected is only Rs. 69 lakhs. This penalty was under section 271 (1) (c). The number of penalty orders passed under other sections of the Act is 4,97,411, penalty levied Rs. 16.23 crores and penalty collected Rs. 1.88 crores. The number of prosecutions pending before courts on 1.4.82 was 2,428 but the number of convictions obtained in 1982-83 is only 28. These are very alarming figures, which make us hang our head in shame.

This is how the whole administration is functioning. You have to tighten the administration. There are two aspects; one is the

tax policy and the other is tax administration. According to me, the tax policy is inequitable. It favours the rich much more. Irrespective of the fact whether you are in power or I am in power, the whole system has to be overhauled. The whole tax administration has become malignant. The hon. Finance Minister has to act, not as a medical man but as a surgeon. You have to operate upon it; you have to take some drastic action with regard to this.

Now coming to sur-tax assessment, the non-levy of surtax was 4, 10, 847 in 1976-77 and 75, 39, 084 in 1977-78. The short levy of sur-tax came to Rs. 5, 36, 465 and non-levy Rs. 21, 66, 084. The position is more or less the same in respect of excess refund of sur-tax.

We have got 90 Indian Missions abroad, having 3,744 Indian employees. Only one Embassy in 1979-80 and two Embassies in 1980-81 had deducted tax at source. In 1981-82, 91 employees filed their return of income. This shows how our administration is functioning. So, what is it that the department is looking after? Some critical analysis has to be done with regard to this.

There are cases where excise duty is levied, it is charged from the assessee, knowing full well that the duty is legally not leviable. They charge excise duty and collect it. Later on, the assessee goes to the court and the Assistant Collector or Collector of Excise says that under the law this duty is not leviable. They get refunds of that excise duty. When we examined this question in our Public Accounts Committee, we found that Rs. 60 crores were refunded by way of excise duty collected by the Department because it was not legally leviable. Rs. 60 crores was collected from the customers and from the dealers. But that whole money was kept by the manufacturers themselves.

You have issued instructions that they must inform the Income Tax Department, whenever these sums are refunded to the assessee. In many cases the Income Tax Department was not informed. Why was penal action not taken against those who were duty bound to inform the department concerned that look here, Rs. 2 crores have been refunded to 'X' firm or Rs. one crore has been refunded to 'Y' firm or Rs. 50 lakhs have been refunded to such and such a

firm? Income Tax Department was not informed of those refunds. They escaped the income tax assessment that may have been passed.

The Public Accounts Committee recommended in its latest report that on the lines of the Bombay Sales Tax Act, where Sales Tax is realised which is not legally recoverable, then that money is forfeited to the Government for the welfare of the people. Why do you not amend the law to make a provision for the forfeiture of this sum which is now refunded to the assessee which was illegally collected by them from the dealers or from the customers? This should come to the Government for development purposes and this should not be devoured by the assessee.

(Interruptions)

It can be done on the lines of the Bombay Sales Tax Act.

SHRI RIZAQ RAM : (Sonepat) What is the fault of the customer?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : That is exactly what I am saying. The money has been realised, and knowing fully well that this duty is not legally leviable. Sometimes there is a judgment of the High Court. Then the assessee comes to know that this duty was not leviable. So, they claim a refund. You will kindly see 95th Report, 13th Report and 46th Report of the P.A.C. where strong recommendation has been made that on the lines of the Bombay Sales Tax Act, some provision should be made in this particular behalf.

In the end, I would like to request the hon. Finance Minister that without going much into the detailed discussion with regard to the growth of our economy or the achievements that he so well claims now and then; unfortunately, my impression is that, no doubt, we have a growth in this regard but we have a growth without social justice. Hardly 10 million people in this country are reaping the fruits of development. There is abject massive poverty in this country. The basic amenities are not available to the majority of the people in this country. I do not squarely blame the Finance Minister for this. But because, I said, the Finance Ministry is the nodal Ministry and this is for the first time that he has been successful in persuading or pressurising the Commerce



Ministry to get approved the Import-Export Policy by the Finance Ministry. After all there is a cap between imports and exports. It is not the Commerce Minister who goes to the IMF for begging. It is the Finance Minister who has to go for begging. So, naturally import and export Policy should have a bearing with our total economic thinking. So, I will say that we have a growth without social justice.

Our G.N.P. is increasing and rising. But the agricultural Sector's contribution to the G.N.P. has declined from 58% to 40%. So, agriculture has to be given primacy in our scheme of things.

Similarly, the price rise is hitting the common man. As I said, tax administration has become malignant. Tax policies are inequitable. They are *malafide*. The Public sector and private sector controversy, I believe, is there in this country in the mixed economy. I wish the Government permit private sector to build up its own role within the regulation prescribed by Parliament. But so far as the public sector is concerned, it cannot be permitted to have drain on the public exchequer. Something has to be done. Some inbuilt rewards or punishments have to be provided for the inefficient running of the public sector.

We cannot incur losses in the DTC to the extent of Rs. 90 crores or we cannot allow Electricity Boards working below the utilisation capacities. All transport corporation all electricity boards and many of the public sector undertakings are a great drain on our national exchequer. I am sorry to say that we have invested Rs. 30,000 crores at the Central level and the cumulative loss, according to the reply given on the floor of parliament, of the public sector undertakings, at the Centre, comes to Rs. 16,000 crores. We have invested more than 50% of our capital in the public sector undertakings. I am not against public sector. But some serious thought should be given and we should not go on indiscriminately nationalising industry after industry. Where industry falls sick, you immediately take it over because the workers' interests are to be safeguarded. Workers' interest should be safeguarded but alternative methods should be devised so as to provide them with employment. But not every unhealthy baby should be on the Government's lap.

Similarly, with this bumper crop. I think, we would not like to have more import of wheat, rice or edible oil, sugar and all that. so far as the policies are concerned, I wish to impress upon the Minister that you must seriously see to it that the small, cottage and household sectors get the maximum benefit. All protection and patronage from the Government is given. We have passed a law to that extent. But the area should be clearly earmarked and Hindustan Lever should not be permitted to manufacture soaps or toothpaste which can be done in the small scale sector.

Finally, you have got a very powerful instrument in your hands. So far as your nationalised banks are concerned, you can regulate the whole economy through them. You can have a credit squeeze and through the instrument of credit squeeze, you can squeeze anybody like a lemon. But then, you have to maintain some sort of rationality.

And, Sir, during the last 4 years and of course during the last 35 years, Indian economy has progressed in certain sectors. But unfortunately now as facts and details are available, there seems to be a shortfall practically in every sector. We are much beyond the targets and ultimately the Finance Minister should bear in mind that all these budgets, all these taxation measures, all this resource mobilisation, all these Finance Bills and all these new measures are meant for whom—— for 10 million people of this country or for 700 million people of this country? So every effort should be made to utilise this scarce resources of this country in a proper manner and all those who are resorting to corruption, wastage and nugatory expenditure should be taken to task. Corruption, Sir, has become so rampant from top to bottom that some serious action has to be taken against those erring officers who are there in the administration who are ruining our economy. Howsoever high they may be all tax dodgers all blackmarketeers, smugglers and all people of this type who are economic offenders should not get protection from the Government. Nobody should be appointed to any Board of Directors of banks or Governmental authority who is found to be involved in an economic offence. Some such drastic action has to be taken. Some re-thinking has to be done. Some consensus has to be created in order to improve the quality of life of the 700 million people of

this country. It is a concern not for the Finance Minister, not for the Congress-I alone but for the entire Member of Parliament, of this House. So, some sort of consensus should be created on broader basic national economic policies. If this is done, then our future is bright; otherwise, our future is dark.

श्री चन्द्रलाल चन्द्राकर (दुर्ग) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे पूर्व-वक्ता श्री सतीश अग्रवाल जी ने यहां पर आंकड़ों का बहुत ज्यादा अम्बार लगा दिया। आखिर, वे बहुत अरसे तक वित्त मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री रह चुके हैं इसलिए उन के पास आंकड़ों की कमी नहीं है। दूसरी बात यह है कि वे अध्ययन भी बहुत करते हैं। एक बात उन्होंने कही कि हमारे देश ने बहुत अधिक कर्ज दुनिया से लिया है, यह उनके दिमाग में आंकड़े देखकर ठीक भी हो सकता है। लेकिन, छोटी पंचवर्षीय योजना 97,500 करोड़ की है जबकि अब लगभग एक लाख करोड़ से अधिक खर्च हो चुका है।

लेकिन उसमें अभी तक विदेशों से लिए गए कर्ज का अनुपात सान प्रतिशत से अधिक नहीं है। इसलिए आंकड़ों के जरिए यहां यह कहना कि हमने अधिक विदेशी कर्जा ले लिया, वह तथ्यों पर आधारित नहीं है। क्योंकि हमें जितने कर्ज की आवश्यकता थी, हमने उससे अधिक कर्जा नहीं लिया। जब हमें महसूस हुआ कि और कर्ज की आवश्यकता नहीं है तो हमने उसे लेने से मना भी किया है। फिर भी इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि विकास कार्यों के लिए हमें कर्ज लेना पड़ा।

कर प्रणाली के सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने जिस तरह विस्तार से चर्चा की, मैं भी अनुभव करता हूं कि हमारे कर-ढांचे में परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। उसका कारण यही है, जैसा उन्होंने बताया कि कुछ लोग अपने कर के मामले को अदालतों में ले जाते हैं, जिसकी वजह से हमारी कर व्यवस्था में बहुत सी बाधाएं उत्पन्न हो जाती हैं, कई अड़बटें पैदा हो जाती हैं और इस कारण उनको अमल में लाना भी कठिन होता है। लेकिन मेरा सुझाव है कि अब हमें कर

प्रणाली में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन करने की आवश्यकता है। सबसे पहले तो हमें इस दिशा में विचार करना चाहिए कि हमारी बुनियादी नीति क्या हो, अधिक से अधिक हम कितना प्रतिशत कर लगाएं। भले ही 50 परसेंट हो या 55 परसेंट हो, हमें उसके बारे में पहले से निर्णय कर लेना चाहिए कि अधिक से अधिक वह सीमा क्या होनी चाहिए और उसके बाद कर प्रणाली में हर साल बहुत अधिक परिवर्तन न करते हुए, हमें अपनी नीति को कम से कम तीन सालों तक प्रयोग के तौर पर चलाना चाहिए ताकि इस दौरान उम नीति को परखा जा सके कि उसमें क्या कमियाँ हैं, क्या अच्छाईयाँ हैं। क्योंकि जब हम उसमें हर साल परिवर्तन करते हैं तो उसे समझने में ही कर दाताओं को ही दिक्कत पेश आती है। इसलिए एक दफा बुनियादी तौर पर हमें अपने कर ढांचे के बारे में विचार कर लेना चाहिए कि हमें 50 या 55 प्रतिशत कितना कर लगाना है। उसमें अगले दो या तीन सालों तक कोई परिवर्तन नहीं होना चाहिए, ऐसा मेरा विचार है। दूसरा सुझाव यह है कि कर एकत्रित करने वाले ढांचों में भी परिवर्तन की आवश्यकता है। इन्कम टैक्स के जितने भी कर एकत्रित करने वाले अधिकारी हों, या कोई दूसरे अधिकारी हों उनको एक बहुत बड़े कमरे में बैठना चाहिए। किसी भी अधिकारी को अलग नहीं बिठाना चाहिए। इसके साथ ही समस्त कर-दाता उनके पास उस कमरे में अपने कर सम्बन्धी दावों को निपटाने के लिए जाएं। चाहे हमें उस कमरे में चार सौ या पांच सौ टेबल क्यों न लगाने पड़ें, लेकिन सारे कर एकत्रित करने वाले अधिकारी और कर-दाता उसी कमरे में जाएं, जहां कर की जांच करने की सुविधा उपलब्ध हो। जब वे दोनों एक स्थान पर बैठकर बातचीत करेंगे तो दोनों पक्ष को लाभ होगा। फिर, कर असैस करने वाले अधिकारी को पहले से यह मालूम नहीं होना चाहिए कि उन्हें किस व्यक्ति से कर वसूल करना है या बातचीत करनी है। कर देने वाला व्यक्ति सबसे पहले एक कक्ष में जाए जिसे आप स्वागत कक्ष का नाम दे सकते हैं और वहाँ

पर उसे बताया जाए कि किस अधिकारी के पास उसे अपना कर जांच करने के लिए जाना है, कितने नम्बर की टैबल पर पहुँचना है। कर देने वाले को भी पहले से यह मालूम न हो कि उसे किस अधिकारी के पास जाना है, बातचीत करनी है। जब दोनों को पहले से यह मालूम न हो कि उसे किस अधिकारी के पास जाना है, बातचीत करनी है, रजिस्टर के नम्बर के हिसाब से सब को बांटा जाए और उसी के अनुसार फाइल का नम्बर हो तो शीघ्रता से हम उनको निपटाने में सफल हो सकते हैं। वैसे मैं करों के सम्बन्ध में अनुभवी व्यक्ति नहीं हूँ, लेकिन अपनी बुद्धि के आधार पर कह सकता हूँ कि यह प्रणाली अधिक लाभप्रद सिद्ध हो सकती है। क्योंकि पिछला अनुभव यह बताता है कि हमारी वर्तमान कर प्रणाली के अनुसार कर मुकदमें कई सालों तक चलते रहते हैं, फाइल चलती रहती है, मुकदमा चलता रहता है अथवा किसी एक अधिकारी के पास फाइल पड़ी रहती है, यदि हम उसके स्थान पर कर प्रशासन में ऐसा परिवर्तन कर देते हैं तो तीन या चार बार, अधिक से अधिक, कर दाता को बुलाकर सही बात का पता लगाकर, उसका फ़ैसला कर दिया जा सकता है।

कई छोटी छोटी रकम के फ़ैसले होते हैं इनमें मुकदमे में अदालत में न जाना पड़े और न ही लोगों को अधिक परेशानी उठानी पड़े। इस लिए कर लगाने और कर एकत्र करने की प्रणाली में दोनों में परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है।

वैसे मैं वित्त मंत्री को बधाई देता हूँ कि इन्होंने जो बजट पेश किया उसमें उनके मौलिक चिन्तन की झलक मिलती है। उन्होंने 465 करोड़ के कर भी लगा दिए और इसके कारण बाजार में वस्तुओं के मूल्य भी नहीं बढ़े। अक्सर यह होता था कि जिस समय बजट पेश होता था उसके पहले और बाद में कीमतें बढ़ जाया करती थीं।

देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार करने के लिए बजट और वित्त विधेयक बड़े हथियार होते हैं और इसके जरिए देश में आर्थिक असमानता को और बेरोजगारी को दूर करने का मौका मिलता है। हमें अध्ययन करना चाहिए कि बजट और वित्त विधेयक के जरिए आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार और बेरोजगारी दूर करने में कितना सफल हुए हैं।

इस बजट की विशेषता यह है कि देश के विकास कार्यक्रमों में और गरीबी दूर करने के लिए अधिक धन की व्यवस्था की गई है, और 20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम के लिए पहली बार 40 पर 38 करोड़ की व्यवस्था की गई है जो पिछले वर्ष से 47 प्रतिशत अधिक है। यह विकास और बेरोजगारी दूर करने में मदद करने वाला है।

20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में यह व्यवस्था है कि प्रत्येक ब्लॉक में गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे रहने वाले 600 लोगों को आर्थिक सहायता दी जाती है। मेरा सुझाव है कि इसको बढ़ाकर 1,000 की संख्या कर दी जाय। सुना है ऐसा सुझाव हो रहा है जो मेरी राय में अच्छा कदम होगा। लेकिन इन गरीबों को जो आर्थिक मदद दी जाती है उस बारे में बहुत सतर्कता बरतने की जरूरत है कि उनको पूरा पैसा मिल जाए। आम तौर पर शिकायतें आती हैं कि उन गरीबों को पूरी रकम नहीं मिलती है। अच्छा तो यह हो कि उनको जो रकम दी जाती है उसमें छूट की रकम भी शामिल रहती है उसको भले ही बन्द कर दिया जाए और उस पर ब्याज न लगाया जाय, क्योंकि जो प्रणाली है उसमें काफी गड़बड़ी आ जाती है।

20 सूत्री कार्यक्रम में सबसे अधिक महत्व सिंचाई को दिया गया है, और जैसा माननीय सतीश अग्रवाल जी ने कहा बहुत सी योजनाएँ समय में पूरी नहीं हुई हैं। फिर भी सिंचाई को सबसे अधिक महत्व दिया गया है। मध्य प्रदेश में 90 प्रतिशत लोग खेती करते हैं, लेकिन फिर भी वहाँ सिंचाई की व्यवस्था बहुत कम है। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि मध्य प्रदेश में जहाँ

7 बड़ी नदियाँ हैं, उन सभी पर बाँध बनाकर काफी अधिक सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हो सकती है। लेकिन फिर भी कई कारणों से अभी तक ऐसा नहीं हो पाया है। मेरा सुझाव है कि बड़ी योजनाओं को केन्द्र को अपने हाथ में ले लेना चाहिए। जैसे मध्य प्रदेश के राजनांदगांव जिले की चौकी तहसील में भोंगरा नामक बाँध बनाने की योजना है। पहले उस पर 65 करोड़ रु० का अनुमान था और लगभग 2 लाख एकड़ जमीन में सिंचाई होने वाली थी। लेकिन वह काम अभी तक ऐसे ही पड़ा हुआ है।

अब इसके ऊपर 1 अरब 50 करोड़ रुपया खर्च होने का अनुमान है लेकिन फिर भी इसको तत्काल हाथ में लेना चाहिए। राज्य सरकार कहती है कि उनके पास इतना पैसा नहीं है, इस लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को इसे अपने हाथ में अवश्य ले लेना चाहिए।

अभी कुछ पूर्व वक्ताओं ने भी कहा कि हमारे सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों में उतनी कमाई नहीं हो रही है, जितनी कि होनी चाहिए। बात कुछ हद तक सही है। हमारे पं० जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने देश में मिश्रित अर्थ-व्यवस्था को लागू किया और साथ ही साथ उन्होंने सार्वजनिक क्षेत्रों को बढ़ावा देने का प्रयत्न किया। उसी नीति का आज हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी अनुमरण कर रही हैं। सन् 1951 में समूचे देश में केवल 5 कम्पनियाँ सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में थीं, जिसमें 29 करोड़ रुपया लगा हुआ था। आज हमारे देश में 223 कम्पनियाँ सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में हैं और उनमें लगभग तीस हजार करोड़ रुपया से अधिक लगा हुआ है।

वित्तमंत्री ने अपने भाषण में स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार किया है कि इतनी बड़ी रकम लाने के बाद उससे केवल 118 करोड़ रुपए का शुद्ध लाभ हुआ है जो कि कम है और उस सिलसिले में कदम उठाने की आवश्यकता है। हम सब समझते हैं कि इसमें अधिक से अधिक मैनेजमेंट की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। पहली बात है कि हर 2,3 साल में किसी कम्पनी के मैनेजमेंट में परिवर्तन या स्थानान्तरण करना उचित नहीं

है। बड़े अफसरों को पब्लिक सेक्टर में जल्दी-जल्दी स्थानान्तरित न किया जाये। दूसरे जो विषय के जानकार लोग हों उनको मैनेजमेंट में उच्च पदों पर लगाया जाए। जैसे इस्पात का कारखाना है, उस में इस्पात के जानकार व्यक्ति को ही मैनेजिंग डायरेक्टर बनाया जाना चाहिए। कोयले के जानकार को कोयले की कम्पनी में और दूसरे जानकारों को संबंधित कारखानों में लगाया जाए। जो भी उद्योग ज्यादा मुनाफा नहीं दे रहे हैं, उनकी जाँच की जानी चाहिए।

दुनिया में इस्पात उद्योग की हालत आज अच्छी नहीं है। अमेरिका, जापान, जर्मनी सभी ने अपने यहां इसका उत्पादन आधा कर दिया है, लेकिन उनके यहां जहां प्रति व्यक्ति लोहे की खपत 600,700 किलोग्राम हैं, वहां हमारे यहां केवल 10 किलोग्राम है। इसलिए हमारे यहां इस्पात और कोयला उद्योग में अधिक विस्तार की गुंजाइश है, लेकिन इसमें जितना हमें करना चाहिए था उतना नहीं हो पा रहा है।

हमारे देश में मध्य प्रदेश का छत्तीसगढ़ इलाका, बिहार का दक्षिण बिहार और उड़ीसा का दक्षिण व पूर्वी उड़ीसा ऐसे क्षेत्र हैं जहां सबसे अधिक खनिज भंडार हैं। इनके विकास के लिए जो सुविधाएं (इन्फ्रा-स्ट्रक्चर) चाहिए, उस तरफ उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। वैसे देश के सबसे बड़े औद्योगिक केन्द्र यही होने वाले हैं। आज भी वहां पर बड़े-बड़े कारखाने हैं। भविष्य में यह दुनिया का बहुत बड़ा औद्योगिक केन्द्र होगा। उस भाग में विस्तार की बहुत गुंजाइश है लेकिन उसके लिए जितनी सुविधाओं (इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर) की आवश्यकता है, उतनी सुविधा नहीं है।

आज छत्तीसगढ़ के लिए कोई अच्छी रेल नहीं है। वहां एक छत्तीसगढ़ एक्सप्रेस चलती है लेकिन उसको किसी भी तरह से एक्सप्रेस, मेल या पैसेन्जर ट्रेन कहना गलत होगा, वह तो बेलगाड़ी एक्सप्रेस है। इसी प्रकार वहां हवाई जहाज भी बहुत छोटा जाता है। 25,30,40 पैसेन्जर रोज वेट-लिस्टेड रहते हैं।

श्री जार्ज फर्नण्डीस : वह भी श्री कोशिक ने पहुँचाया है ।

श्री चन्द्रलाल चन्द्राकर : बाद में हवाई जहाज हमने बढ़ाया है । कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट ने यह काम किया है । वहाँ रेलवे की उचित व्यवस्था की बहुत गुंजाइश है ।

वहाँ पर दूरभाष की व्यवस्था भी ठीक नहीं है । भिलाई इस्पात कारखाना हिन्दुस्तान का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण लोहे का कारखाना है । संयोग से मैं वहाँ से लोक-सभा का प्रतिनिधि हूँ लेकिन 8,8 दिन तक लगातार कोशिश करने के बावजूद भी वहाँ टेलीफोन पर बात नहीं हो सकती है ।

वहाँ पर टेलीफोन व्यवस्था बहुत खराब है इसके अलावा आवागमन के साधनों और मंचार के साधनों की बहुत कमी है । इस क्षेत्र में इन्फ्रा-स्ट्रक्चर को ज्यादा दृढ़ और विस्तृत करने की आवश्यकता है ।

सस्ते अनाज की दुकानों में चीजों का न मिलना देश भर में लोगों की बहुत अखरता है । खाने का तेल और सस्ता कपड़ा बहुत कम मिलते हैं । कभी कभी गेहूँ और चावल भी नहीं मिलते ।

13.56. hrs.

[SHRI R.S. SPARROW in the chair]

मेरा सुझाव है कि वित्त मंत्री जहाँ तक हो सके, सस्ते अनाज की दुकानों में सभी आवश्यक चीजों को उपलब्ध कराएँ ।

संसार के अन्य देशों में सरकार के अनुमोदित कार्य के अतिरिक्त सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र और निजी क्षेत्र की बड़ी-बड़ी कंपनियों द्वारा रिमर्च एण्ड डेवलपमेंट की ओर बहुत ध्यान दिया जाता है और उसपर काफी धनराशि खर्च की जाती है । पहले तो हमारे यहाँ कंपनियों में रिमर्च एण्ड डेवलपमेंट सैक्शन होता ही नहीं था । अब भी इस काम पर बहुत कम खर्च किया जाता है । मैं समझता हूँ कि रिमर्च एण्ड डेवलपमेंट पर ज्यादा पैसा खर्च करने से हम तेजी के साथ

तकनीकी तरक्की कर सकेंगे । मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ । भिलाई इस्पात कारखाने में काफी रिमर्च हुई है, लेकिन दूसरे इस्पात कारखानों को उसके परिणामों का कोई पता नहीं है । इसलिये सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र और निजी क्षेत्र दोनों में रिमर्च एण्ड डेवलपमेंट सैक्शन को ज्यादा प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिए । चूँकि हमारे यहाँ आर एण्ड डी की ओर अधिक ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता, इसलिए हम डिजाइन के मामले में बहुत पीछे हैं, चाहे कोयले का कारखाना हो, आटोमोबाइल का कारखाना हो या हवाई जहाज का कारखाना हो डिजाइन विदेशों से मंगाना पड़ता है । इस स्थिति में आर एण्ड डी को अधिक महत्व देना अत्यावश्यक है ।

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI (Pollachi) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Finance Bill for 1984-85 is being discussed and various members have expressed their views in different ways. I am so happy that Government is marching forward towards betterment of life according to the data supplied by the government. As far as industrial production is concerned there is much increase and so also in food production. We are able to produce 149 million tonnes of foodgrains. These are all the achievements of the government and I must congratulate the government for this.

14 hrs.

But, Sir, what is the reality ? This is the expectation of the government but the reality is in a different way. When production of foodgrains has increased then why increase in prices of foodgrains also. There must be lacunae in between whether in the area of distribution or due to some policy of the government. I read a book which has stated and I quote :—

“The *per capita* availability of grain in India has grown from 431 gm. per day to 453 gm. per day over a period of 28 years at the rate of 0.18 per cent per annum. In the rest of the World (which includes large population from poor countries) the average stands at about 650 gm. per day — and even this is considered insufficient. At the present rate of growth, just to reach the present standard of the rest of the world, it will take about 200 years”.

So, according to their standard of some of the poor countries, India will take 200 years to feed all the poor people as per the requirements of the common man. This is the position today.

Another important matter which I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister is this. As far as the aspirations of the Government are concerned, the fiscal-policy derives its meaning and direction from the aspirations and the goals of society within which it operates and the people whom it serves. The aspirations of the people of the underdeveloped countries are clear: economic betterment and stability and provision of materials resources within which human dignity and political freedom can grow. While this is the aspiration of the Government, what is the reality? The reality is this. The proportion of governmental revenue to gross national product in poor countries is considerably less than in rich countries. The poor need the help of Government more but they get less. Their Governments minor their own poverty. This is the reality. The fruits of the endeavours and efforts of the Government are not reaching the common. Our hon Finance Minister may have to face two problems: One is pre-budget scrutiny and the other is post-budget responsibility. As far as the allotment and grants given by the Central Government to public sector and other areas are concerned, the question is whether there is any check or monitoring system of the Government to see whether the money granted by the Central Government is properly utilised or not. You go to any village; see how the 20-point programme is implemented. You see the implementation of the 20 point programme in 1976 and now. You will see that it is utter failure. The Works and Housing Minister stated certain things in the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Part While he was travelling in Madras, he was asking the officials whether all the villages have been provided with drinking water. The officials said, yes. Mr. Buta Singh wanted to visit one village. That village was nor provided with drinking water. There was no tap for drinking water provided there. It came in the papers. He did not tell me personally but it came in the papers. This is how they are implementing 20 point programme. There should be proper monitoring system or else public money will only be wasted by the Government.

Our friend stated about tax evasion. Formerly he was a Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. I was also a Member of the Public Accounts Committee. When we wanted to have some information from the officials we could not get proper replies. The simple reason is this. No proper laws and no proper policy have been evolved by the Government. That was the reason. But I do not blame the Government officials. Of course, there are helpless.

Every year we are coming with amendments to the Finance Bill. The people's representatives, that is, Members of Parliament suggest many things in the Parliament as well as in the Financial Committees. But no action has been taken so far to help the poorer sections of the people. For example, the salaried class wanted relief. I am very much concerned about the salaried people. I have a determined policy that the Government officials, irrespective of their salaries, should be exempted from income-tax. There are many countries where the Government Officials have been exempted from income-tax. My late leader, Anna was always championing the cause of the poor. He was advocating a policy of tapping the rich and feeding the poor. But, now, at the Centre we find the reverse. Therefore, in the present economic condition, even for an officer drawing Rs. 2000 or Rs. 3000 per month, it is very difficult to maintain his family. So, what would happen is that he might try to find some way out for earning extra money, of course, there are honest officials, no doubt. But a majority of them are trying to earn extra income because they are not able to live within their fixed income in the present economic condition where there is a continuous price rise in essential commodities. Therefore, I would request the hon. Minister kindly to consider this matter. Sir, in Malaysia the Government has fully exempted the salaried people. In Sweden also the salaried people have been fully exempted from income-tax. In our country you leave the big people and they are not taxed. I can quote here many instances. Tax evasion is very much rampant in our country. Black money is very much entrenched in the country's economy. I can give you a list of hundred names of Tamil Nadu who have been indulging in black money market. If you want, I can place the list on the Table of the House. In Tamil Nadu, even the

politicians are involved in this activity. You can unearth black money to the extent of Rs. 500 crores. If he wants, I can help Mr. S.M. Krishna the Minister of state for Finance in this matter. So, this is the position, that is, you are leaving the rich and crushing the poor officials and others.

Sir, I do not want to go into the details of the taxation policy because this point has already been dealt with by many hon. Members, particularly, Mr. Satish Agarwal. Sir, on many occasions, the Government tried to pacify the rich in the name of voluntary disclosures. Voluntary Disclosure Scheme was introduced in 1951, 1965 and in 1976 also. I do not want to quote the figures of the voluntary disclosures. But still I would like to mention that in the second voluntary disclosures, about 1,38,628 persons voluntarily disclosed their taxable income of Rs. 145.51 crores. The income-tax that would roughly work out on this amount would be Rs. 20 crores. In 1976, under this Scheme, an amount of Rs. 796 crores were declared by 2,41,079 people. The disclosure figure was admittedly inflated by adding up an estimated figure by the Income tax officers as disclosures.

If the real position is calculated, the disclosure amount will amount to Rs. 400 crores. This is the position. The voluntary disclosure has not paid good results or any dividend to the Government.

Now, about the summary assessments. The summary assessment procedure is applicable to those whose return is below Rs. one lakh. Their cases are decided by the I.T.O. under the summary procedure. If a person files his return with an income of Rs. 99,999, he escapes from the detailed scrutiny just because his income is Rs. 1/- less than Rs. one lakh. What is the fun? Is it not the duty of the Department to see whether it is correct or not? Deliberately many merchants are doing like that. I do not know if there is connivance of the Department. This needs to be looked into.

I would also like to mention that many rich people, and almost every monopoly house are having trusts, whose income is exempted from income tax. The trust opens a benami account in some other's name. Benami accounts are kept in the name of

approved trusts operated by dummies. They issue beares's cheque, for which they get the money from another trust. This way also the black money is transacted. Government should consider this aspect seriously.

Our friends, particularly from the Congress (I) claim that they have done everything under the 20-Point Programme.

Before I dwell on that in detail, I would like to mention about the foodgrains situation and its supply from the Centre to the States. According to the Food Minister, we have reached 149 million tonnes production. But it appears that it is an election strategy. The Food Minister of Tamil Nadu said that the fair price shops would close if they did not receive adequate supply. That was on March 20. What does it mean? When we asked the Civil Supplies Minister, Shri Azad, he said that he had no stocks, but the Government's claims on the other hand that there is higher production.

**SHRI SATISH AGARWAL :** Higher production should be reflected in the buffer-stock. Naturally these figures are incorrect.

**SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI :** Last week also, Shri Azad told the House that they were going to import some foodgrains to have bufferstock. He claimed that some expert Committee had advised the Government to have buffer stock. What is the reality? Which community, which section of the people is happy now?

At the Calcutta conclave—many people will feel allergic to my using the words Calcutta conclave—we passed a resolution saying that the excise duty on some commodities used by common man be either reduced or abolished. Of course, in the budget they have reduced duties by a few rupees, Rs. 2.50 or Rs. 3.50 on cotton fibre. That is what they have done.

Sir, I have a calculation on about 13 items—sugar, confectionary and chocolate, preserved food products, glucose, dextrose, coffee, tea, kerosene, vegetable oils, man-made fibre and yarn, cotton yarn, matches—the total revenue comes to about Rs. 1534.59 crores. These are the items used by the poor and the prices can be reduced. For sugar alone, if I am correct, a buyer, the common man, has to pay Rs. 1.60 per KG,

With this levy, the price in the market is Rs. 4/-. If you reduce this, excise duty of Rs. 1.60, it will certainly benefit the common man. During the last three years additional duties on textiles and textile articles have been levied exorbitantly. The duty has been increased for eight items, which comes to about Rs. 392.29 crores. You can find it in the Memorandum.

Secondly, Sir, last October, Government gave some relief in excise duty the motor vehicles. That alone constitutes about Rs. 388 crores. This time also we gave some relief of Rs. 45 crores, which comes to a total of more than Rs. 400 crores. If you reduce the excise duty on essential items, naturally the common man will be benefited. That is why we have said that the rich should be tapped and the poor should be fed. This is the point which I wanted to make.

Sir, before I conclude, I want say something about the working class. I don't want to go into details about the 20-point programme and other matters. Of course I have to say many things about it. Regarding the working class, the pride of the Government is the increase in industrial production. What happens in the case of employees, the working class? Why are the Government fighting with the working class? What is the reason? Are they not cooperating with the Government in the matter of higher production? Or do they belong to different political parties? Why are the Government fighting with them? For example, take the case of customary bonus, which was given by the State Bank of India right from its inception. Those days it was called the Imperial Bank. Now the employees went to the Court. The Court said that it should be given, because they are eligible for the bonus. The Government appealed to another Court saying that they are not eligible for this.

Secondly, regarding the Hindustan Photo Films, Ooty. It showed a profit. There was a Joint Action Committee consisting of all political parties including INTUC. The case was referred to the Ministry of Finance for their approval. Till now, the approval was not given by the Ministry of Finance. Still the matter is pending. What will happen? They will be waiting, waiting and waiting for some time. Ultimately one day they will go on strike. Again we have to approach the Ministry. This is the position. So, this should be looked into.

Another problem relating to workers: we have the Anglo-French Textile Mills in Pondicherry, where there are about 7500 workers. We wanted it to be taken over by Government, under NTC. That was also not taken into consideration. The Minister of Commerce is trying to persuade some private people, for handing it over to them.

The hon. Finance Minister was helpful in the case of B & C Mills at Madras. Because of him, we know that mill was opened. In the case of the same mill, the Chairman said he could not pay salary for doing nothing. It stands closed completely since last January. I personally request the Minister to look in to the matter.

I was told that the present management is trying to buy some shares. The value of an Rs. 100-share has been brought down to Rs. 15, so that the present Managing Director can buy the shares at the rate of Rs. 15/- instead of Rs. 100/-, and thereby he can become the owner of that mill. It was a conspiracy. This is what I hear from the employees. I do not know whether it is correct or not.

The same thing about India Meters. It is a Government undertaking. There is no proper management there. BHEL sends some retired persons to India Meters.

Then there are sick mills in Tamil Nadu, which should be taken over by Government.

Now about E.D. employees in P & T Department. They say we are a socialist country. We have a duty to protect the common man, and particularly those who are poor. What is their salary? It is Rs. 60/-, Rs. 70/-, Rs. 100/- or Rs. 125/-. Their problems should be looked into.

Now about the khadi weavers in villages. They are very backward, financially. They are getting Rs. 200/- per month. I do not know what the department dealing with khadi and village industries here is doing. They are absolutely in a very bad financial condition.

Next about handlooms. Particularly in Tamil Nadu, there are 60 lakh people engaged in this industry. There was a request from Tamil Nadu. We passed a resolution in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly when Rajaji was the Chief Minister, that bordered dhotis and saris should be allotted to handlooms, so that these weavers may some benefit. That has not been done.



Now about the power loom sector. Of course, some concessions have been given to this sector, according to the Budget speech of our Finance Minister. Now about. Nowadays, powerlooms weave the cloth and give it to big mills like Calico Mills and Khatau Mills. The latter sell this cloth in the market. When those 54 mills in Bombay were on strike, and had been closed, those mills sent goods to other parts of the country by using power looms. So, giving any relief to the power looms will not work.

The late Mr. Sanjay Gandhi also gave the suggestion in this House many times that in every metre, the price of the cloth must be printed, so that they cannot dupe the public.

About central assistance to handloom weavers, for a *dhotti* measuring 2 yards, the Central Government fixes its rate at Rs. 8.50 and the Central Government give Rs. 3.25 as subsidy. In the same way, for a *saree*, they fix the rate at Rs. 29 and give Rs. 12 as subsidy. But this assistance does not go to the primary weavers. You give money. But the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu distributes *dhottis* and *sarees* among the common men by saying that he has purchased them from his own money. I hope the Minister will examine it and clarify this matter also.

श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा (जम्मू) : सभापति जी, मैं आपका मशकूर हूँ कि आपने मुझे टाईम दिया। जनाब, मैं जल्दी जल्दी में अपनी दो-चार बातें कहना चाहता हूँ।

फाइनेंग मिनिस्टर साहब ने बजट में मुबारकबाद के काबिल बातें की हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि वे क्रिटिसिज्म के बारे में बहुत रिस्पॉन्सिव हैं। पार्लियामेंट में या कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में जो बातें उनके सामने रखी जाती हैं उनमें से जो काबिले-कुबूल होती हैं, उनका वे मैक्सिमम तौर पर फायदा उठाते हैं। यह बहुत अच्छी बात है और डेमोक्रेसी में यह होना भी चाहिए। इसके लिए मैं उन्हें मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ।

बजट में दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह की है कि सेविंग्स को बहुत इन्करेज किया है। सेविंग्स को एन्करेज करने से वे काफी रुपया इकट्ठा कर सकते हैं। इससे गवर्नमेंट के डिस्पोजल पर रुपया

आ जाता है और मिडिल क्लास इससे अपने खानदान के लिए भी रुपया बचा सकता है। सेविंग्स पर प्रीमियम बहुत अच्छी बात है।

मिनिस्टर साहब ने परसनल इनकम पर टैक्सरेट रिड्यूस किया है। अभी उसमें और फरदर रिड्यूस करने की गुंजाइश है। मैं कहूंगा कि उसको पचास परसेंट तक ले आये। इससे मिडिल क्लास और लोअर मिडिल क्लास फायदा उठायेगा। जो वह छोटे-मोटे धंधे करता है, उससे वह पैसा बचा सकेंगे। इससे केपिटल फोरमोशन में भी मदद मिलेगी। कुछ लोग इस बात की मुखालिफत करते हैं कि आपने इनकम टैक्स रेट कम किया है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जब आपने टैक्स रेट कम किया है तभी इसका फायदा हुआ है। भारा मुल्क तरक्की करे, न कि चन्द बड़े बड़े आदमी ही अपनी तरक्की करें। बड़े बड़े आदमियों में चाहे बड़ा जमींदार हो, चाहे बड़ा कारखानेदार हो, चाहे वह बड़ा केपिटलिस्ट हो।

अगर चन्द आदमियों की तरफ ध्यान दिया जाएगा तो गरीब आदमी दबता जाएगा, पिसता जाएगा और मुल्क अमीर नहीं हो सकता। मुल्क कोई जमीन का एक टुकड़ा नहीं है। सब जनता को मिलाकर मुल्क बनता है। तो आज हमको यह देखना है कि हमारी जो पालिसी है वह गरीबों की ज्यादा से ज्यादा मदद कर रही है या नहीं चन्द आदमियों की इनकम बढ़ाने से कोई फायदा नहीं है। इसलिए यह जो पालिसी एडाप्ट की गई है, यह एक सही पालिसी है और इसके लिए मैं इनको मुबारकबाद देता हूँ।

अब हमको देखना यह है कि छोटे जमींदार छोटे किसान, मार्जिनल किसान, छोटा दस्तकार, इनके लिए हमारी पालिसी में क्या होने जा रहा है। इनको हम कहां तक मदद कर सकते हैं। हमारी पालिसी इसमें कहीं तक मददगार साबित हो रही है। इस ओर ज्यादा ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। अनाज की पैदावार बढ़ाना आवश्यक है, लेकिन इस बात का भी ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि किसान जो खर्च करता है, उससे उसको कुछ आमदनी होनी चाहिए। यह

पालिसी दुरुस्त है। लेकिन जहाँ तक कंज्यूमर का ताल्लुक है, उसका ख्याल नहीं रखा जा रहा है। जैसा कि चम्पू लाल चन्द्राकर जी ने कहा कि पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम में और सुधार करने की आवश्यकता। गरीब आदमी की परचेजिंग पावर को बढ़ाना आवश्यक है। अगर गरीब आदमी वहाँ से खरीद कर खा नहीं सकता तो फिर इसका क्या फायदा है। इस ओर पूरी तबज्जह नहीं दी रही है। अनाज की कीमत बढ़ाने से वेज रेट बढ़ेगा। गवर्नमेंट सेक्टर का वेज रेट बढ़ेगा। हर जगह बढ़ेगा। अगर हर फसल पर 20-0-40 रुपए बढ़ा दिया गया तो वेज रेट बढ़ता चला जाएगा। इसलिए इन बातों को बैलेंस करने की ओर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए।

गवर्नमेंट के अन्दर एक स्ट्रक्चरल कमी और है। हमारा मानेट्रिंग सिस्टम ठीक नहीं है। पालिसी हम तय कर देते हैं लेकिन फील्ड में उसका क्या असर पड़ रहा है, उसके ऊपर अमल हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है, इसके लिए कोई मानेट्रिंग सिस्टम हमारे पास नहीं है। अपनी जो पालिसीज हैं, उनसे असेसमेंट नहीं किया जाता। कई राज्यों में स्माल-स्केल इन्डस्ट्रीज चल रही हैं। गुजरात जैसी प्रास्पेरस स्टेट को यह मालूम है कि कितने नए यूनिट खोले गए, कितना रुपया कर्ज दिया गया और कितनी फैसिलिटीज दी गई? लेकिन उसके बाद मार्किटिंग आदि की कोई सूचना उनके पास नहीं होती है। नेशनल लेबल पर जो फीगर्स दी जाती हैं, उनमें मुझे तो अम्बाजे ही नजर आते हैं। उनमें रिबल स्ट्रक्चर नजर नहीं आता, जिमके जरिए वह फीगर्स तैयार होती हो। एक ऐसा ढांचा तैयार करना चाहिए जो यह देखे कि कहां तक काम ठीक हो रहा है? प्राइस कंट्रोल के बारे में भी कहना चाहूंगा। अपोजीशन और रूलिंग पार्टी के लोग इन्फ्लुएन्शियल आदमी के बारे में तो बहुत बातें करते हैं लेकिन कामन-मैन का कोई ख्याल नहीं रखता। पालिसीज का फायदा कामन-मैन को मिलना चाहिए। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब तो ख्याल रखते हैं, लेकिन ज्यादा

ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। एक बात और कहना चाहूंगा। आपने जिस कन्सर्न का बीस लाख से ज्यादा टर्न-ओवर होगा, उसको चार्टर्ड अकाउंटेंट से आडिट करवाना कम्पलसरी कर दिया है।

श्री रामाबतार शास्त्री (पटना) : अब चालीस लाख हो गया है।

श्री गिरधारी लाल डोगरा : चार्टर्ड अकाउंटेंट्स की तादाद इतनी कम है कि चालीस करके भी नहीं कर पायेंगे। हर साल आठ या दस परसेंट लड़के पास होते हैं। इसको कम्पलसरी बनाने से नुकसान ही होगा। कुछ लोग तो चालीस लाख से कम टर्न-ओवर बताकर भी सैल्फ असेसमेंट करवा सकते हैं। आजकल के हालत में चार्टर्ड अकाउंटेंट के खर्च को बर्दाश्त करना बहुत मुश्किल है। इसलिए, चालीस लाख भी कम हैं। चार्टर्ड अकाउंटेंट्स की तादाद कम है, इसलिए रिश्वत अधिक चलेगी। पब्लिक डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन सिस्टम को भी स्ट्रेंथेन किया जाना चाहिए। यह देखना चाहिए कि जो पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे लोग हैं, उनकी परचेजिंग पावर जनरेट हो रही है या नहीं? एग््रीकल्चरल सेक्टर में आपने नबार्ड बना दिया है। को-ऑपरेटिव का फायदा रीच फार्मर्स को मिल रहा है जबकि गरीब फार्मर्स को नहीं मिल पा रहा है। आपका डायरेक्ट ताल्लुक नहीं है फिर भी आपसे इस बारे में निवेदन करना चाहूंगा। क्रेडिट की ओर भी आपको तबज्जुह देने की जरूरत है। एक मेन बैंक आपने खोल दिया है, उसके बारे में आपको पूरी जानकारी होनी चाहिए।

को-ऑपरेटिव का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है, जब तक वे स्माल फार्मर्स और माजिनल फार्मर्स की कोई हैल्प नहीं करती हैं, तब तक उन को-ऑपरेटिव का कोई फायदा नहीं है। अब तक को-ऑपरेटिव का इसीलिए फायदा नहीं उठाया जा रहा है कि वह स्टेट सब्जेक्ट और स्टेट्स पर बड़े जमींदार छाये हुए हैं। अब जनाब मैं दो तीन मोटी बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारी जम्मू और कश्मीर स्टेट में रिफ्यूजी प्राब्लम 1947 से लेकर आज तक परसिस्ट

करती चली जा रही है। वे सारे रिफ्यूजी बाहर से नहीं आये, बल्कि वे सब इंडियन सिटीजन हैं जो दो किस्म के हैं। कुछ तो परमानेंट रेजिडेंट्स आफ स्टेट हैं, कुछ 1947 के हैं और कुछ 1965 और 1971 के हैं। लेकिन 1971 के बाद के जितने रिफ्यूजी हैं, स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने उनके साथ जिस तरह का एटोट्यूड किया, वह ठीक नहीं कहा जा सकता। केन्द्रीय सरकार की तरफ से उनको जो मदद मिली थी, वह रूपया भी वे खा बैठे हैं। मगर 1947 के रिफ्यूजीज को अब तक वास्तव में कोई मदद नहीं मिली और न उनको फाइनेन्शली या रिहैबिलिटेड करने के लिए मदद दी गई। कुछ समय पहले पार्लियामेंट में राज्य सभा की एक कमेटी बनी थी, जिन्होंने सारी समस्या पर थोरोली विचार किया और रिक्मेंड किया कि 1947 की जितनी ओरीजिनल फॅमिलीज हैं, उनको बारह हजार रूपया प्रति फॅमिली के हिसाब से मदद दी जाए, लेकिन वह मंजूर नहीं हो सकी। मैं मानता हूँ कि यदि उनको 12 हजार रूपया न दिया जाता तो कुछ न कुछ तो अवश्य दिया जाना चाहिए था। क्यों आज तक वे स्टैब्लिश नहीं हो पाये हैं और जहाँ जहाँ उनको आबाद किया गया है, वे जगह बड़ी तंग हैं और उनका बहुत बुरा हाल है। वैसे तो हमारी प्रधानमंत्री साहबा वहाँ जा चुकी हैं और उन्होंने भी उस प्रोब्लम को एग्जीशियट किया है लेकिन उनकी तरफ ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। इन में से 1971 वाले लोगों को तो अभी तक कोई जमीन भी नहीं मिली, उन्हें कैम्प से उठा कर भगा दिया। पहले हमारी पोलिसी यह बनी थी कि जब तक इनको जमीन न मिल जाए और उस पर एक फसल ये न काट लें तब तक इनको फॅसिलिटीज मिलती रहेंगी। किसी को नाले पर बिठा दिया गया, किसी को कहीं और बिठा दिया गया। लेकिन सही जमीन उनको नहीं मिली। उन सब का बुरा हाल है। हमें उनकी तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मैं एक्स सर्विस मैन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। वैसे हमारी स्टेट बड़ी बँक-

वर्द्ध है। जनाब, आप उसे अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं क्यों कि आप वहाँ रहे हैं। वे कुछ लोग काफी पहले जमाने के हैं, जिनको बिल्कुल पेंशन नहीं दी जा रही है। उनमें से थोड़े से रिजर्व के आदमी बिल्कुल बेकार हैं और बूढ़े हो गए हैं, मगर उनके पास कुछ काम करने को नहीं है। हमें उनको काम देने का, पेंशन देने पर विचार करना चाहिए। जब भी उनके पास जाओ तो वही प्रोब्लम वे बता देते हैं। इन एक्ससर्विस मैन की पंजाब, जम्मू और कश्मीर और हिमाचल प्रदेश में काफी तादाद है। इसके अलावा कई दूसरी स्टेट्स में भी ये काफी संख्या में हैं, जैसे बिहार है। आज इनकी प्रोब्लम्स को अच्छी तरह से स्टडी करके हल करने की जरूरत है। वरना आज सारे मुल्क में कहीं पर भी पीस नहीं रह सकती और हम ठीक से काम नहीं कर सकते जब तक कि इन एक्ससर्विसमैन को हम डिम-मैटिस्फाई रखेंगे, जो मुल्क के लिए अपने आप को कुर्बान करते हैं, उनके पीछे बीवी और छोटे छोटे बच्चे रह जाते हैं जिनके पास देखभाल करने वाला कोई बाकी नहीं रहता। वैसे हमारे जितने एक्ससर्विसमैन बोर्ड बने हुए हैं, चाहे वे डिस्ट्रिक्ट लेवल पर बने हों या स्टेट लेवल पर, आज उनके पास कोई ताकत नहीं रह गई, जो पहले हुआ करती थी। उनके पास वक्त नहीं होता कि वे एक्ससर्विसमैन की कठिनाईयों को स्टडी करके उसका हल निकाल सकें, सिवाय इसके कि एक आदमी को नौकरी मिल जाती है, एक आफिसर होता है और दो-चार क्लर्क उममें होते हैं। आजादी से पहले हम देखते थे कि घर घर में ये कैसे जाते थे। लेकिन आज फौजी दर-दर मारे फिर रहे हैं उनका गुजारा नहीं होता। उनकी पेंशन के बारे में सुप्रीम कोर्ट में पीछे जो फैसला हुआ था, उस पर भी अभी तक अमल नहीं हो पाया है। अमल न होने का कारण यह भी है कि वह फैसला ब्यूरोक्रिसी ने पालन ही नहीं होने दिया। और उसका लाभ किसी को नहीं मिल पाया है। इसलिए मैं जरूरी समझता हूँ कि यदि हमें मुल्क के अन्दर सही मायनों में तरक्की करनी है तो इनकी तरक्की पर भी हमें तबज्जुह देनी

होगी। दोनों-एक्ससविममोन और रिफ्यूजी-की ओर ध्यान देने की जरूरत है।

यहां पर अग्रवाल साहब ने विदेशों में स्थिति इण्डियन मिशनस की कठिनाईयों का जिक्र किया। वैसे तो मुझे भी कई बार वाहर जाने का मौका मिला है, भले ही मैं बाकी दोस्तों की तरह कई बार न गया हूँ। या तो आप हर मिशन को बन्द कर दीजिए अथवा तरीके से काम होने दीजिए। मैं मास्को में भी गया था, वहां पर जितनी गाड़ियां हैं, दो या तीन चन्ती हैं और उगका कारण यह है कि हमारा फाइनेंस डिपार्टमेंट उनकी रिपेयर के लिए सैंक्शन नहीं देता। गाड़ी के पुर्जे मंगाने की इजाजत नहीं है, जब कि टैक्सी में बेहद खर्च कर सकते हैं और उस पर किसी को कोई एतराज नहीं है। लेकिन गाड़ी रिपेयर नहीं हो सकती। इसी तरह से जी०डी०आर में फर्स्ट सेक्रेटरी एक लेडी थी वह बेचारी इसको छोड़ने आई तो बस में बैठकर आयी और बस में ही वापस गई। इसी तरह से वियटनाम में डाक्टर नहीं है। हमारे मिशन के जो कर्मचारी हैं उनकी फैमिली में से एक आदमी 3 महीने के अन्दर इलाज कराने के लिए बैंकाक जा सकता है। क्यों नहीं आप डाक्टर अपना वहां रखते? अगर आप मिशन खोलें तो पूरे जोर शोर के साथ खोलिये।

आप डिफरेंट बोर्ड्स बनाते हैं, जैसे टी बोर्ड है, उस बोर्ड में दो एम० पीज० को छोड़कर बाकी मेम्बरान को सरकार नौमीनेट करती है। आपको मालूम है कि अमृतसर सबसे बड़ा टी सेन्टर है खरीद फरोस्त का। लेकिन अमृतसर का कोई रिप्रजेन्टेटिव उस टी बोर्ड में नहीं है। मेरी मांग है कि अमृतसर को एक आदमी का नौमीनेशन मिलना चाहिए।

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** (Muzffarpur) : Sir, this is the last Finance Bill of the present Government. If I know the mind of the people of this country, this is bound to be the last Finance Bill of the party that goes by the name of its leader.

**AN HON. MEMBER :** Wishful thinking.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** This Finance Bill seeks to give sanction to the several budget proposals, which the Finance Minister presented in his budget. Frankly, there is nothing in these proposals that excites me. The budgets, particularly during the last four years, have ceased to be innovative, trend-breaking or trend-setting. They are primarily an exercise in book-keeping, so much received and so much spent. Therefore all that one can really do when discussing these proposals, and the Bill that now seeks to get approval for them is to discuss the broad trends in the economy and also in our polity.

Speaking in this House in the very first year of this Government, I had almost despaired about the future, the future as long as this Government lasted.

That despair was born out of the perceptions which this Government had displayed from their manifesto, which they had produced before the elections. With the first Budget speech of the then Finance Minister, they started the game of scapegoatism. They went to find scape-goats for the inherent problems that our economy and our polity faced then and is facing now. This was in the President's Address even. If you tell me that President's name should not be brought forward, I would say it was nothing but a declaration of policies, perceptions and perspectives of the government of the day; and they even had the President tell the Joint Session of Parliament and the country that everything had gone wrong because of two and a quarter years of Janata Rules; and all the good work that was done previous 30 years was destroyed by these Janata men. In fact, I enjoy their manifesto carrying it in my pocket because it is a constant reminder of promises that are not fulfilled, performance that is just not there, and again the promises that you have made are in such a grandiose style. This manifesto started with a very interesting statement. The very first paragraph which presented the thinking, or if I may say, the lack of thinking, on vital issues of the party that is in power says and I quote :

“The assumption of power by the Janata Party brought serious danger to our polity. For the first time in independent India north-south were split. The longer

the Janata Party ruled on the basis of its mandate in the North.....”

So, we were the party of the North.

“...the more they alienated not only the south, but also South-East part of India.”

I hope the irony is not lost on the Finance Minister, if no one else. But forget the irony, forget the turn history has taken, when you started uniting the north and south, I may tell you the Prime Minister is again in search of a constituency in the north. Forget that. What worried me then and what still worries me is the thinking inherent in this kind of statement that we and we alone are the repositories of patriotism, we and we alone are the repositories of all wisdom, we and we alone are capable of running this country; and if this country through the wisdom of the people decides to call upon another party to run its affairs, then that is a serious danger to our polity. So, Sir, the assumptions on which they proceeded had made me warn them right from this set idea and tell the then Finance Minister and I had told the Government : please learn from the mistakes—your own and also ours, because we made mistakes. But please learn from those mistakes and do not try to go in search of scapegoats. The problems of this country are far more serious, far more deep than our trying to merely apportion blame on performance or non-performance of each other. But, Sir, the lessons were not drawn. They refused.

And now we have this Budget of the present Finance Minister, who is quite an expert in handling statistics, handling figures. In fact, he is an excellent craftsman in that kind of a game. So, we have today a situation in which people are told that things were never so good and if anything, they are going to be better. Sir, I was away to a place where newspapers are not available. So, I give an instance of the newspaper report of the Finance Minister's Statement in Calcutta two days back in which he has now jumped to a figure of 147 million tonnes of food-grains.

Where he got the statistics from is something that really baffles me because in less than two months he had shot up from 142 million tonnes to 145 million tonnes and now he said it is 147 million tonnes.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER : And today morning, 149 million tonnes.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Yes, and now they have reached a figure of 149 million tonnes. So, a lot of paper work in terms of statistics is being done. These statistics are primarily election statistics. The statistics have nothing to do with what we really are going to produce in the country because we have gone through this kind of targeting, not performance. In every year? if you go through your own mid-term review of the Five-Year Plan through which we are just now going—this is the penultimate year—you will find that all your targets almost every one of your targets had been beyond your achievement.

Then the Finance Minister, again expert that he is in giving statistics, has been telling us that ‘we are going to have a growth rate of 5.4 per cent, which some times becomes 5.2 per cent. And then of course he likes to enthuse people by telling them that they are capable of going right up to 7 per cent. So I believe that he should go up to 7 per cent he should go up to 10 per cent. Why none But what really worries me again is that what you give these statistics of 5.2 per cent and 5.4 per cent, what is the base year on which you are falling back upon ? You go back to 1979-80, the year of the worst drought that we have had. Of course, you then refused to accept it, you said there was no drought, it was the Janata Government that was responsible, it was the Janata Government drought. But unfortunately today, as your economists get to work, when the politicians get pushed out and the economists then start to work including the copywriters, now of course everybody talks about the drought of 1979-80. The world Bank speaks about it, the other international agencies always spoke about it, but now you also speak about it in your documents including your *Economic Review* and so on and so forth. But my point is that you are falling back on the 1979-80 figures when you talk about a growth rate and try to, what shall I say, deceive the people or try to satisfy yourself that great things are being achieved. This does not really take us anywhere in terms of genuine achievement. You cannot possibly go back to the worst year of economic performance. Even assuming that it was a politically contrived performance, let us assume that the drought had nothing to do with it, the conse-

quent fall in industrial production had nothing to do with it, but it was all the handiwork of the Janata Party, let us assume it for a moment, even then, I would like to ask the Finance Minister : Is it fair to the people of this country, or for this matter, to anybody who is capable of understanding what you are trying to say, to put out constantly these statistics saying that it is going to be 5.2 per cent growth or it is going to be 5.4 per cent growth? But actually, if you go back to the calculations, make triennial calculations, if you look at the overall rate of growth in our economy, you will find that what we are achieving is only 3.5 per cent. So, whether it is the Janata Government, it is the same performance, whether it is the Congress (I) Government, it is the same performance in terms of broad economic growth in this country. What we really need to have today is the general performance of the economy and this should make the Finance Minister worry as much as it makes those of us on this side of the House concerned. I do not see why the Finance Minister should feel complacent why he should assume such a great delight in the great performance of his Government when judging by any yardstick—— and I leave it to the Finance Minister to decide the yardstick by which he wants to judge the real quality of life which our people today are enjoying. In my view the situation to-day is much worse than what it was, shall we say twenty years back. I would like the Finance Minister to be very specific on this when he gives reply. I will give him statistics; since he enjoys statistics and I do enjoy some time, I will give him one or two statistics to work upon. I go back to your own Economic Survey. I am not going to statistics produced by my party or by any other opposition organisation. I am going to the Economic Survey—

“In 1961, our people had a per capita availability of 468 grams of foodgrains”

15 hrs.

This included, for the information of the Finance Minister and of the ruling party, 69 grams of pulses. If any one understands the significance of pulses, at least Prof. Ranga will understand—that is proteins for our people and proteins are nothing else but brain, muscles, strength—physical and mental. This is in 1961. Even in these two wretched years of Janta Rule. I use

‘wretched’, the people still had in 1978, 467 grams of grain including about 45 grams of Pulses and in 1979 they had 476 grams of grains including the same quantity of pulses—44 or 45 grams of Pulses. If you look at the statistics which this Economic Survey gives us of the latest year — the available foodgrains in the country has come down to 430 grams per capita which includes 38 grams of pulses. You look at the quality of life, ultimately, how will you judge the performance? Statistics is not food. Statistics do not feed. You say 4.5% or 5.4%. It does not make any sense at all. You get down to what is available to the people and food is the most important thing for which all of us are fighting. Food is the most important thing for which poor people in this country are crying. Then, there is nothing which this government can boast of. There is nothing of which any one of us can be proud of because consistently we have been denying to our people food to eat and particularly in the area of pulses, there has been decline, a steady decline during the last twenty years and more. It is not merely the foodgrains that decides this.

I was going through the statistics which an institution with which the Finance Minister should be familiar—the World Development Report. I think the World bank produces it and this Report mentions the calories that are available. That is another way of judging how our people are being fed, how they are really living. The World Development Report divides the countries into four categories. There is a non-market, I presume the socialist economy. Then there is the High Market countries which I presume are the Western Industrial Powers. Then there are what are called the Middle Income Countries. What exactly the definition is, the Finance Minister will be better able to tell us. Then there are what are known as the Poor countries. So, there are four categories. I have to discover — i. e. the fifth category and that is India. This comes in when you particularly discuss the quality of life of the people. If the quality of life is going to be judged by the calorific value of food that goes into the stomach of the people the World Bank 1983 Report says :

“That the Non-Market economcer provided their people 3412 calories per day, the High market provided their people 3432 calories per day, the Middle Income Count

ries provided their people with 2579 calories per day, the Poor Countries provided their people 2218 calories per day and India provided its people with 1880 calories per day."

Sir, it is a category by itself.

Sir, I am sure, the Finance Minister knows these matter better than most of us. This 1,880 calories is 75% of the calorific requirement of an able-bodied person who is to work for 8 hours a day. This is very real. Our neighbour, Pakistan, with whom people have their problems, you take.

While our calorific intake was static from 1969-71 to 1980, while our clarific intake remained static, here is the country, the same people, same culture, same background and every thing is same in this country. Between 1969-71 and 1980, they were able to increase their calorific intake from 2,192 to 2,270 which enabled them to at least become a poor country while we continue to remain an exceptional country in terms of providing our people with minimum food needs. Then, we go by statistics again to find out what kind of progress we are making. I again go back to the Economic Survey, Mr. Minister. Look at the national per capita income. I do not want to go into pages because it takes time and I do not want to take the time of the House. But let me make out my point. 1978-79 again was a bad year with a bad Government. But according to your Economic Survey, the per capita income in 1979-80 was Rs. 714.9 and 1982-83 which is the latest year for which your Economic Survey gives us the statistics, the per capita income is Rs. 712.1.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur): It is because the performance of the population was good.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: I presume that. These statistics are understandable to people and I am not making these points in order to embarrass the Finance Minister. On the contrary, I am only trying to point out that just nothing is happening. You are juggling with figures. You throw the matter and we throw them back at you but nothing is happening. People are there were they were. In fact, the people are having a set back in the quality of life, in the gross national product, in terms of per capita income and in terms of calories that they should consume and emerge as able-bodied capable citizens capable of doing

8 hour good work in this country, to develop this country. Sir, we are where we were. Yet, you tell us nothing was so good as before. And since the Finance Minister is looking at the statistics, I would also look at the amount of cloth that is available. That is one of the measures, one of the yardsticks by which you can judge what the people are having, how the people are and how well off are they. If you go back to 1961-62 again, Mr. Finance Minister, you will find that an average Indian or average cloth which an Indian was able to use in that year was 15 metres. Perhaps, it was 16 metres. And during the 2 1/4 rotten years of Janata rule, they had 15 metres of cloth. And after 4 glorious years, you have now brought it down to 13.5 metres. So, which is the area where this great progress has been achieved—between the promises and the fulfilment? The statistics you yourself put up but you do not speak about them. You hide them behind the leaves of your book. It is a great volume that you have produced. Look at every area. 4 years of your Government and 3 years of Plan statistics you have given us. You promised to produce in the year 1980-81, 135 million tonnes of grains. That was your promise. You produced 129 million tonnes. I know, you will have excuses. You will, of course, blame INDIRA. You will say, "There was no rain; what could we do"? It is an old joke and it has become now even stale.

In 1981-82, you hiked your target to 138.5 million tonnes and the fulfilment was 133 million tonnes. In 1982-83, you hiked your target further to 141.5 million tonnes and you produced 126 million tonnes. This is the gap between your promise and your performance in a vital area where you have miserably failed. But you are not prepared to even admit your failure saying, "We wanted to produce this much; we could not produce this much. Our Government has failed." You do not want to use that word because the word "failure" is outside your vocabulary. Your Lexicon does not contain that word; you want to erase that word. The word "failure" does not exist in your dictionary.

Energy is another vital area. These are the areas where unless we make things move, in this country, nothing is going to be achieved. You promised that we shall have 9,381 MW of additional installed capacity between

1980 and 1983 but your performance was 7,058 MW, that is, a shortfall of 25 per cent. In any other country, in any other economy, in any other society, the people responsible for such a failure would be thrown out of Government. Here, they get promoted; here, their performance is admired. You promised to generate an 'X' amount of energy. You failed in that area.

In fact, I was amazed to find that your current year's Economic Survey or one of your Government documents says that for 1984-85, that is, the year through which we are going and for which you are seeking the sanction of the House through the Finance Bill, you have started telling us, "We are promising 191 billion units but we shall give 170 billion units. This is something most amazing where a Government tells us, "Our target is 191 billion units for the year 1984-85 but our achievement will be 170 billion units for the year 1984-85."

I cannot think of any Government in the world indulging in this kind of a thing, manipulating statistics or being proud of its own euphoria in the area of performance.

Look at another area. The emphasis on my presentation is on the way we are failing to tackle poverty and failing to tackle the problems of poor in this country, particularly, in an area of food. They promised that there will be a lot of energisation of pumps so that the farmer is better placed than what he was. In 1980-81, your target for pump energisation was 4,10,000 and your performance was 3,64,000. In 1981-82, your target was 4,25,000 and your performance was 3,25,000—the higher the promise, the lower the performance—and in 1982-83, your promise was 4,30,000 and your performance was 3,01,000—it went further down. I have not seen any head rolled on the other side.

Take irrigation. Again, this is an area where the rural poor and the farmers are concerned. Your target was that 5.7 million hectares of land will be brought under major and medium irrigation and your performance in four years is 3.5 million hectares. In the remaining 1 year, you will go up by another 1 million hectares at best. I am not sure about that even.

In the minor irrigation sector, it is still worse. There, even a smaller man is invol-

ved than the one who is concerned with major or medium irrigation. Your promise was 8 million hectares and your performance, in four years, is 5.64 million hectares. In the remaining year, nothing much is going to be achieved.

Where are we then? You take pride in the new Census figures that are coming as to how there is greater urbanisation taking place.

Nanded is a little town in Maratwada from where comes a very distinguished person on the Treasury benches, the hon. Minister for planning Shri S. B. Chavan. In that little town, there is hardly any industry or anything of the sort. A conference of the workers was held there yesterday and the day before. One of the issues that came up in the Conference was housing for the workers. Do you know that even in that little town of Nanded, the home town of the Minister of Planning, at what price the land is being sold? Land is today sorage in Nanded at Rs. 2,000/- per square metrd which comes to Rs. one crore per acre.

But the hon. Minister of Finance is not at all surprised at this high price. I am sure of it. It is so because a still higher price for land exists in Delhi. Here in Delhi, your Government is selling land at Rs. 70,000 per square metre.

If even this fact that in Delhi land is being sold at Rs. 70,000 per square metre does not surprise you, then there is nothing that we are going to do!

By the Government's own admission, the number of homes to be built in the rural and urban areas is a little over 21 million. I refute the statistics of the Government.

In my opinion, not less than 30 million houses are required to be built for the poor people of this country.

At this high rate of price of land, what hope is there for the poor people of this country to be able to get shelter? The price of land in Delhi and Nanded and Bombay is still higher and worse still, what hope is there for them to build houses there? Even in the rural areas, the land price is not less. Therefore, what hope is there for the poor to build houses even in the rural areas? There is absolutely no hope for them.



**SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI** (Bhubaneswar) : You are speaking as in a public meeting.

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES** : If you wish to hear me in public meetings, I will be always sending you my programmes. You can also come. Then you will understand how public meetings are. It is beyond your capacity to understand.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** : That only shows that even in public meetings, our speeches are so educative.

**SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA** (Roberts-ganj) : The other day Shri George Fernandes and Shri Biju Patnaik told the House that Pakistan is very friendly to us.

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES** : I deal with Pakistan and I will deal with you also!

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES** : Now I will take up the performance and non-performance and promises made and fulfilments of those promises by the ruling party. Let us take up prices. The ruling party's manifesto was very interesting. They started saying that prices had been stabilised, as a result of their efforts to this effect, by 1975-76 and the tempo of industrial production was maintained at a high level till then and that the Janata came then and consequently the prices of all essential commodities both agricultural and non-agricultural started shooting up. I do not know into what irony the hon. Minister of Finance has got into. I do not want to quote statistics again for the hon. Minister of Finance. His own wholesale price indices are there.

You can have a look at them and tell us how efficient your Government has been in dealing with prices. There are areas where prices in the wholesale have almost doubled. As far as retail is concerned, they are doubled every 24 months or every twelve months. But you are not concerned with that. These things do not bother the Government. There has been a failure to hold the price-line, and your failure to hold the price-line is driving the poor to total destitution today in the country. This is also something which escapes your notice. In your budget, in your financial proposals, of which you are seeking endorsement today, there is nothing whatso-

ever where any hope is held out for holding the price-line.

The third area of promise and non-fulfilment is the area of employment. You again attack us on that account in your manifesto, how we had not only not solved the unemployment problem but we were accentuating the unemployment situation in the country. I will only ask you to go through your own economic survey again. In 1979, the total number of unemployed registered with Employment Exchanges was 14.33 million. Mr. Finance Minister, you have successfully taken that figure up by eight million; in 1983 it stands at 22 million, an increase of eight million in the unemployed. But what is distressing and frightening is the fact that something very disturbing is happening. There is now a definite decline in the number of notified vacancies. There is a definite decline in the number of placements. In 1982, I am again going by the statistics which Government has given us—the notified vacancies were 820,000 which was a drop of 8.4 per cent over the notified vacancies of 1981, and the placements in 1982 were 474,000 which was again a drop of 6.1 per cent over the placements of the previous year. So, there is no hope for the unemployed. I had asked a question in this House, an Unstarred Question. My question was: "(a) What is the total number of educated, matric, college and university students, who will come out in search of employment in the year 1983 and (b) what will be the number of jobs which the Government hopes to create for the educated unemployed in the country in the year 1983." The question was answered on 17th August last year. The answer was that "four million students will come out of high schools, colleges and universities during the year 1983, and Government is not in a position to state how many jobs will be created."

At the end of fourth year of your performance and in this last year of your Government when you have presented the last Finance Bill of the Congress-I Government in the history of this country, we are in a situation where in every area there has been a total let-down, and along with this let-down, what should cause concern is the manipulation which this Government is indulging in.

Now I am on a very vital area, and that is the area of import and export trade of this country. I refer the Finance Minister to page 67 because he has to do a lot of answering. Between 1981-82 and 1982-83, there has been a decline in the exports of this country even while you tell us that exports have shown an increase of 13.1 per cent. I draw the attention of the Finance Minister and the House particularly to those areas of exports where our manufactured goods are sent out, to these very vital statistics which the House should know. In the area of engineering goods, 1981-82 exports were Rs. 850 crores, and the exports in 1982-83 came down to Rs. 786 crores; chemicals and allied products from Rs. 364 crores down to Rs. 308 crores; cotton fabrics from Rs. 294 crores down to Rs. 265 crores.

Iron & Steel—Rs. 79 crores—down to Rs. 55 crores. Jute manufactures—Rs. 257 crores, and down to Rs. 202 crores. Leather and leather manufactures—Rs. 405 crores and down to Rs. 371 crores. Ready-made garments—Rs. 595 crores, down to Rs. 527 crores. So year after year the country is going downhill. Of course, he will tell us that there has been an increase. There is an increase. How is the increase? This is what takes me to the very dangerous thing that this country is now asked to do to export our crude oil. We are exporting crude oil, a resource that is not renewable. Everybody is trying to conserve oil. Look at the Americans. They are not drilling their oil. They take a certain quantity and conserve the rest. They try to suck the Arabs dry of their oil. They are preserving their oil resource. Here we are—a poor country just now able to get some oil and it is no use saying that we are not able to refine it. If you are not able to refine it, don't drill it. What is the purpose in drilling this oil and then selling it in European and Western markets or in America for that matter? This is not a renewable resource. We are literally cheating the future generations of the country the way we are exploiting our oil and the way we are selling it. I am certainly concerned because this is a decline of exports in the vital sector. I know the Finance Minister may suddenly try to tell me that these are rupees and the exports are calculated in dollars in which case the rupee has declined year after year against the dollar, in which case the IMF is having its say that your rupee should be devalued without formally coming before the House with any

devaluation proposal. On the one hand this is how you are dealing with your exports situation and you are trying to bridge the gulf in the balance of payments position and in the balance of trade by exporting oil, a commodity that is needed, that has to be protected and that has to be preserved and conserved.

In the area of exports again, in comparable terms, Mr. Finance Minister, we are on a decline. In 1970 we had 0.64% of the world export market and to-day we are down to 0.1%. In terms of performance where are we? It is a total decline. In the last three years the decline is phenomenal. To-day it is below 0.4%.

Then, Sir, the amount of overseas borrowings that we are resorting to. The Finance Minister, as I said, is very clever. He is a great craftsman and I admire his craftsmanship in so far as figures are concerned. But when you try to tell us that the balance of payments position is not bad, that the balance of payments position is not so bad, what you are doing is that you are trying to suppress the fact that you are indulging in overseas borrowings which is unparalleled in the history of this country. In the last four years, the overseas borrowing including International Monetary Fund loans has crossed Rs. 15,000 crores and what is worse and what is frightening is that to-day you are borrowing money in the Eurodollar market at rates of interest that this country cannot afford to bear. You are mortgaging the future of this country in more ways than one.

And then you are using the earnings of the Indians, the poor Indian workers in the Arab countries, in Europe, in America wherever there are Indians overseas—I am not talking of the NRI, the non-resident Indians—no, the non-resident Indians are only funnels. They funnel the money which goes out from here and when it comes back, it gets converted. I am not talking of the NRI. I am talking of the poor Indian worker from Kerala, from Bengal, from Punjab, from all parts of the country who goes abroad, who works in the airport, who works in the hotel, who works in the ships, who works in the mines and that money you are to-day using to show that your balance of payments position, your balance of trade position and your overall foreign exchange position is not bad. This is where the deception that is

coming forth in the kind of statistics that the Finance Minister is trying to present.

Sir, the point I have been trying to make is that during the last four years this Government has failed on every front and its failure particularly on the economic front is now manifested or the fall-out of the failure on the economic front is getting manifested on the political front. Economic failure cannot for ever be hidden and the only way to hide economic failure and dealing with social problem is to divert the attention of the people to political problem.

*(Interruptions)*

Sir, in order to suppress these failures on the economic front, government is now taking recourse to diversionary tactics of creating political problems and these political problems are today striking at the very root of the integrity of this country.

Sir, it is my case and I want to charge this government with being a government literally of national disintegration. You are talking of integration but literally each move of yours today whether in J & K or Punjab or Karnataka or Bengal of Centre-State relationship is taking the country towards greater and greater dis-integration. Therefore, it is necessary that we go in for genuine review of what government has been able to do; that we try to find out the kind of promises they made and the kind of fulfilment that has been there.

Sir, one other problem which I thought I should deal with in terms of the diversionary tactics which this government is indulging relates to our relations with our neighbours. An hon. Member from the other side got up to make a statement about my visit to Pakistan. Much has been said about it. Much has been spoken about and statements made. Even my patriotism has been questioned by people for whom I do not wish to use the term but nevertheless whose competence to question someone else's patriotism is first to be questioned.

Sir, many things have been said both inside and outside the House. We are going to spend this year literally over Rs. 7,000 crores on defence. Between our two countries, India and Pakistan, we are going to spend Rs. 10,000 crores on defence. I am

not one of those who say that Pakistan should be allowed to run riot in its relations with India. I am not one of those who say Pakistan should be allowed to have an upper hand with India.

Sir, I would particularly like to remind those who are questioning my patriotism in this House and outside that in 1968 when Kanjarkot, Chadbet and Dharabenni were being handed over to Pakistan by the same party which is in power today I went in protest. You know what they did to me. They put me in jail so that they could hand over these areas to Pakistan. Today I am asked to prove my patriotism by those people who acceded territory to Pakistan. Let them go into history. In 1958 at the height of exchanges with China the first Prime Minister of this country, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, wrote to Chou En-Lai not once but four letters and it has come in the White Paper apologising to the Chinese government over Mr. George Fernandes patriotism. And today some lampoon elements are questioning my patriotism. If a man says there should be no more and there should be peace and that money that is going into armaments should be going into drinking water, into development, into resolving people's problems you challenge the patriotism of the person. You can't know anything about War and Peace. I say, his uncle is the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. I am not bringing anything personal. I am only pointing out that here are our two countries with such relations. The other day I was talking to Noor Usman, the Director of the Institute of Defence Strategic Studies of Pakistan. He was considered to be one of the prominent experts in the area of strategic studies and Planning. Our ambassador was also present when we met. Mr. Noor Usman came to me and said, Mr. George Fernandes, you are related to me. I asked, how? He said, you are son-in-law of Prof. Humayun Kabir; I have married Prof. Humayun Kabir's niece. He is one of the more important policy-makers in Pakistan, I want to make it clear that the two countries must learn to live in peace. The concern of my party and people like me is to defuse the war clouds that are being seen everywhere and create conditions whereby we can sit across the table and discuss the problems. There have been peoples in the world who have fought world wars. They have spoiled each other; and yet, after going

through the experience of the concentration camps of mass liquidation they have also learnt to live as one economic community and are trying to build one political entity. And here we are a people who have been decided for reasons which we all, I hope, will like to regret, and some of us do regret, and we would take some measures where the money that is now south to be used to build arms and armaments to acquire more and more sophisticated weaponry would ultimately be used to alleviate poverty and miseries of our people.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am inspired by the the speech of Mr. George Fernandes. I know Mr. George Fernandes is my dearest friend. He has forgotten what happened during those glorious periods of 2 years of Janata rule. He has quoted us as saying that these were wretched years. He made a political speech out of this Finance Bill, having taken advantage of this occasion. But I would like to know one thing from him. During those two glorious years who were at the helm of affairs ? You were the Industries Minister. You know who are the others who were at the helm of affairs. You criticised right from independence till today the 30 years of Congress rule stating that there has been no glory, there has only been poverty. In the two years of your glorious rule who were our own associates ? You criticised the Ministry of Petroleum and Chemicals. My dear friend Mr. Bahuguna is there. He was Minister in the congress Government. He was also a Minister in your Government.

He was your colleague. What were the phenomenal changes that he had made at that time ? How much was the industrial development and what was the rate of growth that you achieved during that period ? You are giving statistics for gaining political capital out of your speech. You are making political speech in the House. But this is no forum for any political speech. We expect a leader like Mr. George Fernandes to give good suggestion like whether change in the present policy is necessary and, if necessary, whether they are required to be introduced in the programmes and policies of administration, etc. But he has not made any suggestion at all. What was the phenomenal change and what was the phenomenal achievement when the two-years period of so called

glorious Janta Party rule was at the Centre. The gentleman who was the Prime Minister at that time was denigrated and criticised by Mr. George Fernandes and earlier Mr. Chandra Shekhar also. But that was for some time and they are all your friends now. He was opposing the sound economic policy of the Congress Government, which was for the betterment of the common men, a policy for the attainment of an egalitarian society, a society of plenty. Mr. Morarji Desai did not see eye to eye in the Working Committee discussions and when a suggestion was mooted for the nationalisation of the banks, he opposed the idea. As a leader who opposed the socialist measures at that time, today he is the leader of the Janta Party and I do not know how Mr. George Fernandes is able to adjust with him. I do not know how a person with revolutionary ideas is able to adjust with Mr. Morarji Desai who has feudalistic character. If we want to make political speeches, we can also make them. If we want to make any charges on anybody, we can make them. There are so many people in your party who are sitting here and the moment they join the Janta Party, they become the angels because they were not angels before. How can you associate those people in your party ? You are associating with these people whom you were criticising before.

The Finance Bill is a basic character is of this country. The idea for the establishment of Planning Commission was mooted by persons like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and it was entrusted with the work of framing Five Years Plans for the country. The Planning Commission has brought out Six Five Year Plan Documents so far and the Seventh Plan is on the threshold. The country's overall economic situation today is quite appreciable and we must take pride of the Finance Minister's two successive budgets which he has presented to the House. They have helped in achieving economic growth and also stimulated the economy of this country for further growth. The contribution made by the Congress Party for the last 30 years have been quite impressive. But Mr. George Fernandes shut his eyes to all these achievements and he has been charging the Congress Party and its economic policies. I do not know what the policy of the Janta Government was. What was their policies with their allies with the Jana Sangh

people? Mr. George Fernandes has made a very stormy speech in the House that the Congress Government should hand over their charge. But I ask: Can you run the Government? Have you got persons to run the Government? Have you got any sound policy for running the Government?

Shri George Fernandes has made his speech as if he was speaking in the Ram Lila Maidan, or any other public place. We can also level charges, but that is not our intention. The pertinent questions to be examined are whether this country has attained the position where it can sustain the democratic values, sustain the democratic growth and has brought about transformation through various measures, legislation and planning. That is the most important aspect to be discussed.

If you expect that mere presentation of budget will bring about changes within the next two or five years, it is almost an utopia. We have never advocated such an utopian philosophy. We believe in democratic values. We have never called to question the patriotism of Shri George Fernandes or anybody else. The point, however, that was made was whether the opposition party would be responsive to the aspirations and desires of the people of this country if the power was handed over to them. We have a proof with us; the whole world knows that within a span of two years now you manage the Government? Why did you run away?

Shri George Fernandes has made all the old points in a new bottle. If you refer to their speeches for the last twenty years. You will find almost the same arguments; statistics may differ and may be 2 per cent more or less. I can also quote statistics from the documents of the Planning Commission, Economic Survey of India, etc. I have got all the statistics with me. Shri Satish Agarwal made very valuable suggestions about introducing changes in the administrative machinery, in the various departments, curbing of wasteful expenditure, and for effective implementation of Government Policies etc. We welcome those suggestions. We are discussing the Finance Bill and we want constructive suggestions.

15.45 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE *in the Chair*]

Shri George Fernandes mentioned about the intake of calories by Indians. He emphatically said that the calories available to Indians as also politicians were very much less. But what was their contribution during their rule of two years? What did they do for containing the explosive situation of population growth? Were they even sympathetic to this idea, that the control of population growth would allow the people to enjoy the fruits of our development? If we have to make a real progress, the population has to be controlled effectively. If you refer to the past history, we have brought about land reforms, which, in fact, is the glory of the Congress (I) Party. We have changed the spirit of the Constitution, from democratic republic we have turned India into a socialist republic.

When this nationalisation of banks is concerned, your leader Shri Morarji Desai only said that we must have social control and not nationalisation. We are working under these people and you want to introduce this sort of philosophy into this country. There must be relevance in making speeches. It is not a question of statistics being hurled at are statistics being compiled. But the point is that we have to manage the economy. After every budget the Finance Bill is discussed. We should see to it that the administrative machinery is properly geared up, and it should be a powerful and strong one. Though today we are having a strong Government, the Opposition is interested only in gheraos, lock-outs and violence everywhere. The Government has a social obligation and because of our social obligations, we have to sacrifice so many things. The economy of this country is on a very sound footing and the philosophy of our party is also very sound as is evident from our Party's Manifesto.

In the present budget, the Finance Minister has not only encouraged rural growth, but also at the same time injected a new innovation of bringing out meaningful change in the economic structure of the country. He has also brought out a meaningful change in the tax structure as well and given various reliefs to various categories of people.

When there is a tax-less budget, the Opposition says that it is an election budget. Even though in their heart of hearts they

know that it is a good and balanced budget, still they criticise the budget. They are interested only in criticism and it is their philosophy. The Finance Minister has brought out a lot of changes in the economic structure and has given many concessions, as pointed out very well by Prof. Ranga.

I would like to say that the benefits of the economy are not percolating to the lowest, to the unorganised sector, to the poor farmers. The farmers are not getting a fair deal. The administrative machinery of the 20-point programme, which was enunciated as a national programme, is not being implemented properly and the benefits are not reaching the needy people. I request that the Hon'ble Finance Minister should take a very serious view of the situation and see that proper steps are taken to ensure that the administrative machinery works properly. The authorities at various levels should see to it that the people get the fruits of these programmes. In this context, Sir, several times I have mentioned regarding public and private sectors. We are wedded to reach the commanding heights of the public sector and to the concept of the public sector. But unfortunately today the private sector undertakings are going helter-skelter.

They are also taking shelter under the Monopoly and Restrictive Trade Practices Act. They are bypassing all these things. I would like to know how many States are taking action with regard to private investments at the State level. Unemployment has been caused throughout the country, because the private sector has not been made accountable, and there is no control over their functioning in the country.

The financial institutions give money to the private sector. The Department of Company Law is managing the whole affair. But to-day, the private sector is not responsive to the demands of the people, and they are not helping in bringing about industrial or trade growth. The private sector should reach out to the people, and provide employment.

In an article on population and investment, it is said that there is a relationship between unemployment and private investment. This is a very important aspect. There is an investment of 80% of money which

is given by financial institutions, only, on machinery, and not on any productive items. When there is no investment on productive items, there is no investment on employment-oriented programmes; and unemployment is bound to occur in the country.

The Prime Minister has announced an Employment Guarantee Scheme. To-day, IRDP and NRDP are under the 20-point programme.

My friend Mr. Fernandes was saying that the number of people registered in the employment exchanges is increasing because educational institutions are coming up in every corner of this country. Furtherance of education is the basic policy of our party. Education will bring about social change and social consciousness. The Opposition says on the one hand that there is illiteracy. When we bring in educational institutions, they say unemployment is caused. We must see that the management of these institutions is done in a planned manner.

The public sector undertakings which are financed by financial institutions, are subject to scrutiny by Parliament. If Parliament is supreme, if it is an instrument for bringing about a change in our society, it is very necessary that wherever these financial institutions have financed the private sector, whether in a big or small way, those private institutions come within the purview of Parliament. They have to submit their annual reports to Parliament. How else can such institutions function in a Parliamentary democracy? This powerful weapon, viz., Parliamentary democracy, should not be throttled by the bureaucrats, private people or by financial institutions. They should be responsible to Parliament, and the elected leader of the people on this country.

Our Constitution is federal in character. Different party Governments are functioning in different States. This involves different policies, whether in West Bengal, Tamil Nadu or Karnataka. But they are opposing the entire basic philosophy of the Congress, viz., socialism. Those Governments have come to power to-day through the machinery of our Constitution. How can the Central Government and the State Government conflict and the philosophy of the social character can be nullified by the State? Today, in Karnataka, the corruption has

been institutionalised and\*\* is milking for coming election.

**SHRI SATYASDHAN CHAKRABORTY** (Calcutta South) : I am on a Point of order. He referred the name \*\* He cannot do it. (Interruptions) No, no, you cannot do it.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : You cannot make an allegation against him. Please don't do that.

**SHRI K. LAKKAPPA** : They were making corruption charges against us. In Karnataka State, there is no government, and the State is not expected to take money and pay the salary of the employees from the reserved cooperative societies' fund. The funds have been taken away \*\* and he has made the State bankrupt. Today, there is a tottering government. I challenge it. They use the money for the party purpose. Is there any constitutional guarantee for that? Can they squander away money of the State and percolate it through the Centre and use it for a political purpose? Can you give any example about it of the Congress (I) Party in these days or any other day? It is very painful to say that. They are not responsive to the Centre; they are not responsive to the 20 point programme; the 20-point programme has been stalled in my state, various other measures for development have also been stalled in my State. They are using the money for their party purposes. How can this kind of a government run the State? They have no majority. This is the political system we have over there.

The energy sector in this country, especially in my State, after the Janata Party Government, has been stalled; there is no production; we are completely in the dark. There is 80 per cent power cut in Karnataka. Only a few industrialists are favoured by the Chief Minister to run their industries. But the entire medium sector, small sector and farmers are completely ruined in the Karnataka State. The Minister has to explain about it. The energy planning has to be done properly and also energy sources should be tapped properly to see that the distribution of energy and the organisation of energy should be done properly in order to have the growth oriented programme in this country.

He has announced so many concessions for luxury items why are you not giving concessions to the people who are using chimneys and lanterns in rural areas which you are declaring as backward industrially or otherwise? You have categorised A, B, and C districts. Take, for example, my district, Tumkur. In the planning process you have made it a C district. Why have you not made it A district so that we will get all the facilities for the overall development of the district? Thank you.

With these words, I would like to conclude. Thank you.

**MR. CHAIRMAN**: Shri H.N. Bahuguna.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE** : Analytical economic speech.

**MR. CHAIRMAN** : Shri Bahuguna. The Minister will reply at 4.45 P.M.

**SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA** (Garhwal) : I will try to finish as quickly as possible.

Sir, the Finance Bill which is before this House, really it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister that it clearly indicates the preference of this Government and the class character of this Government. It clearly shows that they are interested in desert cooler, they are interested in something which is used by the upper middleclass or the affluent sections of the people, the TV, the coolers, and the refrigerators. But it is clear also there that while they are giving these concessions, they know that even that class will not receive those concessions, because the whole concessions in duties will go to the benefit of others, the manufacturers, or they will be mopped up by the middlemen.

Let us look at it from 1980 till today. Which of the excise reductions has resulted in bringing down the prices of the consumer items? Lot of concessions have been given since 1980 till today. We are all aware of all that he has done. Duties on soap, tooth paste, tooth powder and so on, have been reduced. Did any of the soaps become cheaper? The prices of soap went up and up. But the Government is in the habit of extending concessions to the affluent and therefore, I have no regrets at least, the people of this country know for whom this Government works, whose representative it is.

The second thing that I want to say is that a great hue and cry is made about the population growth. And a great hue and cry is raised and it is said that had there not been this explosion of population it would have been better. Some good friends are here like Mr. Lakkappa whose great fascination for the Congress, the post-1971 Congress is known, and he has been quoting figures, and he says that the show is just because of the population growth.

Now may I remind the hon. Member from Tumkur that the percentage of population is the highest in south compared to the natural population rise of 2.2 per cent, and that the 5,600 miles of our coastal land contributes to more than 6.5 per cent of the growth rate in population? The fishermen they go in the morning into the high seas and return after 24 hours. So then, even in 365 days they are away for half the time and they produce more than the affluent people. Now, these rich people do not get a son. But they go to Tirupati to get a son. But how do the poor people get more children? This is something which someone had to see and I wish that some sociologist goes to Bangalore and does some research, to find out why in Karnataka or even in the country, the poorest of the poor people breed more. It has now been explained the world over. Poverty is the greatest breeder of human beings. Now the poorer the section, the higher the birthrate. Therefore, the attack should be not on population but the root cause of population i. e. poverty. If you look into that particular aspect, looking even at the fishermen's angle, I will merely try to give some statistics. The whole exercise of the Budget does not talk about the fisherman. The Prime Minister declared way back in 1982 that there shall be a national welfare fund for fishermen. Is there any reference that national welfare fund for the fishermen in the budget speech of the hon. Finance Minister? Is there any provision in the Finance Bill in any manner? Has any section of the people been taxed to create this particular type of fund? No. Not only this. Your love for people, your whole approach and your policy is indicative of what you do. The Chambers of Commerce have representation in the Port Trust. One thousand traders doing foreign trade, will have three representatives on the Port Trust. But the fishermen who were earlier elbowed out from that particular land when the port

had been built long ago and who are really concerned with so many things connected with the port, have no representation on the Port Board. They have no representation in the banking system. They have no representation anywhere. This poorest of the poor man contributes so much. The hon. Finance Minister talks tall about the foreign exchange position. Their contribution of foreign exchange by way of export of marine products has gone up to Rs. 361 crores in 1982-83 as against Rs. 4 crores in 1950-51. It has gone up still more. Who does it? Not the mechanised boats. They constitute only 10 per cent. If you add trawlers and all that together, they contribute at best 16 per cent of the total catch. Rest is done by more than hundred thousand boats that are bringing this catch from the high seas at great risk to their personal life. But there is nothing in this Budget about fishermen. That indicates the love of this Government for the type of people and for the sections of people that it wants to represent. They talk about the 20-Point Programme. A friend of mine was saying in the 20-point there are two portions—two and zero. First portion is for the Congress (I) party and its leader. That makes two. And zero for the nation. That makes it 20. They talk so much about the 20-point programme. But how about the fishermen, how about the poor persons, artisans in the rural areas? What is the provision made for them? The provision made is that bank loan is granted to them. What do you give in bank loan? A blind cow or a buffalo who will never be able to give the adequate amount of milk to compensate or to pay back the loan that he has taken. Therefore, this Government should understand that its intention is something else.

So many excise duties have been removed on many items. Now, the doctors who are using x-ray machines and electronic equipment and gadgets are paying in some cases 180 per cent duty. But what about the photo industry and press industry? If you want to have a press industry, then it is not more than 40 per cent duty anywhere. But if you want to have a catcanner and x-ray machine and that too for the poor people, who would not be able to otherwise get it in all your institutions, those people are not being given the benefit of any concession. The Finance Minister's eyes have more or less been fixed



on the affluent and rich people. He has not gone either to the strategic sector or the sectors which will cover the poor people. His entire exercise, which people called 'please all' when he presented his Budget, was really to please the vocal sections and rich sections. They get out of them political strength. Political power and money power inter-marrying produce back to power the same type of trend.

Therefore, I would merely suggest and say that the implications of this Budget are not going to be happy for any section of our people except the rich and the affluent sections, the producers and the middlemen and not even the consumers. My learned friend Mr. Lakappa was saying: "Bahuguna was the Petroleum Minister, will he say what he did?" Well, I have written a letter to the hon. Petroleum Minister-Energy Minister as he is known now—Mr. Shiv Shankar.....  
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. LAKAPPA : I never made any charge but I said what is the improvement you made.....(*Interruptions*)

SHRI H.N. BAHUGUNA : I am coming to that. You forget your leader coming on bending knees to me and asking me for help and you tell me that I change the party. That is another point ....(*Interruption*). There is no question of absurdity about it. It is a fact of life to which hon. Buta Singh is also a witness. But the point is that when I was the Energy Minister.....(*Interruptions*). The people of this country know who went to whom.....(*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS  
AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) :  
Sir, unfortunately for him, I was also  
there.

SHRI H.N. BAHUGUNA : He is a witness, Sir.....(*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : Let us get on with the Finance Bill.....  
(*Interruptions*).

SHRI H.N. BAHUGUNA : He made a certain statement and he must have the capacity or the patience to hear the reply. I made it a point to conserve petroleum in this country and not swell the coffers at the cost of future generations of our people. My learned friend knows it that petroleum comes

out along with associated gas. If you cannot make use of associated gas then I charge this Government of cheating the future generations of a nature's gift which is not anybody's earning or anybody's creation; it is a gift of nature. Petroleum and associated crude oil and associated gas both come together. The associated gas today is being flared at Bombay High at the rate of 1.2 million cubic metres a day at a point of time when that is more precious than gold. That commodity worth millions and millions of rupees is being flared because in your stream of things you live for the day. We were looking for future generations also and therefore, we said we will not take out all the petroleum except when the end use of gas also is provided for. Therefore, in the very first year of the Janata period, that is, in 1977-78—Bombay High was found out in 1975, oil had started oozing out from 1975 - the pipeline was laid. As soon as I became the Minister, the first thing I did was to bring the gas to the shore, put a gas trekker and produce that LPG which you are now boasting you will distribute round the country every year by so many cylinders more, covering so many million people more.

The second thing he has asked is what my contribution was I would like to read out from a book containing statistics collected by some very knowledgeable people. I merely want to say that in that letter of mine which I had written to Mr. Shiv Shankar I said that this type of flaring of associated gas is a complete ignorance of management, of energy and I requested him to go into the whole question and try to see that he does not do it again. I have warned him and cautioned him that he is doing something which is against the national interest. No reply has come to me yet.

My good friend George Fernandez was just now saying about unemployment. Everybody knows that unemployment is increasing. Even the hon. Members on that side know. Everyday people are in the queue before employment exchanges registering their names but get no place anywhere. But the question is whatever industries they are putting up, whether they may put up in one constituency in U.P. or two constituencies anywhere else, the question is are they doing total project management ?

On that I have written umpteen letters to the hon. Minister of planning, Industries and the Prime Minister, clearly indicating that unless manpower management goes along the project, you will only be able to alienate the local people, you will only create problems for yourself and for the nation.

So far as oil production is concerned, during 1979 the dependence on imported oil as a percentage of consumption was 65 per cent. By 1980 it became 69.9 per cent; in 1981 it became 76.4 per cent. Not only that, when they found some oil, they started putting themselves on the back. What had really happened is that what was already done during the Janata period started yielding results in 4-5 years. Therefore, I would say that, so far as oil is concerned, India was put on the oil map by no less a person than Shri K.D. Malaviya. I agree that it was the foresight of that man, which brought about this happy situation, in which all of us contributed. But the contribution of the Janata Party during that period, the small period of 3 or 3-1/2 years, is not mean either.

**SHRI BUTA SINGH :** The contribution of the Janata Party is that it started criticising the poor Malaviya.

**SHRI H.N. BAHUGUNA :** The contribution of the Janata Party is well known. The contribution of Shri Buta Singh is that he is there. I agree there.

**SHRI BUTA SINGH :** I am putting the record straight.

**SHRI H. N. BAHUGUNA :** You are there; that is your contribution; no other contribution.

They say that industries died down during the Janata Government. But what are the statistics? They tell another story. In 1979 the industrial production went up by 8.7 per cent. In 1980 the figure came to minus 1.4 per cent; in 1981 it rose to 4 per cent and in 1982 to 8.6 per cent. Yet, it never touched 8.7 per cent, which we reached. It again went down to 3.9 per cent in 1983 and now it is 4.4 per cent. This is their record and yet they are proud of putting the country back on the industrial map of the world.

I do not want to say anything more except that this Finance Bill is a creature which will help no poor man and that the 20-Point Programme is nothing short of tall talk. If you go round and see the coastline, the naked people who are contributing such an amount of foreign exchange they are living a miserable life; they are not living even like human beings. I conclude by saying that I hope wisdom will prevail on the other side, energy management will be done properly and the country will be saved from a future disaster.

**श्री रशीद मसूद (सहारनपुर) :** मोहतरम चेयरमैन साहब,

“जहां लोगों के हाथ में पत्थर मिलेंगे—

उसी शहर में कांच के घर मिलेंगे।”

हमारे लक्ष्मण साहब की जुबान से करप्शन की बात सुनकर के ताज्जुब हुआ कि वे लोग भी करप्शन की बात करने लगे हैं, जिनके लीडर ये कहते हैं कि “करप्शन इज ए इंटरनेशनल ग्लोबल फिनामिना”, वे लोग आज करप्शन की बात करते हैं। जिनके बारे में मशहूर है कि उत्तरप्रदेश के दो मिनिस्टर्स को वहाँ के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने इसलिए निकाल दिया क्योंकि वे करप्ट थे। उन पर इल्जाम था कि लोगों से पैसा लेकर वे उनको कॉर्ट्रेक्ट दिलवा रहे थे। इस इल्जाम पर उनको निकाल दिया। हिन्दुस्तान में खासतौर से उत्तरप्रदेश में यह बात मशहूर है कि उसी चीफ मिनिस्टर ने \*\*

उनको मिनिस्ट्री में लिया। आज वही लोग कर्नाटक और दूसरी जगहों के बारे में करप्शन की बात करते हैं। मैंने शुरू में ही कहा था कि जिन लोगों के मकान शीशे के होते हैं, वे दूसरों पर पत्थर नहीं उछालते। लेकिन ये भजीब बात है कि वे आज करप्शन की बात कर रहे हैं।

अखबारों में हमें पढ़ने को मिला कि मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट घड़ियां लाते हुए कस्टम पर पकड़े गए। एक दूसरे के कानों में यह बात कही जाती थी। यह वही साहब हैं जो कर्नाटक की सरकार

को करप्ट बताकर इल्जाम लगा रहे थे। मैं नहीं जानता हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने लीडर के कितने ग्लोबल फिनोमिनन को पूरा करके दिखाया है। इस बात से हिन्दुस्तान की रूनिंग पार्टी के मीम्बर नहीं बच सकते हैं। मैं, कल पत्रिका साहब की तकरीर सुन रहा था। वह फरमा रहे थे कि इस बजट से पूरे मुल्क को फायदा हुआ है। हमारी सरकार ने इस मुल्क को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए 1980 से एक दिशा दी है। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ वह कौनसी दिशा है? क्या इस बात के लिए दिशा दी है कि बेरोजगारी और नंगे लोग बढ़ें हैं? क्या इस बात के लिए नार्थ और साउथ एवेन्यू की डिस्पेंसरियों में भी दवाईयां न मिलें? क्या इस बात के लिए कि पार्लिमेंट के मीम्बर को भी पैसे देकर के अपना काम कराना पड़ता है? जो लोग कल तक पेट भर कर खाना खा रहे थे, आज भूख और नंगे हैं। आपके 22 जुलाई 1982 के जवाब के मुताबिक जब 1980 में सरकार आई तो 48.13 परसेंट लोग गुरबत की रेखा से नीचे की जिन्दगी बसर कर रहे थे। 22 जुलाई, 1982 के बाद इन लोगों की तादाद 56 फीसदी हो गई। जिनको दो वक्त पेट भरकर खाना मिलता था, उनको एक वक्त मिलने लगा और एक वक्त की बजाय सुबह के नाश्ते पर जिन्दा रहने लगे। अब तो सन् 1984 में और ज्यादा महंगाई हो गई है। मैं समझता हूँ अब 66 परसेंट ऐसे लोग हैं जो बेरोजगारी की सतह से नीचे की जिन्दगी गुजार रहे हैं। जब मैं बम्बई गया हुआ था तो मेरे साथी ने कहा कि पवाई लेक देखने के लिए चलते हैं। आप, यकीन मानिए, एक आदमी ने चाट खा कर के पत्ता फेंका तो उसको फौरन एक बच्चे ने उठा कर चाट लिया। यह, खुद मैंने देखा है। क्या आपकी पार्टी ने इस मुल्क को यही दिशा दी है? आज का किसान परेशान है क्योंकि पेट भरने के लिए उसे रोटी भी नहीं मिल पा रही है। किसान, मजबूरी में खेतों को छोड़कर स्लम्स में पड़ रहा है जिसकी वजह से बड़े-बड़े शहरों में स्लम्स की आबादी बढ़ रही है। 1980 और

1984 की कीमतों के बारे में मैं बताना चाहूंगा कि उनमें कितनी बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है और आपने गरीब या रिक्शा वाले को क्या दिया है? लोन की बात आप कर सकते हैं। लोन किसको दिया गया है? लोन उनको दिया है जिनकी रिक्-मण्डेशन कांग्रेस आई के एम० एल० एज० और एम० पी० ने की है। जो गुण्डे हैं, शरीफ लोग नहीं हैं। आइन्दा वूथ कैपचरींग के लिए आप उनको तैयार कर रहे हैं, पच्चीस-पच्चीस हजार रुपए का लोन देकर।.....

(व्यवधान)

**श्री जमीलुर्रहमान :** आप ऐसी बात इस हाऊस में न करें कि जो गुण्डे हैं उनको लोन देते हैं। आपकी रोजीम में ऐसा हुआ होगा।...

व्यवधान

Sir, it should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Time is limited, please don't interrupt.

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN : What is this? This should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have made your point.

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN : What I ask is, should it go on record?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will go through the record and see if it should go on record or not.

**श्री रशीद मसूद :** जो यूरिया की बोरी 53 रुपए की थी, वह 105 रुपए की मिल रही है, जिसमें 95 परसेंट की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई। एन० पी०के० में 90 फीसदी की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। बिजली की दरों में 80 फीसदी, डोजल में सौ फीसदी और कपड़े में 40 फीसदी की बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। ईंटों के मामले में 110 परसेंट, सीमेंट के मामले में 70 परसेंट आपके जमाने में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। इसके अलावा किमान जिन इनपुट्स का यूज करता है, उन सब के दामों में भी आपके जमाने में बढ़ोत्तरी हुई है। इसी तरह से गेहूँ के मामले में 35 परसेंट, चावल के मामले में 37 परसेंट, कपास के मामले में 28 परसेंट, गन्ने के मामले में 10 परसेंट, प्याज के मामले में 12

परसेंट और सब्जियों के मामले में 11 परसेंट रिडक्शन हुआ है, जो प्राइस उसको 1980 में मिलता था, उसके मुकाबले यदि आप देखें। यदि मुकम्मल तौर पर ओवर आल एवरेज निकाला जाए, तो 1980 के मुकाबले आज उसको मिलने वाली प्राइसेज में 11 परसेंट की कमी आई है। इससे आप अन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि जितनी चीजें किसान इस्तेमाल करता है, किसी भी चीज के दाम उसको 1980 के मुकाबले ज्यादा नहीं मिलते-सिर्फ दो चीजें हैं 40 परसेंट कपड़े में और 70 परसेंट सीमेंट में-वरना उसको हर चीज के लिए ज्यादा दाम देना पड़ रहा है सिर्फ चावल में 35 या 37 परसेंट उसकी आमदनी जरूर बढ़ी है, बाकी किसी चीज में नहीं। आज उसकी हालत भूख मरने की सी हो गई है। यदि आजादी के 37 सालों के बाद भी आपने मुल्क को यही दिशा दी है तो मैं आपसे मुत्तफिक होने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। क्योंकि अब भी सारे मुल्क में एक लाख 30 हजार 761 गांवों में अब भी पीने का पानी नहीं पहुंच सका है। चेयरमैन महोदय, आप यकीन नहीं करेंगे कि वैसे तो मेरा जिला सहारनपुर हिन्दुस्तान का दिल माना जाता है, बहुत खुशहाल माना जाता है, लेकिन उसमें ही 97 विलेजिज ऐसे हैं जहां आपने पानी तो पहुंचा दिया है, लेकिन लोगों को पानी नहीं मिलता। आज भी वहां 7-8 विलेजेज ऐसे हैं, जहां पीने का पानी 7-7 और 8-8 मील दूर से लाना पड़ता है, जो इलाके हिमालय की तराई में पड़ते हैं। क्या आपने इतने दिनों तक देश को यही दिशा दी है। क्या आप देश को यही दिशा देना चाहते हैं कि यहां एशियाड हों, या आप यह दिशा देना चाहते हैं कि यहां नोन एलाइण्ड समिट हो या यहां चोगम कराये या कोई दूसरी कन्फरेंस कांफरेंस कराये और अपने आप को यह साबित करें दुनिया में कि आप तरक्कीया-पत्ता मुल्कों से ताल्लुक रखते हैं। क्या आप यह दिशा देना चाहते हैं कि गरीब और गरीब होता जाए और अमीर और अमीर होता जाए। यदि आप इसी को तरक्की मानते हैं तो मैं आपसे मुत्तफिक होने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

यहां अभी चार-पांच रोज हुए, हमारे ट्रांसपोर्ट मिनिस्टर साहब ने एक बात कही थी कि सारे हिन्दुस्तान में नेशनल हाईवेज के कारण दो करोड़ 40 लाख रुपए का सालाना नुकसान होता है। उसका कारण सड़कों का खराब होना है और उसकी वजह से टायरों की वीयर, टायर और कम रफ्तार में व्हीकल्स चलने के कारण डीजल और पेट्रोल की ज्यादा कन्जम्पशन के कारण हैं। आपने यह भी कहा कि इन सड़कों को दुरुस्त करने के लिए 2300 करोड़ रुपयों की जरूरत है, यदि आप इतना पैसा जुटा पायेंगे तो यह नुकसान से बच सकते हैं। आप बताइये, आपने इन चार नोटकियों के ऊपर ही, जो मैंने आपको बतायीं, 2400 करोड़ रुपया तो खर्च कर दिया, लेकिन 23 सौ करोड़ रुपया यदि आप सड़कों को ठीक करने पर खर्च कर देते तो क्या हर साल होने वाले दो करोड़ चालीस लाख रुपए के नुकसान से बच नहीं सकते थे। आपका सारा नुकसान 8 साल के अन्दर पूरा हो जाता, यदि आप उसके लिए स्कीम बनाते। लेकिन आपने ऐसा नहीं किया, क्योंकि आपको गरीब और गरीबी से कोई मतलब नहीं है, आप नहीं जानते कि उनको परेशानियां क्या हैं, उनको क्या शिक्षित है। आप तो सिर्फ इतना जानते हैं कि सारी दुनिया में आप अपने आप को एक ऐसा देश कहलवायें जो कि तरक्कीयापत्ता हो। आपने गोआ में तफरी पर कुछ ही घण्टों में 40 करोड़ रुपया खर्च कर दिया, लेकिन पानी के लिए मोहताज गांवों को पीने का पानी नहीं दिया, उनके लिए आपके पास कोई प्रोग्राम नहीं है। इस साल के बजट में इस मद में आपने महज 50 करोड़ रुपया रखा है, जिनसे आप 5 हजार गांवों को पानी देंगे। यदि कुल एक लाख 30 हजार 761 गांवों को पानी देना हो तो आप हिसाब लगाइये एक साल में 5 हजार गांवों को देंगे तो सारे गांवों को देने में 30-32 या 34 साल लग जायेंगे। वैसे आप हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की का दावा करते हैं, कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान आगे बढ़ रहा है, हिन्दुस्तान को दिशा देने की बात करते हैं, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ पुरे हिन्दुस्तान में

रहने वाले लोगों को पीने का पानी तक नहीं दे सके। इसी रफ्तार से अगर चले तो 32 सालों में आप इस हालत में आ पायेंगे जब सारे लोगों को आप पीने का पानी मुहैया कर पायेंगे।

अभी यहां पर सड़कों की बात आई, हमारी जितनी सड़कें लेह होकर जाती हैं या लेह जाती हैं, उनकी हालत क्या है। यहां पर मेरे कश्मीर के भाई बैठे नहीं हैं लेकिन वहां कोई भी सड़क ऐसी नहीं है जो पांच किलोमीटर से ज्यादा दूर पाकिस्तान के बार्डर से हो।

अगर किसी वक्त हमला हो जाय तथा सड़क को काट दिया जाय तो पूरी लाइन आफ कम्युनिकेशन्स कट सकती है। पिछले कई साल से मांग की जा रही है, ऐस्टीमेट्स कमेटी में भी यह मामला आया था कि शिमला से भी एक सड़क बना दी जाय जिसके लिए टनल बनानी पड़ेगी और जिस पर 80,90 करोड़ रु० खर्च होगा। लेकिन आप इस काम के लिए पैसा नहीं खर्च कर सकते जब कि केवल 48 घंटे के लिए गोआ में 40 करोड़ रु० खर्च कर सकते हैं। लेकिन मुल्क की हिफाजत के लिए आपके पास 90 करोड़ रु० नहीं है। मैं चाहूंगा कि इस तरफ आप तवज्जह दें।

आपने कहा कि लोन्स दिए जा रहे हैं...

**श्री जमीलुर्रहमान (किशनगंज) :** आपने कहा गुण्डे हैं जिनको लोन दिया जा रहा है।

**श्री रशीद मसूब :** मैं तो अब भी कह रहा हूं कि गुण्डे हैं और आप लिस्ट मंगा कर देख लीजिए, पंजाब नेशनल बैंक लीड बैंक है उससे लिस्ट मंगा कर सी० बी० ग्राई० से जांच करा लीजिए उनमें से कितने लोग ऐसे हैं जो वाकई में उस पैसे का इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं और कितने ऐसे हैं जिनको पोलिटिकल ताकत हासिल होने की वजह से लोन मिला है? रहा सवाल गुण्डे नहीं हैं, आप मालूम करा लीजिए कितने ऐसे लोग हैं जिन पर कत्ल, राहजनी आदि के मुकदमे चले हैं और उससे आपको पता लग जाएगा कि गुण्डे हैं कि नहीं। रात लोग सही कह रहे हैं कि इस पैसे को मत्ते में डाला जा रहा है। बेहतर होता इस पैसे को रूरल एरिया में स्माल स्केल इण्डस्ट्री में लगाते जिससे लोगों को रोजगार मिलता और माली हालत लोगों की अच्छी होती। अभी तो लोगों को पता है कि यह पैसा वापस नहीं करना है, उसकी कोई गारन्टी नहीं है कि वापस होगा भी, इसीलिए लोग घडाघड़ ले रहे हैं। यह रुपया तो सिर्फ इलेक्शन में फायदा हासिल करने के लिए दिया जा रहा है। आप मुल्क को गड्डे में ले जा रहे हैं और हमें कोई रास्ता दिखाई नहीं देता बचने

का। यही मुझे अर्ज करना है।

श्री रशीद मसूब (सहारनपुर) : श्रम विभाग (सहारा) :  
"जहाँ लोगों के हातों में चंहर लिये गये"  
असि शहर में कापेज के गहर लिये गये।

हमारे लिये साहब की زبان से कर्पेन की बात सन कर गये आगुब हो।  
को वह लोग भी कर्पेन की बात करने लगे भि जिन के लीडरिये कते भि  
"कर्पेन अरु अन्टर्नैशन्ल क्लोबल फ़ामिन" वह लोग आज कर्पेन  
की बात करते भि। जिन के बारे में मशहूर भे का अत्र प्रेरितेश  
के दु मशहूरों को वहाँ के चीफ मशहूरने अस लने नकाल दया के  
वह कर्पेन कते। अन प्ररलराम कतहा के लोगु से यिसे ले के रोह अन  
को का कर्पेन डलो रहे कते। अस अलराम प्ररान को नकाल दया -  
भन्दुस्तान भि अन गुरास लोर से अत्र प्रेरितेश भि ये बात  
मशहूर भे के अस चीफ मशहूरने ( )  
अन को मशहूर भि लिया। आज वही लोग कर्नाक अरु दु मशहूर भि  
के बारे में कर्पेन की बात करते भि। भि न शुरु भि  
कहा कतहा के जिन लोगु के कान शिने के होते भि रोह दु मशहूर  
प्रेरितेश भि अललते। लिकन ये चीफ बात भे के रोह आज कर्पेन  
की बात कर रहे भि।

अखारों भि भि भि प्ररु सने को मशहूर भि लिया भन्त मशहूर भि  
लाने भोने कसूम प्ररु प्ररु से सने - अक दु मशहूर के कालु भि  
ये बात कभी जाती कत। ये वही साहब भि जो कर्नाक की सरकार को  
कर्पेन बना के अलराम लकार भे कते। भि नभि जाना भो के अन्तु  
ले अपने लीडर के कते क्लोबल फ़िनो मिन को प्ररु अक के दकहा भे।  
अस बात से भन्दुस्तान की रुलन्क प्ररु की के मशहूर भि न कते  
भि। भि कल पानिका साहब की कर्पेन सन - भन्तु - रोह फ़रार भे  
कते के अस जहट से प्ररु से मलक को फ़ादे भो भे - हमारी मलक  
ने अस मलक को आगे भूजाने के सने - भन्तु - रोह अक दु शदा की  
भे - भि नभि कभे भोर - को रोह कालु सी दश - भे - कया अस बात  
के लने दशदा भे भे के बरे रुगारी - अरु नके लोग बरु भे भि -  
कया अस बात के लने के नारु अरु सादु कते अरु मिनो की दु पन्सरो  
भि भि दया नभि लिये - कया अस बात के लने के प्ररु लिया भन्त के  
मशहूर को भि यिसे दे के अपना काम कर्ना ना प्ररु ता भे - जो लोग कल भि क  
प्रिथ बरु के काना कहार भे कते आज भुके अरु नके भि आप  
के २२ जूलानी १९८२ के जूअब के मशहूर भि जब १९८०

شرعی رشید مسعود: جو یوریا کی بوری ۵۳ روپے کی تھی وہ ۱۰۵ روپے کی مل رہی ہے جس میں ۹۵ پریسٹ کی بڑھوتری ہوئی۔ این۔ پی۔ کے۔ میں ۹۰ فی صدی کی بڑھوتری ہوئی ہے۔ بجلی کی دروں میں ۸۰ فی صدی، ڈیزل میں سو فی صدی اور کپڑے میں چالیس فی صدی کی بڑھوتری ہوئی ہے۔ اینٹوں کے معاملے میں ۱۱۰ پریسٹ، سیمنٹ کے معاملے میں ۲۰ پریسٹ اور زیادہ ہنگامی ہو گئی ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں اب ۶۶ پریسٹ آپ کے زمانے میں بڑھوتری ہوئی ہے۔ ان سب کے داموں ایسے لوگ ہیں جو بے روزگاری کی سطح سے نیچے کی زندگی گزار رہے ہیں۔ آپ کے زمانے میں بڑھوتری ہوئی ہے۔ اس طرح سے رہے ہیں۔ جب میں بستی گیا ہوا تھا تو میرے ساتھی نے کہا گہوں کے معاملے میں ۳۵ پریسٹ، چاول کے معاملے میں ۳۷ پریسٹ، کپاس کے معاملے میں ۲۸ پریسٹ، گنے کے معاملے میں ۱۰ پریسٹ، پیاز کے معاملے میں ۱۲ پریسٹ اور بزیوں کے معاملے میں ۱۱ پریسٹ ریڈکشن ہوا ہے۔ جو برانس اس کو ۱۹۸۰ میں ملتا تھا اس کے مقابلے یدی آپ دیکھیں۔ یدی مکمل طور پر اور آل ایورٹج نکالا جاتے تو ۱۹۸۰ کے مقابلے آپ اس کو ملنے والی پرائیز میں ۱۱ پریسٹ کی کمی آئی ہے۔ اس سے آپ اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ قیمتی چیزیں کسان استعمال کرتا ہے کسی بھی چیز کے دام اس کو ۱۹۸۰ کے مقابلے زیادہ نہیں ملتے۔ صرف دو چیزیں ہیں ۴۰ پریسٹ کپڑے میں اور ۲۰ پریسٹ سیمنٹ میں۔ ورنہ اس کو ہر چیز کے لئے زیادہ دام دینا پڑ رہا ہے۔ صرف چاول میں ۳۵ یا ۳۷ پریسٹ اس کی آمدنی ضرور بڑھی ہے باقی کسی چیز میں نہیں۔ آج اس کی حالت بھوکے مرنے کی سی ہو گئی ہے۔ یدی آزادی کے ۳۷ سالوں کے بعد بھوکے آپ نے ملک کو یہی دشا ہے تو میں آپ سے متفق ہونے کو تیار نہیں ہوں۔ کیونکہ اب بھی سارے ملک میں ایک لاکھ ۳۰ ہزار ۱۶ گاؤں میں اب بھی پینے کا پانی نہیں پہنچ سکا ہے۔

جس کی وجہ سے بڑے بڑے شہروں میں سمس کی آبادی بڑھ رہی ہے۔ ۱۹۸۰ اور ۱۹۸۴ کی قیمتوں کے بارے میں میں بتانا چاہوں گا کہ ان میں کتنی بڑھوتری ہوئی ہے اور آپ نے غریب یار کٹھہ والے کو کیا دیا ہے۔ لون کی بات آپ کر سکتے ہیں۔ لون کس کو دیا گیا ہے۔ لون ان کو دیا ہے جن کی رکنڈیشن کانگریس آئی کے ایم۔ ایل۔ این۔ اور ایم۔ پیر نے کی ہے۔ جو غنڈے ہیں شریٹ لوگ نہیں ہیں۔ آئندہ بوتھ کپرنگ کے لئے آپ ان کو تیار کر رہے ہیں۔ پچیس پچیس ہزار روپے کا لون دے کر۔۔۔۔۔ (انٹراپشنزم)۔۔۔۔۔

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN: Sir, it should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Time is limited, please don't interrupt.

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN: What is this? This should not go on record.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have made your point.

SHRI JAMILUR RAHMAN: What I ask is, should it go on record?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will go through the record and see if it should go on record or not.

چیرمین مہودے آپ یقین نہیں کریں گے کہ ویسے تو میرا صنلع سہارنپور ہندوستان کا دل مانا جاتا ہے۔ بہت خوشحال مانا جاتا ہے لیکن اس میں ہی ۹۷ و بجز ایسے ہیں جہاں پینے کا پانی، اور ۸۰۸ میل دور سے لانا پڑتا ہے۔ جو علاقے ہماچل کی ترائی میں پڑتے ہیں۔ کیا آپ نے اتنے دنوں تک دلش کو یہی دشا دی ہے۔ کیا آپ دلش کو یہی دشا دینا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہاں ایشیاڈ جوں یا آپ یہی دشا دینا چاہتے ہیں کہ یہاں نان ایلائٹڈ سیٹ ہو یا یہاں جو گم کرائین یا کوئی دوسری انٹرنیشنل کانفرنس کرائین اور اپنے آپ کو یہ ثابت کر س دنیا میں کہ آپ ترقی یافتہ ملکوں سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔ کیا آپ یہ دشا دینا چاہتے ہیں کہ غریب اور

غریب ہونے جائیں اور امیر اور امیر ہوتا جاتے کیا اس کو آپ ترقی مانتے ہیں۔ یہی اس کو آپ ترقی مانتے ہیں تو میں آپ سے متفق ہوں گے لئے تیار نہیں ہوں۔

یہاں ابھی چار پانچ روز ہوتے ہمارے ڈائنپورٹ فیکٹری صاحب نے ایک بات کہی تھی کہ ساسہ سندھستان میں نیشنل ہائیوے کے کارن دو کروڑ ۴۰ لاکھ روپے کا سالانہ نقصان ہوتا ہے۔

اس کا کارن سڑکوں کا خراب ہونا ہے۔ اور اس کی وجہ سے ٹائر ویا کی سٹراڈ ٹیرو اور کم رفتار میں ڈیمیکس چلنے کے کارن ڈین اور بیٹریوں کی زیادہ کنٹرمشن کے کارن ہیں۔ آپ نے یہ بھی کہا کہ ان سڑکوں کو درست کرنے کے لئے ۴۳۰ کروڑ روپوں کی ضرورت ہے۔ یہی آپ اتنا پیسہ جٹا پائیں گے تو یہ نقصان سے بچ سکتے ہیں۔ آپ بتائیے آپ نے ان چار ٹولگیوں کے اوپر ہی جو میں نے آپ کو بتا میں ۴۴۰ کروڑ روپیہ تو خرچ کر دیا لیکن ۴۳۰ کروڑ روپیہ بری آپ سڑکوں کو ٹھیک کرنے پر خرچ کر دیتے تو کیا ہر سال ہونے والے دو کروڑ ۴۰ لاکھ روپیہ کے نقصان سے بچ نہیں سکتے تھے۔ آپ کا سالانہ نقصان ۸ سال کے اندر پورا ہو جاتا۔

یہی آپ اس کے لئے اسکیم بناتے۔ لیکن آپ نے ایسا نہیں کیا کیونکہ آپ کو غربت اور غربی سے کوئی مطلب نہیں ہے۔ آپ نہیں جانتے کہ ان کی پریشانی کیا ہیں۔ ان کو کیا دقتیں ہیں۔ آپ تو صرف اتنا جانتے ہیں کہ ساری دنیا میں آپ اپنے آپ کو ایک ایسا دیش کہلوائیں جو کہ ترقی یافتہ ہو۔ آپ نے گوا میں تقریباً پچھہ ہی گھنٹوں میں ۴۰ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ کر دیا لیکن پانی کے لئے محتاج گاؤں کو پینے کا پانی نہیں دیا۔ ان کے لئے آپ کے پاس کوئی پروگرام نہیں ہے۔ اس سال کے بجٹ میں اس مد میں آپ نے محض ۵ کروڑ روپیہ رکھا ہے جن سے آپ ۵ ہزار گاؤں کو پانی دیں گے۔ یہی کل ایک لاکھ ۳۰ ہزار ۷۶۱ گاؤں کو پانی دینا ہو تو آپ حساب لگائے ایک سال میں ۵ ہزار گاؤں کو دیں گے تو سارے گاؤں کو

ابھی یہاں پر سڑکوں کی بات آئی۔ ہماری جتنی سڑکیں لچ ہو کر جاتی ہیں یا لچ جاتی ہیں ان کی حالت کیا ہے۔ یہاں پر میرے کشمیر کے بھائی بیٹے نہیں ہیں لیکن وہاں پر کوئی بھی سڑک ایسی نہیں ہے جو پانچ کلومیٹر سے زیادہ دور پاکستان کے بارڈر سے ہو۔

اور اگر کسی وقت حملہ ہو جائے تو ہفتا سڑک کو کاٹ دیا جائے تو پوری لائن آف کیونیکیشن کٹ سکتی ہے۔ پچھلے کئی سال سے مانگ کی جارہی ہے۔ ایٹمیٹ کیٹی ہیں یہ معاملہ آیا تھا کہ شملہ سے بھی ایک سڑک بنادی جائے جس کے لئے ٹرن نانی پڑے گی اور جس پر ۸۰-۹۰ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ ہوگا۔ لیکن آپ اس کام کے لئے پیسہ نہیں خرچ کر سکتے جب کہ کیوں ۸۰ گھنٹے کے لئے گوا میں ۴۰ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ کر سکتے ہیں لیکن ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے آپ کے پاس ۹۰ کروڑ روپیہ نہیں ہے میں چاہوں گا کہ اس طرف آپ توجہ دیں۔

آپ نے کہا کہ لونس دیئے جا رہے ہیں۔۔۔۔۔

شری جمیل الرحمن (کننگ): آپ نے کہا غنڈے ہیں جن کو لون دیا جا رہا ہے۔

شری رشید مسعود: میں تو اب بھی کہہ رہا ہوں کہ غنڈے ہیں اور آپ لسٹ منگا کر سی۔ بی۔ آئی۔ سے چارج کرا لیجئے اس میں سے کتنے لوگ ایسے ہیں جو واقعی میں اس پیسے کا استعمال کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور کتنے ایسے ہیں جن کو بولیشکل طاقت حاصل ہونے کی وجہ سے لون ملا ہے۔ رہا سوال غنڈے نہیں ہیں، آپ معلوم کرا لیجئے کتنے ایسے لوگ ہیں جن پر قتل، راہ زنی آدمی کے مقدمے، چلے ہیں اور اس سے آپ کو پتہ لگ جائے گا کہ غنڈے ہیں کہ نہیں۔ سب لوگ یہی کہہ رہے ہیں کہ اس پیسے کو کھتے میں ڈالاجا رہا ہے۔ بہتر ہوتا اس پیسے کو رول ایریا میں اس سال اسکیل انڈسٹری میں لگاتے جس سے لوگوں کو روزگاریں ملتا اور مالی عانت لوگوں کی اچھی ہوتی۔ ابھی تو لوگوں کو پتہ ہے کہ یہ پیسہ واپس نہیں کرنا ہے۔ اس کی کوئی کارٹی نہیں ہے کروا جس ہوگا بھی اس لئے لوگ دھڑا دھڑے رہے ہیں۔ یہ روپیہ تو صرف الیکشن میں فائدہ حاصل کرنے کے لئے دیا جاتا ہے۔ آپ تک کو گڈھے میں لئے جا رہے ہیں اور ہمیں کوئی راستہ دکھائی نہیں دیتا پچھنے کا۔ یہی بھے عرض کرنا ہے۔

دینے میں ۳۰-۳۲ یا ۳۴ سال لگ جائیں گے۔ ویسے آپ ہندوستان کی ترقی کا دعویٰ کرتے ہیں۔ کہتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان آگے بڑھ رہا ہے۔ ہندوستان کو دشادینے کی بات کرتے ہیں۔ لیکن دوسری طرف پورے ہندوستان میں رہنے والے لوگوں کو پینے کا پانی تک نہیں دے سکے۔ اس رفتار سے اگر چلے تو ۳۲ سالوں میں آپ اس حالت میں آجائیں گے جب سارے لوگوں کو آپ پینے کا پانی مہیا کر پائیں گے۔

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : For quite a few years we have been saying in this House that Government must give serious thought to change these policies and programme priorities because the present policies and their priorities have been resulting in mass poverty in this country. I think, that after 37 years of our independence, there cannot be two opinions that we have two India. India for the rich and India for the poor.

It is really matter of shame and also a matter of great national concern that 350 million people i. e., 35 crores of people today in this country are living below poverty line. Is there any hope that they are going to be raised above the poverty line? Every year, with every year Budget and with every Plan the number of people living below poverty line is increasing. To-day in India, the number of people living below poverty line number 35 crores, the population which we had at the time of our independence.

Now, 35 crore people are living below the poverty line in this country. That is why I am saying we are living in two Indian today—India of poor people and India of rich people. Sir, I have no inhibition in saying that Government policies and programmes are responsible for the growing socio-economic disparities in this country. This Budget is the Budget for the elitist section of the society. This is the Budget for the rich people of this country. This is not the Budget for the poor people. I know the Finance Minister will come out with certain figure and say, "So much thousand crores of rupees we are going to invest for the poor people to bring them above the poverty line and also to give them employment". But is it not a fact that today in your own thinking, there is a realisation, as when we used to sit, that there should be a total re-orientation of policies and programmes and of planning? India needs total radical re-orientation of its planning to remove mass poverty. They always say, there is nothing wrong with our planning and policies.

Now, Shri L.K. Jha whom this Government has appointed the Chairman of the Economic Administrative Reforms Commission has circulated a paper to certain economists and certain members of the Planning Commission and he says ;

"Attempts to alleviate Poverty in each Plan, whether within its own framework or through priorities and programmes outside it, have no doubt been there but their total impact has been far below expectations and needs."

This is the observation of Mr. L.K. Jha who has been charged with a very important work for the total reform of our economic structure. Further he says when he talks of the Seventh Plan and he comes to realise that our planning has gone in a wrong direction and needs a new orientation. Says he :

"Seventh Plan has a whole should have a new orientation in order to maximise its capacity for removing mass poverty."

Now, they have come to realise that mass poverty is growing. If they want to remove that, they must totally re-orient our planning. I do not know what would Mr. L.K. Jha recommend. I do not have much hope because, India for many years has been working within the framework of the capitalist system. The real fault lies here. So long, you talk of socialism but your entire planning, your entire orientation and your entire policies and programmes are for the benefit of the rich people. Now, today, if you go in the rural area, if you go to the poor people, to the *Mohalla*, what do the people ask? I would like the Finance Minister to reply. People are asking: "The Government says "Yes", if you want to do wonders, we will do miracles". We can hold Asian Games within one year. Yes, they did it. And they got credit for that. People ask, because you do not have the same political will to provide drinking water to the millions of people, after 37 years of independence, millions of people in this country are today not getting even drinking water. It is because, you do not have the political will power for that. You want to show your dignity, your prestige and your projection in different sectors. The people today are asking, "Yes, you have been capable of reducing the Colour TV price by Rs. 3000 to Rs. 4000. You have reduced the prices of refrigerators. You have reduced the prices of air-conditioners and the salon cars. But then the prices of pulses, the prices of edible oil, the prices of common man's cloth, every price has gone higher and higher. What is the answer to this? For the rich people, luxury goods prices, you can reduce. But the common man's prices are touching the sky now. Skyrocketing prices today are



the biggest problem. May I now remind the hon. Finance Minister that while presenting last year's Budget he said : Our Budget will see that the prices will not go high. Will he not give the figures between last year's Budget and this year's Budget ? How much have the prices of essential commodities gone higher ? What is the position today ? Is it not a fact that today middle-class people have come in the category of poor people and the rich middle-class people have become low middle-class people in terms of their paying capacity ? And the low-middle class people have become poor people today.

A person getting Rs. 2000 per month is a low middle class person. But how many people get Rs. 2000 per month in this country ?

He has been boasting that they have given a lot of concessions to the middle-class people. The real annual relief which they have given to the category of persons earning Rs. 20,000 per annum as worked out will be Rs. 281 and it will be Rs. 23 per month. This will be completely wiped out with the rise in prices, the speed at which the prices are going up.

Today, the youth of this country have no future. He will say "One young man has gone in space." He has gone in space with the help of a friendly country. I will not say that we have not done anything in this field. We have done many things in the country in the field of science and technology. But to whom are the benefits of science and technology going today ? This is a major question. The people today are burdened with the rise in prices. I do not think there is a single family in this country which has not got an unemployed youth. It is not that 20 million people are unemployed in the country. There are really 50 million people unemployed in the country. Half of them have only registered themselves with the Employment Exchange and half of them do not even know that they have to go and register with the Employment Exchange. What is the use of their registration with the Employment Exchange ? There is a waiting list for over 10 years. The young people are becoming over-aged and the Government is not able to give them the jobs. Their age is also increasing and they are becoming over-aged.

Our country is behaving like a backward capitalist country. The modern capitalist countries in the world are taking care of the

welfare of their citizens. The countries like France, West Germany, Italy, Australia and even USA are given unemployment allowance to the unemployed youth. In U.K., an unemployed person gets 100 pounds per month. In USA, an unemployed person gets 250 dollars per month. So is the case in many Western capitalist countries. In India, we have been asking for Rs. 150 to be given to the unemployed youth as an unemployment allowance. But the Central Government has constantly refused it. In this country itself, West Bengal, a State Government with limited resources, has been given Rs. 50 to the unemployed youth as an unemployment allowance for the last three years. Kerala has been giving Rs. 50 as an unemployment allowance. We have been demanding that the Central Government should give 50 per cent subsidy and let an amount of Rs. 50 be increased to Rs. 150. The Finance Minister will say, "This is a dole; this is a charity. We do not want to demoralise our youth." But they want that our youth should go and commit suicide. I demand that the Government must find resources and all those young people who are registered with the Employment Exchange for more than 2 years should be given Rs. 150 per month as an unemployment allowance till the Government makes a provision to provide a suitable job to young people.

Now, three years back, I wrote to the Prime Minister asking for Rs. 150 per month to be given to the unemployed youth as an unemployment allowance. The Prime Minister asked the Planning Minister to send a reply to me. He said, "If your suggestion is accepted, the Government will have to spend Rs. 1000 crores per month." But is it not a fact that during the last 2 years in Delhi alone more than Rs. 1000 crores have been spent to construct 5-star hotels when millions of young people are suffering in this country : I would say that the Government must give a serious thought to re-fixation of their priorities. For the example, why is it not possible, even in this system, that jobs will go first to those families which have no earning member at all. You will find that if there are six young people in a family, all of them will get jobs because they have got the sources; they come from rich families and they can take care of themselves. The first job should go to the poor and middle-class family which has no earning member. Why cannot this Government do this ? Govern,

ment should pay serious attention to fix priorities properly.

16.50 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Prof N.G. Ranga is a veteran peasant leader in this country. His whole life is a saga of struggle for the uplift of the rural people. In spite of that, I am sorry to say that there is no improvement in the conditions of living of the rural poor.

Yesterday I was in Haryana. Haryana and Punjab peasants have taken a decision not to send wheat to the market from 3rd May.

The farmers are not getting remunerative price for their produce. The American peasant's landed price of wheat per quintal is Rs. 206/— whereas the Indian Peasant's landed cost is only Rs. 152/-per quintal. What a great difference and disparity it makes to the Indian farmer :

Around Delhi, land is being acquired at the the rate of Rs. 50,000/per acre. I was shown the land lying between Delhi and Maruthi at the national highway at Rs. 50,000/- per acre. Government is acquiring this land from the farmers at this rate and later selling it at the higher rate of Rs. 6 lakhs per acre to industrialists. How does the poor peasant feel about it ? The Government is acting as a trading agency. Is it the job of the Government to earn profit at the cost of the poor peasant and to loot him? This amounts to a total loot of the rural poor.

The hon. Minister of Finance should give a reply to this matter.

Today the rate of industrial growth is 4.5%. It was expected that it should be around 78%. Regional imbalances are growing in this country. It is one of the major causes of resentment, distress and restlessness among the people. Many areas feel that their pace of development is very slow.

The Government must take necessary steps at least to increase the rate of industrial growth 9-10% per annum so that no area would be neglected.

Let us remember that it is the peasant who is making contribution to the economy

of our country. Our peasants are hard-working. But it is a pity that it is the peasant who is being neglected. The peasant who is toiling and moiling for producing food for the nation's millions is the target of suffering today.

Government should endeavour by all means possible to create a Welfare State. But the concept of a Welfare State has been given a go-by. The policies of the Government aim at benefiting the small coterie of the rich who form 15-20% of the population but are detrimental to the rest of the 80-85% of the population which is poor.

(Interruptions)

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV : I say that Government must give serious thought to the 20 point programme. You have already gone in a big way this year investing hundreds and thousands of crores of rupees in different schemes. Is this money being utilised properly ? No.

The hon. Minister of Finance should make an enquiry to find out how the loans have been distributed during the last six months. A Mela is now being organised for 20,000 — 50,000 — 10,000 people. Lists of people are being prepared overnight and the loan is being distributed without looking into the priority aspect of it and without a thought being given as to how the loan is going to be utilised. Has any poor family got the loan ? If an enquiry is made, you will find that mostly the loan has gone to the families of rich people ; mostly, the loan has gone to the families of those who are supposed to be the supporters of the ruling Party. That is why I am saying that in this election year this budget is going to prove fatal to them. It is not that the Budget is showing a new path or a new orientation, but this Budget is, strictly speaking, a political budget and has been made so in an election year. This will set a very wrong example. This is my charge and I think that Government will take into account all that I have raised and will not play with the economy of this country.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members who have participated in this almost marathon debate. I do not know

exactly how many hours have been spent. Definitely not less than 12 to 14 hours have been spent and as many as 32 hon. members have made their observations on various issues. Today, I do not know what was the strategy of the Opposition, all the big guns were set up on the last day so that, perhaps, my colleagues do not get the opportunity of answering them effectively. Perhaps, that was their strategy. Anyway, I would like to cover the points raised by the hon. Members as far as possible. But one would appreciate that what has been said in eleven hours cannot be replied to in one or one and a half hours.

Firstly, I would like to take the hon. Members back to the day when I presented the Budget and to the day when I replied to the general discussion of the budget. There I have outlined and pointed out that budget is an important fiscal instrument through which the policy of the Government to tackle the problems, both short term and long term, is dealt with, but it is not the only instrument through which all the problems can be tackled, particularly in our system when the proposals are fixed in the time-frame-work of one financial year. So we shall have to keep that in view.

Hon. Members, while making their observations, have covered many areas. First, I would like to deal with the most important and crucial area, that is, planning. Particularly the distinguished Members who made their observations today have commented on our performance so far as Plan is concerned. This is the fourth year of the plan. We have completed four years, and allocations for the fifth year have been made. One important point which has been made by a number of speakers is that we are far short of our targets, not in financial outlays but in physical terms. It is true that in certain areas we are short of the targets, but the Members have conveniently forgotten the base from where we started. If the country had achieved 3.5 per cent growth over three decades from the beginning of the planning, 1950-51 to 1978-79, and if we achieve a growth of 5.4 per cent I know, Mr. Fernandes is going to challenge me as to how I computed this figure of 5.4 per cent; I am coming to that—in one Plan period, I think, we can modestly claim that we have done a little bit. If in

physical terms in the field of production of petroleum which is a very important sector and which has helped us in meeting our balance of payment situation, in absolute terms if we could increase the production from a little less than 10 million tonnes in 1978-79 to 26 million tonnes in 1983-84, in a period of four years, I think the hon. Members will have to appreciate that the achievement is not a mean one. If the production of cement from 18 million tones which we could achieve almost over 3 decades to reach a figure of 27 million tonnes in four years in terms of percentage, definitely the achievement is not very insignificant. Even in the area of power over which Mr. Fernandes has spoken so long, I do agree that we have not been able to achieve the targeted additional capacity to be created in the neighbourhood of 19,000 megawatts. But what was your base when you started the current plan? The total power generation capacity—taking thermal hydel, all together, was 28,000 megawatts and we are ending the plan with 42,000 megawatts. 19,000 megawatts we are adding—almost 50% of the capacity which was created over a period of 3 decades—which was done over 3 decades and if 50% of that is being done in one five-year period, is it a very small achievement? Mr. Fernandes, while making his observations.....

17 hrs.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : What is the gestation period for a cement plant and what is the gestation period for a power plant ?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : I have given you the production figure..... I am coming to that. I am glad that you have given me a good point just to deal with your activities in other areas.

While quoting the per capita availability, Mr. Fernandes used one statistics naturally he used the statistics from our document prepared under my direction and placed on the Table of the House— that is the Economic Survey and obviously he quoted that in the year 1978 the per capita availability of cereals and pulses was more compared to that of 1982. I do agree. But he has made an attempt to compare the non-comparables. Suppose he tries to compare my height with the height of the Speaker, it will not be fair

My height should be compared with the height of Mr. Dharam Bir Sinha. If he is talking of the per capita consumption he should have taken note of and he should have considered the factor of population. What was the population in 1978 and what was the population in 1982? He should have taken the trouble because that is available in the same document. 1982 is the year when we had a drought. You have not taken the figure of 1979-80, but you have chosen the figure which is convenient to you, the figure of 1978-79 because in that year the grain production was 127 million tonnes and 1982 which was the drought year you have taken. If you have taken 1983-84, definitely you would have got much a better figure.

You have spoken of exports. I do admit. In 1982-83, 13% exports included oil. But what is the position this year? In my budget speech I have mentioned that particular figure. At that time I had the figure for the first 8 months. I told you 12% net of oil and the figures which I have received now and upto the first ten months it will be 15% net of oil. We are exporting. But we are exporting oil, not to earn foreign exchange or to overcome the budgetary deficit as you did in your government when you sold the gold reserves just to offset our deficit. We do not have the refining capacities; we are swapping it. You can say and I quite appreciate your argument that we could have preserved. But we are swapping it and to that extent we are spending less hard currency to import it. We have not substantially increased our imports. Therefore, what is wrong in the policy? If by swapping the crude which I cannot refine in the country and if I bring that type of crude which I can refine in the country and if we make the swapping arrangement, I do not think we have done something wrong for which we should be accused and put in the dock. Of course, it is not my contention or claim that whatever has been done is something of miracle.

What is the fact? I have just stated that fact. Fact is that the country has achieved 5.4 per cent growth in the first two years of the current Plan period. The target was 5.2. You need not confuse these two things. What I said in Calcutta was that 5.4 per cent we have achieved in the first four years of the current Plan period.

You mentioned that in 1979-80 there was drought and because of that last phase of the Janata-Lok Dal rule the performance was bad. I have admitted it. But there is a difference. You had drought in 1979-80 and we had drought in 1982-83. But what is the difference in the performance. You had a negative growth of five and odd per cent and I had a positive growth of 1.8 per cent. That is the different between good management and bad management. As a result of the drought in 1979-80 you landed with an annual rate of inflation of 21 per cent and the result of drought of 1982-83 I do admit that in 1981-82 the annual rate of inflation was 2.4; it rose to 6.4 in 1982-83 and in 1983-84 we have been able to contain it at a single digit of 8.8 per cent. I do admit from April to August there was spurt in price but it is equally a fact, Mr. Fernandes if I draw your attention to the same document that you will notice from August to March which is almost unprecedented one, the price variation is just 1 per cent. The is the different between good management and bad management.

Sir, I do not claim that I have been able to do miracles. I have not done miracles but what is possible within the constraints we have been able to do so. A lot has been said about the anti-poverty programme. We have never claimed that we have been able to solve the problem of unemployment or poverty altogether. We have made some attempts. Take one programme IRDP. In the first three years 8.8 million families have been assisted under the programme poverty line. There may be 33 million families. (*Interruptions*) You can question the figure. But my point is that when you are talking of export rate if I speak from these documents you are accepting it; when you are claiming dearness allowance for your employees you are accepting my statistics of consumer price index or wholesale price index but when I am giving you the same statistics that 8.8 million families have been brought above the peverty line through IRDP programme you say your figures are questionable. You cannot have it from both sides. You have it at least one way. Either depend on your own statistics or accept my statistics in totality.

It is equally true in the last four years it is not my case that we have been able to provide employment to all but in every year

more than 350 million mandays have been created through NREP. All these things have been discussed on the Floor of the House. You have raised and we have given answers. We have replied to it and just to say that nothing has been done you can say and I do appreciate that what should have been done or much more should have been done and everyone on this side would have said that much more should have been done. We have been able to do something, if not fully at least partly. The massive programme which we have undertaken, Mr. Chandrajit Yadav referred to one State for giving employment allowance. The Finance Minister of that State himself has admitted that it was not a very sound economic policy subsequently because I am not mentioning any State - they themselves have realised. In the first two years the IRDP and NREP programmes did not pick up there but in the third year they have picked up and in the fourth year I am going to find from the statistics which I am receiving from them that they are going to top. Therefore, they themselves have realised that giving doles or giving employment allowance is not the answer to the problem. The answer to the problems lies in creating jobs in the rural areas through certain positive programmes. One may try to make humour out of two plus Zero and making twenty point programme. But the fact is that there is a visible impact in the rural areas. It is not to the desirable extent to the extent that you want. But certainly we shall have to understand the complexities of the situation. When you are talking of exports and trying to make out comparisons, you have conveniently forgotten that for the last 40 years the world trade was never so bad as it is today. For three consecutive years there was negative growth rate or 1 per cent growth. Certain figures were quoted by Mr George Fernandes, particularly regarding jute. Jute market totally collapsed in USA and other industrialised countries because of the tremendous recession there. The recovery has just started now and you will see the result sometime later. Take engineering goods. Why exports of engineering goods went down? There is the tariff protection which USA raised. There is protectionism which the developed industrialised countries are resorting to, and making export more and more difficult, for the access of goods from the developing countries. Take textile items. He himself was the Industry Minister at that time when

the second round of talks took place and it is he who urged upon the industrialised countries that the structure of the textile industry should take place and take place right now. From 1978 till 1984 there is no movement; the area in which the developing countries have competitive advantage is totally lost. If you want to score a debating point I have no objection. But if you want to analyse the problem and go into the details of it that is another thing. All these facts are known to you. I am not telling anything new, anything unknown to you. But still if you think you have to say something and if you say it I have no objection for that.

About the annual rate of inflation I have mentioned to you. It is true. I have never claimed that I have been able to reduce the prices. But I have been able to contain the annual rate of inflation. If the 21 per cent rate of inflation would have continued the situation would have worsened. When I talk of 8.8% or 2.5% or 6.3% it is on the top of that. What is my contention? My contention is that we are able to contain it at a single digit. It is not my claim that I have been able to put the gear in the reverse direction. In a developing economy it is never done. It is never possible. This point was dealt with by the prime Minister on an earlier occasion, that the way the developed countries can tackle their problem of inflation we cannot do it. For our development we shall have to get money for developmental purposes. We have to mobilise huge resources. Huge resources were mobilised. We mobilised resources to finance a plan of 110,000 crores of rupees. It is not a very small achievement. 93% of our developmental expenditure is from our own internal resources. It is not borrowed external resources. Many of the developed countries have developed themselves through borrowed resources. I do not blame them; it may be a particular strategy which they want to pursue they may think it is proper for them; but we do not believe in it.

So, as I said, 93 per cent of developmental efforts are contributed by our own internal resources.

Mr. Somnath Chatterjee raised a point why the share of direct taxes are being reduced in the overall revenue budget. On the other hand another Communist member said

this-I don't find him here-and I think I should reply to his point, that the exemption limit should not be raised to Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000. Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, another socialist member has gone to the extent of pointing out that the relief which is given to the 20,000 bracketed people will only be Rs. 23 per month. But we shall have to keep in mind one thing that in this country 46 lakh people give income-tax. Therefore, any relief you give, out of 700 million people, the relief goes only to 46 lakhs people. You cannot have any system where those who do not pay taxes can get relief in taxation. For that you will have to find some other new Finance Minister. At least it is beyond my comprehension and it is beyond the comprehension of my colleagues. Those who give less tax, when you talk in terms of relief; naturally their quantum of relief would be less. Even if I give 10% of relief to such persons, it would not be the same as 5 per cent relief in the case of persons in the Rs. 2 lakhs income. Therefore, again, you are trying to make comparison with non-comparables.

In terms of percentage, the lowest income group have been given the maximum benefit and the man who is drawing Rs. 25,000, if he saves Rs. 4000, he is not to pay a single paise as income-tax. You cannot expect that in every budget there would be an open ended concessions. Already the limit of the exemption of Rs. 10,000 has been raised to Rs. 15,000. Now, the Communist Members want that it should be raised to Rs. 20,000. I am sorry I cannot accept this. The point which Mr. Somnath Chatterjee raised was : why it is getting increased every year ? It is getting increased because of two factors. The first point we shall have to keep in mind is that the base has been widened in excise duties and it is bound to happen with the industrialisation and what was the share of the excise duties of the States ? What was the total quantum of excise duties in early 1950 ? I think it was the first Budget of Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari and Mr. Agarwal can correct me, if I am not mistaken, it was a little less than Rs. 100 crore and today it is more than Rs. 10,000 crore and it is bound to happen because of fact that our industrial base and manufacturing activities have been widened tremendously. Therefore, the contribution of the indirect tax is bound to increase.

Another point which we shall have to keep in mind is the agriculture which works out to nearly 40% of the G. D. P. and agriculture is totally out of the purview of the income tax. Therefore your income-tax is limited only to 60% of your G. D. P. because agriculture is not within the purview of the Centre. It is within the purview of the States. So, from that point of view, it is found that it has been reduced or the contention is that this has been done deliberately to deprive the States because the States will get 80% of the share. I am afraid this is not the correct assumption or correct conclusion.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) :** What about the sarcharge ? Last year you increased the surcharge and it went to the Centre. This year you reduced the income-tax which deprives the States.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I will tell you how I have tried to help the States. I have compensated them by more than 10 times. I am coming to that point a little later. In taxation principle, it is not a factor as to whether the States will get more or the Centre will get less. In all the 3 Budgets which I have presented to the House, I have increased the additional excise duties. On one occasion, you inadvertently criticised the proposal and when I pointed out that what I had done—I was just receiving 'gali' from you, I was just receiving criticism from you. But when I said that I was going to collect the duties and transfer the entire amount to the State Governments you appreciated that point. So, we have raised the additional excise duty as per the commitment which we gave to the States. We will try to see that in these three sectors—sugar, tobacco and textile—incidence will be of the order of the 8.5% in the budget proposal of the current year and we will be reaching that target.

Another point has been raised which is very important, that is in connection with the Centre-State relations. Attempts are being made to make the States more and more dependent on the Centre. I am afraid the position is not at all correct and I would like to explain the situation in a little detailed manner.

Firstly, when the Plan was formulated, it was decided that the public sector outlay for the Centre, the States and the Union Territories taken together would be 97,500 crores. The State plans for all the States

taken together were projected to be 48600 crores, of that 48600 crores, 26028 crores would have to come from the States' own resources, and the Centre was to provide the rest, and the Centre would also provide by Central Plan assistance directly, by negotiated loans, through LIC, IDB or other Central Government agencies or through market borrowings; and the Centre's contribution was to be 22572 crores. Actually, what has happened? The States could not mop up 26028 crores from within their resources and there was a shortfall to the extent of more than 5300 crores. And how had I to make it up?

The first decision that we took was that when they start the Plan, let them start with a clean slate. They had taken 1462 crores as advance Plan assistance; it was decided that they would not have to pay during the current Plan period, so they can start with a clean slate. After some time in 1982, we found that all states were having mounting overdrafts, and the overdraft figure reached an aggregate of 1743 crores. I then decided in consultation with the State Chief Ministers that I would be taking the responsibility of 17043 crores; I was converting it into a medium term loan, so that they could start from a clean slate from 1st April, 1982. Thereafter in the same year I announced that I was increasing the Central assistance to the extent of 1650 crores in two years. Thereafter, I increased the Central assistance, additional 790 crores, and this year in the Budget, I told: Still some States are in the overdrafts, in order to take care of their problems, I have provided 500 crores. In all, I have provided 4600 crores, over and above the commitment which we made at the time of the Plan.

Therefore, where is the case? How can you come to that conclusion? Your argument was that Rs. 4000 crores we have raised through administered prices. Even if for a moment I admit that this Rs. 4000 crores would have come through Central excise, what would have been your share? 40 per cent of Rs. 4000 crores, that is Rs. 1600 crores. You would have got Rs. 1600 crores, but I have given you Rs. 4600 crores. What is your case? Even if I accept the logic of Shri Somnath Chatterjee, and instead of reducing income tax, I would have reduced the surtax, what would you have received? Thirty-eight crores. You have not accepted my calculations, because you do not believe

that there would be better tax compliance. That figure you will get next year. Last year's figure you have got now. You can analyse every year, whether the quantum of net transfer has been more or less. And if you can point out in any single year taken all sources together that the net transfer from the Centre to the State has been less, I would accept your logic, but you would not find, a single year.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Your revenue is increasing and the State development expenditure is also increasing. Just mentioning the figure in absolute terms would be misleading. You have to consider the developmental expenditure, the Plan outlay.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** The problem is not of misleading; the problem is that you shy of imposing taxes. Let me tell it very plainly. This year I have given an opportunity. Every year on electricity, we used to collect about 150 to 200 crores of rupees, and used to give it to the States. I have given it to the States now. I would like to see, I may not be sitting here, but all of you will be sitting there, but I can tell you that you would see how much the States collect and how much they increased their resources. One basic point you are forgetting is that it is not a question of there being no area of resource mobilization. What you are accusing is that I have no political will. I am saying that you have no political will. If the States had the political will how do we see that they are allowing 40% of the GDP totally untouched?

You are saying that the Centre-State relations should be reviewed, should be reconsidered, and that more powers should be given to the States. I do not mind. That Commission is there. I am not an expert on it. But what I can point out is that with in the limited constitutional framework which is available to you, how do you explain the fact that certain States were doing better, and certain other States are unable to do so, and even about those States which are unable to do so, in the past we found they were doing much better than what they are doing now. Therefore, the answer lies somewhere else.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Frankly speaking, can you identify the areas from where resource mobilization by the

States is possible? Also, you have to identify the areas where cut in expenditure is possible; not only in West Bengal—I say all the States. You have not done it.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I have already told you about agriculture. (*Interruptions*) Let us not enter into a discussion.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Even the Planning Commission is against imposing any tax on agricultural income. There are arguments.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I am sorry to point out that Planning Commission has never said it. Planning Commission, on the other hand, has been repeatedly emphasizing upon the States: "Make your electricity rates, your irrigation rates remunerative."

And it is a not that you are not doing it. It is that you are increasing your rates notionally; but you are not realizing it; your tax administration machinery is inefficient. They are not collecting it. This is the hard fact. The hard fact is that for all the States taken together, it was assumed that the negative contribution by the State electricity boards and the Road Transport Corporations would be less than Rs. 500 crores. To-day, it is more than Rs. 5,000 crores. It means that against the minus figure which should have been less than Rs. 500 crores, the minus figure is more than Rs. 5,000 crores. It means that something basically is wrong in the administration, in the implementation.

In this connection, I would like to answer one point...

(*Interruptions*)

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) :** May I remind the Minister that in my State, the Congress (I)...(*Interruptions*)

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I am not Yielding. Let him have patience; let him sit down. (*Interruptions*)

The hon. Member from Kashmir the other day spoke a lot on Kashmir, and said that we were discriminating, and that we were not providing assistance to Kashmir. Kashmir is a State where the *per capita* developmental assistance from the Centre is Rs. 2185/-. What is the all India rate? It is Rs. 258/-. Even if somebody comes forward and says that Jammu and Kashmir is

a special category State like Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, Assam and Mizoram, I would say that even in the case of those special category States, their *per capita* Central assistance is Rs. 1198/-.

**SHRI E. BALANANDAN (Mukundapuram) :** There are special reasons.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** There are special reasons. That is why we are giving it; but there is no use coming to this House and raising an accusing figure at the Central Government and saying: "You are not giving us adequate assistance." (*Interruptions*) I would not have raised this question if the hon. Member had not raised an accusing figure and said that just because Mr. Farooq Abdullah is there, we are discriminating.

I am coming to the figures. Their total plan amount for the first five years is Rs. 900 crores. I have given them Central assistance of Rs. 1058 crores.

Because in Jammu & Kashmir, we not only 100 per cent finance the plan outlay but we also give them something for their non-plan expenditure, because this is a special category State and Jammu & Kashmir deserves it. I have no objection to that; Jammu & Kashmir deserves that. There should be more development in Jammu & Kashmir; there should be development of a Highway, electricity generation and no wastage of water. There is no two opinions on it. But you cannot simply brush aside the fact, you cannot simply for political expediency and convenience say that we are trying to discriminate against them.

(*Interruptions*)

**PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ :** Out of the total investment of Rs. 25550 crores on industries, our share is 0.05 per cent.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Surely, the hon. Member will not expect me to have a port in Jammu & Kashmir; surely he should not expect me that I should establish a port in Jammu & Kashmir. What is possible I am doing. We are having public sector enterprises. HMT has already established one unit, some more units are going to be established here both in the 6th Plan and in the 7th Plan...number of power projects have been taken up and this will be taken up. But you shall have to keep in mind that there are competing demands and resources



are not adequate to meet all the demands at a time. I know many important sectors. As my friends Shri Agarwal has pointed out very correctly, there are certain areas where we require more investment. For instance, railways, for instance, communications. I do not rule out the possibility of it, but, at the same time, he understands my predicament. As Finance Minister, I will have to take care of the various sectors.

So far as railways are concerned, many members have pointed out and it has been projected that I am behaving not like a grand mother or a real mother but as a step-mother today. This is not a fact. Railway plan was originally envisaged at Rs. 5,100 crores and it was decided that Rs.2900 crores should be from their own internal resources and Rs. 2200 should be the budgetary support; and Rs. 2200 crores plus Rs. 2900 crores would be Rs. 5,100 crores-railway plan. What is the railway plan is year's allocation if you include, it is roughly about Rs. 6,600 crores and there the budgetary support is Rs. 4,400 crores. How more do you expect? In one sector, from Rs. 2200 crores, I have stepped up the budgetary support to Rs. 4400 crores. In the oil sector, I have to step up from Rs. 500 crores to Rs. 10,000 crores. You cannot expect that in each and every sector there would be doubling. Take the case of communications, originally, at the time of planning, it was decided that it would be self-financed; there would be no budgetary requirement. But at the end of the 5 year plan, we are finding that it is almost 100 per cent budgetary support. Therefore, as a Finance Minister, I do feel that in important sectors, for instance, in education, it has been pointed out that over education our expenditure is 2.3 per cent. It is true. But the step up which I have done this year, it will increase a little, from 2.3 per cent in 1980-81 it will go upto 2.8 per cent because that is not adequate, because I do feel that there are certain sectors where we have to do something, But, at the same time, we shall have to keep in mind that if you lay emphasis on certain sectors-naturally, these are the sectors for which the States have to do; and we are providing assistance to do these things. Mr. Fernandes blamed me and perhaps rightly go that this is a key to the agricultural development. But what can I do? The entire operation is in the State sector, and their in your conclave, you are not raising a single point on it. Don't use the word

'conclave' because conclave has a very bad meaning and Mr. Somnath Chatterjee knows it. There word 'conclave' was used by Robert Clive in his biography when they hatched a conspiracy in Kasipur Kotai to this dislodge Nawab Sirajudaula, the last independent Nawab of Bengal. Therefore, you please find a suitable and more appropriate word for this.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Why can you not substitute a word for them ?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : They are better scholars than I. So, they will find out more appropriate word.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : This is a conspiracy to dislodge the last empress of India.

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : This is a conspiracy against the democracy of India.

What I am trying to point out is that these are the areas where I have no hesitation in saying that we will have to provide the leadership in better utilisation of the resources. Here I entirely agree with Mr. Satish Agarwal on that point. Therefore, I require your cooperation. What have you done in the public sector? I have to pay through my nose in every wage negotiation steel, port, heavy engineering and all that. Would you not build up a new culture in the public sector enterprises? So far as the public sector enterprises are concerned, I have the figures with me where I can say with a little confidence that this is the sector where I have been able to protect the real wages. The increase in the per capita emoluments of the public sector employees between 1970-71 and 1981-82 was 196 per cent and what is the increase in the consumer price index? It is 140 per cent. Is it not time for those who are engaged in the public sector management and public sector labour relations to tell plainly and bluntly that there should be some sort of productivity. Productivity must increase. If we have to find a situation where after spending more than Rs. 6000 crores and almost ritually having at an interval of every four years new wage negotiations, we have the same amount of steel which we used to have six years ago, then where these Rs. 6000 crores have gone? You

are expecting me to contain the inflation. And at the same time, you are demanding that I shall have to give so much to coal, so much to port, so much to railway, so much to engineering workers...

**SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES :** That is bad management.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** That is not bad management. That is bad industrial relations. You are not cooperating with us. Here we are living in a peculiar situation. You are extending the concept of collective bargaining even in the public sector. I could understand this collective bargaining so far as private monopoly or private owner is concerned. Even in the collective bargaining in all the wage negotiations that I had-I am a very raw man in that area; I have no experience; almost I budge with a little pressure from the trade union side-I found that there is no demand that I should get it on merit. My demand is merit. But the foremost argument is that if coal gets a particular figure, why not steel and if steel gets a particular figure, why not port? I am not referring this to score a point. This is the area where you have to face the problem and we will have to face the problem unless we jointly put our heads together and rise to the occasion. And the time has come when it must be linked with the productivity. After all, the interest of the nation and the interest of the community is the foremost. You are demanding that DA neutralisation formula should be increased. I made an offer to you. But it is really surprising to me that if the offer comes from a good friend of mine, the Marxist Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Bosu, you easily agree that the DA neutralisation formula should be Rs. 1.50 in case of engineering and jute. But the moment the same proposal comes from the Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, it is totally to be rejected. This is not fair.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Just because you are richer and you have the money.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I am not richer. Because of this, not only I but all of us are landing ourselves...

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** The Finance Minister should ask himself : Why the workers have faith in Mr Jyoti Bosu and not him ?

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Because you are meaning the union. If I manage the union, I would have done it or if Mr. Fernandes lends his support to me, I will be able to do. I am not referring, to this point just to score a debating point but what I want sincerely is that if you want to improve the performance of public sector enterprises, particularly of the Central public sector enterprises where the investment is in the neighbourhood of Rs. 39,000 crores, if you just get ten per cent return, then the budgetary deficit would be totally wiped out, we can make our planning and it cannot be a situation that for years to come we shall have to provide budgetary support and the public sector will have to be spoon-fed...

*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Kindly yield for half a minute.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I am yielding to you very frequently.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Sir, a very valid point has been made. We all want public sector to perform better. I have myself spoken during my speech because, according to us, a section of officers are taking the help of private sector and are trying to denigrate the public sector.

About the mismanagement, I can assure the House that so far as the two organisations with which I am associated as a President of the union-National Jute Manufacturers Union and Indian Oil Corporation-I have repeatedly sent details of mismanagement on the part of the top officers but no action has been taken. The reply is there is no mismanagement. Who has made the enquiry I do not know. We gave the details but we were never asked to prove them. This is the way you are controlling the mismanagement. You cannot. Please take us into confidence. We want public sector to improve its functioning. We want to take it to its commanding heights as our commitment is. So, please...*(Interruptions)*

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** I do appreciate your spirit of cooperation but the fact remains that it is not merely the question of management, one or two officers sitting here or there. That can be tackled. I am sorry to point out that this is the same point repeatedly told that some-

thing is wrong with the top. What is the top? Coming to the banking sector, from the day of nationalisation our Government has inducted the workers. Even at the highest policy-making level worker-directors are there, officer-directors are there and each and everyone of you, day in and day out, is abusing that banking services are deteriorating. Employees are not doing their work. Even charges of corruption are coming. Can you honestly say that from union's point of view you have been able to inject motivation? Assume that we have failed to do so, as administrators we have failed to do so. This is your union and this is a sector which is highly unionised. Have you been able to motivate your members that they will provide services to the customers, that they will do their job? No. This is not a debatable point. We shall have to find an answer to this and unless we find an answer to this, merely saying that this Government has not done or that Government has not done.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Mr. Mukherjee, I am not asking for any commitment. The only commitment I want is that you shall look into the corruption charges...

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : I am not yielding. I am prepared to look into all the allegations but I would like to find out whether the top union leaders are telling their people that they have some responsibility to the organisation where they work. Unfortunately, you have created a slogan that an organisation is meant for employees. Otherwise how can you pick up a slogan that if your demands are not conceded wheels of railways will not move? Railway is not the property of railway employees, railway is the property of the nation. Therefore, this type of culture is to be created. This is my most respectful submission.....(Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): I draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the Reserve Bank survey.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : No, I am not yielding. Two more points I will deal with and thereafter.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE : I am drawing your attention to the survey made by the Reserve Bank. They have stated categorically that for the sickness of the industry, it is 54 per cent responsibility of the management for corruption, for wrong planning.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : You are moving at a tangent, Mr. Mukherjee. I am talking of the public sector's performance, particularly of the Steel and Coal.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI DHARAM BIR SINHA (Barh) : I would request the Finance Minister to consider this point. In the speech that he is making, an excellent speech, he is putting the entire blame for the poor performance of the public sector on labour. Is it correct? Let him consider it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : His party is attacking Marxists

(Interruptions)

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : When I am yielding, they should have some consideration for me. I cannot yield to everybody at every time.

I have never said that it is the total responsibility of the employees. What I am trying to point out is that a new culture has to be created, so far as the public sector is concerned, and there you are flatly refusing to co-operate. I am not talking of the workers, I am talking of their leaders, who say 'no, we will have collective bargaining'. My complaint is against the leaders, not against the employees. The leaders are misleading them. They want collective bargaining" to be replaced by competitive bargaining, each union paying with others, and the nation is paying for it; nobody else is paying; neither am I paying nor are you paying.

Coming to the area of remunerative price, it is true that we did not give a remunerative price, because we have not yet been able to give a remunerative price. But it would be incorrect to say that we have not done anything for the farmers, as stated particularly by the Lok Dal member. So far as wheat price is concerned, from 1979-80 to 1983-84 we have increased it by 31 per cent, paddy by 39 per cent, coarse grains by 30.5 per cent, grams by 71.4 per cent, jute by 19.4 per

cent, cotton by 65.8 per cent, sun flower by 57.1 per cent, groundnut by 45.8 per cent and mustard by 46.9 per cent. We have to do it because, if we do not give a reasonable price to the growers, they will not grow it; they will switch over to some other crop, as it happened during the time of Mr. George Fernandes. There was a bumper sugarcane crop in 1978. Thereafter, we did not pay a good price and the growers switched over to some other crop and we did not get sugarcane. Ultimately, from the position of being a net exporter, India had to import sugar for two consecutive years to the extent of 2 lakh tonnes. When we rectified the position, we had a good production and the cane growers are getting a good price.

But this will get reflected in the economy. How can you have a system where you demand that the consumers will have to pay less and, at the same time, the growers will have to be paid more? Where will the money come from?

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY :** Subsidy.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Then how do you contain inflation? It is a very funny argument. You ask me to give subsidy and, at the same time, you expect me to contain inflation. It is simply not possible. Therefore, the answer lies in greater utilisation of the capacity and a better return on the investment which we have made, particularly in the public sector. We must get a due return out of that. One last point about the defence budget. I myself have referred to it. I do agree that there should not be a situation where there should be some sort of war psychosis. I am not going to comment on what Shri George Fernandes said about his visit to Pakistan or this or that. But I would like to draw his attention to one point, that mere personal relationship does not affect the policy of this State. But I would like to draw his attention to one point, that personal relationship does not affect the policy of a State. He himself is fully aware of it, as he referred to Mikhy's uncle being the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and some of his relations being in important positions in the policy-making strategy in that area. These things have very little to influence the policy of a particular State or policy-maker. May I remind him that Prof. Kabir was himself a Minister of the Union Government in

1965? And his brother was occupying a very high office in undivided Pakistan, in East Pakistan, but that did not prevent Pakistan attacking India. Nobody is raising the question of your patriotism and this and that, but can you cite a single example from 1947 onwards when a single shot from Pakistan was fired in a direction other than India? Is it not a fact that the country will never forgive us, if we do not make ourselves prepared to face an eventuality when we find that on the other side of the border something is happening and when there is race for procuring sophisticated weapons? And if something happens, nobody is going to excuse us. You may have a different perception. You may try to build up better relations. All of us want it. But it would be wrong to come to the conclusion that by spending Rs. 6800 crores on Defence, we are encouraging some sort of war psychosis. This is not my area, but I can tell you with emphasis that we do not want to create the war psychosis. We want to live in peace. But at the same time we cannot keep our eyes shut to certain facts which are so obvious.

Sir, I think some of the points which have been referred to I have tried to answer. Now, in regard to the last point, about black-money, I would agree with Shri Agarwal that mere tightening of the enforcement machinery or conducting raids, searches and seizures are not adequate. I do agree, but still these things have some psychological effect. And this psychological effect is to be created, not merely by tightening the enforcement machinery, but at the same time by creating some sort of social awareness. And when I raised this point on an earlier occasion, somebody pooh-poohed it and said what can be done. Something can be done. I can give you one example from West Bengal. This is sub-judice. Therefore, I am not referring to the details, but the fact remains that when a child was kidnapped and killed, the alleged accused did not get a single lawyer to lead his case. After all there was a tremendous social injunction and social disapproval of this type of activity. But can we say this in the case of smugglers or foreign exchange racketeers or black-marketeers? Have we not seen that services of the top lawyers of the country are available to them to find out all sorts of legal lacunae and excuses? And what has happened? In 1976 we passed an Act in

this Parliament. We thought that two measures would be deterrent to tackle the problem of smuggling and anti-social activities to tackle the problem of economic offences. One measure was COFEPOSA. Another was Forfeiture of Properties Act. One thousand notices were issued to forfeit the property of the alleged smugglers, but not a single case has been disposed of. All these cases are lying in High Courts and in the Supreme Court. For the last two and a half years we are trying to get the cases transferred to Supreme Court so that the cases which are common are disposed of early. The earlier Attorney-General tried and the present Attorney-General also tried, but we are not in a position to do anything. These are the things on which we should create some sort of public opinion and public awareness. But unfortunately, we do not have that. This is the problem. We have taken up certain measures and you know how much resistance is there against these measures. The moment I decided that there should be compulsory audit, all sorts of pressures are being built up.

Now, I would just refer to one point. Sir, when I decided that there should be no welfare fund because in the name of welfare fund big companies are avoiding and evading taxes, in the Editorial of one newspaper, it has been pointed out that I have rushed to the conclusion without any facts and figures. Sir, I have both facts and figures with me.

I am giving you just three examples. For obvious reasons I will not mention the names of the companies, but we made three case studies before I brought these budget proposals. There was one company, a very distinguished company and a company of very good record. They created 22 trusts and they deposited Rs. 66,22,000 to the so-called welfare fund for the employees. And what did they do? Of that Rs. 66 lakhs, they invested Rs. 64,43,954 in the equities of the same contributing company and that is welfare fund, and they are demanding deduction for the welfare fund.

Another company created 8 trusts and the Company contributed about Rs. 40 lakhs in the welfare fund.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Its representative is in the other House.

(Interruptions).

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Don't rush to the conclusion. Out of Rs. 40 lakhs they invested more than Rs. 35 lakhs in the equities of the same contributing company. Examples can be multiplied. I do not mind if something genuinely is being spent for the welfare fund. (Interruptions). Some people are having 1800 trusts and that is why the private trusts and others are there, and we have tightened the private trusts. You see how ingenuous these people are. I presented the Budget on the 29th February and when I had discussions with some people, then one of my officers heard somebody whispering that "we will evade this provision also because the words used are 'welfare fund and trusts'. So, we will create some companies under the Companies Act." That is why I had to bring a fresh amendment in the Finance Bill itself in order to plug that so that they cannot take advantage of that. (Interruption). Therefore, we are tackling this type of problem. So, we require the cooperation of all concerned and I do hope, it will be possible...

(Interruptions).

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Somebody built a temple in old Baliganj Road. He knows.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** What is to be done with the old temple? Neither you nor I am going to that temple.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** No, no. I do not know how many crores they are spending. Under which head they will get deduction...(Interruptions). Stop that.

**SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE :** Anyway, with the various provisions which I have made in the Finance Bill to tackle these types of evasions and avoidance by strengthening the enforcement machinery, by bringing people more and more under preventive detention, under COFEPOSA, I do hope, it would be possible to tackle the problem to some extent.

With these words, Sir, I commend the Bill for being taken into consideration.

**SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE :** Sir, I want a clarification.

(Interruptions).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I do not know whether the Minister will yield. Mr. Minister, are you yielding ?

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : No.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Minister is not yielding.

The question is :

“That the Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the financial year 1984-85, be taken into consideration.”

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, do we take up clause by-clause consideration of the Bill ?

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : Sir, it is already 6 o'clock. It is not possible now. All of us have been sitting here since morning. The clause-by-clause consideration will not be over today. So we start the clause-by-clause consideration tomorrow.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRANAB MUKHERJEE : If it is over today, then I can go tomorrow afternoon. Now you can do it in one hour.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : How Can we sit for three hours more ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Satish, day before yesterday we had the discussion. He has got some work tomorrow.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : Sir, it will take three hours. There are so many amendments by the Minister himself and also by us. Then there is the Third Reading.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : You very kindly agreed here. But I do not know why suddenly you are objecting now.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : When did I agree ? why are you putting words in my mouth. I had agreed for a Sitting on Saturday only. Then we cooperated.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is why I gave to Satish 45 minutes. Mr. Satish you have already taken more time. So you will not take much time now.

SHRI SATISH AGARWAL : It will take three hours. Now we cannot be sitting for three hours. We have decided to devote three hours to these amendments.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have given more time. Sometimes you have to cooperate. You have got to cooperate because on Saturday we had the Session only for this, and therefore, you should not object to this now. Mr. Satish Agarwal, you are a very good friend of the Government. Why can't you help them ?

The House will now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, before you take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill, with your permission I will present the Sixty-First Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Yes.

18 hrs.

### BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE Sixty-First Report

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : I beg to present the Sixty-first Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

### FINANCE BILL, 1984-CONTD.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now, clause 2. Shri Bhogendra Jha is not present.

The question is :

“That Clause 2 stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 2 was added to the Bill.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now clause 3. Sarvashri Bhogendra Jha and Bhiku Ram Jain are not there.

The question is :

“That Clause 3 stand part of the Bill.”

*The motion was adopted.*

*Clause 3 was added to the Bill.*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : There are no amendments to Clauses 4 & 5.