

वॉशिंग्टन को गिरफ्तार किया जाए तथा न्यायिक कार्यवाही की जाए। इसके साथ-साथ उत्पीड़ितों के अभिभावकों को योग्य सहायता दी जाए।

13.23 hrs.

GENERAL BUDGET, 1981-82—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we take up further general discussion on the General Budget.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA (Bombay North): Mr. Deputy-Speaker it is always interesting and educative to listen to my hon. friend, the Rt. Hon. Finance Minister.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (Dum Dum): Where is he? He seems to be conspicuous by his absence from Lok Sabha.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGHANBHAI BAROT): I am here.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: He is an artist, a seasoned artist. He has won the reputation of being somewhat of a magician. Unlike some of his other colleagues—I do not propose to name them, since I do not want to offend them—he is neither boisterous nor bumptious. He does not proceed waving his scalpel in the air, looking for scalps, with a war dance as some other hon. colleagues of his often do. He has a coy, cherubic, misleading reassuring smile. He puts on his surgeon's robe and enters the operation theatre, and tries to put the mind of the patient at ease.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You should have been his very close friend because you have understood him.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I am a very close friend of his, Sir. I continue

to be one. I have known him for more than 30 years. You may ask me whether I have been victim of his confidence tricks. I have always taken care to see that I am not.

He puts on his surgeon's robe and tries to assuage the feelings of the patient and wins, his confidence. Then he proceeds to administer a heavy dose of anaesthesia, and then goes on to cut up the patient. He has followed the practice in this case as well.

He announced that he was going to move from crisis management to growth. He chose the year 1979-80 as the basis for his comparisons. Being the intelligent person that he is, he knew that he had to choose the most vulnerable year so that he may shine by contrast and therefore, he chose 1979-80, and he said that there were many achievements to the credit of the Government. He talked of the infrastructure, improvement in the infrastructure, of agricultural production, of the rate of growth, but he fumbled on inflation and then he remembered that there were stratagems that he could make use of. So, instead of using the average of the consumer price index for comparisons as is done every year, year after year, he decided to switch to a point to point comparison and even so, he could not hide the fact that as far as inflation was concerned, he had not been able to acquire control over the forces and pressures of inflation. If, on the other hand, the hon. Finance Minister had chosen to compare the situation with earlier years like 1978-79, he would have had to admit that the agricultural production had gone up only by 0.5 per cent, industrial production only 2.5 per cent the GNP in real terms had gone up only by 1.7 per cent, and with the increasing population, this would have meant, this has meant in fact, that per capita income has suffered a fall of 2.2 per cent.

I do not want to take the time of the House and regale figures about what

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the Janata Party Government did. My hon. friends opposite have two voices in which they speak, especially the right honourable gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Benches. When they want to indulge to political propaganda, they have a scape-goat, a peg to hang all their failures on, that is, the Government of the Janata Party. But when they have to answer incisive questions from the honourable gentlemen on this side, especially friends like the distinguished Member from Ratnagiri, Prof. Madhu Dandavate, they have to admit the fact that in practically every aspect of the economic life and administration, the achievements that were chalked up by the Janata Party in two years cannot be denied or denigrated. So, I do not want to enter into that question because we do not have much time, and it has been discussed often in this House.

As far as the Budget is concerned, it is not a mere statement of estimates of revenue and expenditure. It is not merely an attempt to get the approval of this House for means of raising revenue or to get approval for expenditure. Sir, it is a very powerful instrument. In fact, it is the most potent instrument that the Government has for ensuring the piloting of economic resources and efforts to reach the goals that we have adopted. Therefore, the Budget has to be examined from this point of view, whether it raises resources without killing the goose that lays the golden egg, whether it places burden on those who can bear the burden, whether it promotes equality of opportunity, whether it provides adequate incomes and incentives.

Sir, I talked of goals. For many years now our country has an accepted goal. We want to achieve growth with distributive justice. Oftentimes we discuss whether the emphasis should be placed on growth or on distributive justice but experience has shown—not only in this country, but in every country in the developing

world—particularly, that mere emphasis on an amorphous and nebulous idea of growth does not succeed in ensuring that the benefits of growth percolate to the most vulnerable sections of our population. Therefore, experience has taught us that a two pronged offensive is necessary, on the one hand to attack poverty by generating employment, and on the other hand to take care of the immediate needs of the most vulnerable sections of the population. If we do not have such a two pronged offensive on the problems before us then we err on one side or the other, or fall between Scylla and Charybdis. The Janata Party learnt this lesson. Therefore, its economic planning and administration were geared to this strategy, namely, the promotion and generation of employment, the primary emphasis being placed on the generation of employment as a means to fight poverty, and programmes to deal with the minimum needs, the basic amenities of the most vulnerable sections of the population. That was why there was the Minimum Needs Programme, the Food-for-Work Programme, the Adult Education Programme, the Community Health Programme, housing, Antyodaya and all that. But now this budget, and the Sixth Five Year Plan that the Government has now put forward shows a shift from tangible criteria for assessing the results of planning and economic effort, a shift from tangible criteria to intangible criteria, a shift from the attack on poverty to an amorphous emphasis on growth, a shift from the field and the factory to the ivory tower of the satisfaction.

There is an attempt in this budget to give the impression that there are no imposts, that in fact extensive concessions have been given, that the budget will promote growth. But on closer scrutiny, my hon. friend will excuse me if I say, his claims turn out to be baseless, misleading—if it were not for Mr. Venkataraman, I would have said, meant to mislead. But if Mr. Barot wants to wear the hat, I shall not object.

What are the new imposts? He tells us there are no new imposts. In the last two years a very deft scheme has been adopted, of pre-empting the budget; before the budget, a series of measures are announced, a series of announcements are made, increasing the administered prices, whether it be coal, steel, petroleum or drugs, railway fares or freight charges. Last year, there was a total impost of over Rs. 2,000 crores. This year there will be a total impost of over Rs. 2,500 crores. I am not being exact, because I do not want to be challenged on minor figures. All these items are items that figure invariably in any list of articles on which indirect taxes are levied. These constituted the narrow and meat of indirect taxes, the items that have a general effect on the economic system, that affect the common man, 99 per cent of the people, who do not pay taxes, on whom the incidence of these taxes is almost universal, so that everyone bears the incidence without knowing that a part of what he pays goes into the coffers of the Finance Minister. Thus, a stage is set for the operation budget, after taking away, pre-empting, and imposing heavy increases on these administered prices and giving the impression that there are no new imposts especially in the form of indirect taxes.

Now, Sir, I want to point out to you that, apart from the indirect taxes that remain, the Compulsory Deposit Scheme is still maintained.

Now I want to turn to the concessions. Here again the Finance Minister is very deft. He has increased the exemption limit from Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 15,000. The limit of Rs. 10,000 was fixed in 1977. Rs. 10,000 of 1977 today are equivalent to Rs. 14,500. My right hon. friend has decided to increase the limit to Rs. 15,000. The limit of standard production was fixed in 1974 at Rs. 3,500. He has been magnanimous enough to raise it to Rs. 5,000. Rs. 3,500 of 1974 are today equivalent to Rs. 5,140. So, it is magnanimity without any limit? Then, I can go on referring to estate duty and many of the other concessions that he has given.

They are only an attempt to revise the arithmetical figure to approximate to the fall in the value of the rupee.

The budget affects all citizens of the country. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask, apart from all these imposts will the budget control or reduce prices, will it control or reduce inflation? Are the investments which he proposes adequate to achieve growth? Is there any strategy for fighting poverty through the generation of employment, through the provision of basic needs?

Now let us turn to the first question. Let us ask ourselves whether there will be any control on prices or on inflationary pressures.

I do not say that deficit financing can play no role in a developing country. But I agree with my hon. friend, Mr. Kamal Nath; as he said yesterday any deficit financing has to be geared to the objectives of growth and increase in production. If there is no commensurate increase in production, then deficit financing may well turn out to be a gamble which will rock the economic system; and is bound to generate inflationary pressures that may develop into seismic pressures, tremors. He has estimated an overall deficit of Rs. 1,810 crores and he hopes to bring it down to Rs. 1,539 crores. Last year, he told the House that he hoped to bring down the deficit. But it increased and went upto Rs. 2,000 crores. Perhaps, he hopes that this year will be different. In calculating the size of the overall deficit itself, he has taken credit for Rs. 200 crores for this year from the black bond scheme. Up till now, if I am not wrong, they have realised only about 35 crores inside the country. But we must not forget that these bonds can be bought outside the country as well...

AN HON. MEMBER: Rs. 50 crores.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:** Rs. 50 crores, Rs. 51 crores, or Rs. 52 crores—you can go on bidding as you like.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Supreme Court judgment.

**SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA:** I do not know about the Supreme Court judgment. May be, you know, that after that, there will be a rush and, perhaps, you are competent to say that. But it is said that these bonds can be brought outside the country as well. I do not know whether my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, has any intimation of which we are not aware, of massive investments in some foreign countries on these black bonds.

Then, Sir, he has taken credit for Rs. 2300 crores from the public sector undertakings. To say that this is a grossly unrealistic estimate will be a gross under-statement. Upto now, the returns from the public sector have been notoriously meagre, measurably, if I may say so. For many years, many of them have run on losses running into many crores of rupees. How then does my hon. friend, the Finance Minister, believe, by what magic does he hope, that it will be possible for him all of a sudden, this year to realise Rs. 2,300 crores from the public sector undertakings? God said, let there be light; and there was light, we are told. So, the right hon. friend will say, let the public sector undertakings produce Rs. 2,300 crores for the Budget and, lo! and behold; these Rs. 2,300 crores will come from the coffers of the public sector undertakings. If this is not unrealistic, I do not know what adjective. I can use to describe it. I am using mild adjectives because my hon friend is a mildman.

Last year, he came before the House and said three things. Firstly, he said, he would resign if he could not control inflation; secondly he said, his deficit would be less than the deficit of Mr. Charan Singh and, thirdly, he said that prices had reached a plateau

and they would not rise further. I am sorry, I have to remind him of these statements. Inflation has not been controlled. I do not want him to resign, because I know they cannot get a better man. Mr. Maganbhai Barot, I hope, is not entertaining any hopes that he might resign,—true to his word. Inflation has not been controlled. The Deficit figure has shot up, and it may shoot up further to Rs. 2000 crores. As far as prices are concerned, I have to point out that prices have gone up. The wholesale price index has shot up to 268.8. Taking the whole year, food prices have gone up by 16 per cent; manufactured goods by 10 per cent, edible oils by 21 per cent; so is the case with cereals, pulses, etc. The plateau that my hon. friend saw when he went to Madras, I say Madras because he made the statement in Madras, turned out to be a launching pad for the sky-rockets of prices.

The Budget has estimated an overall deficit of Rs. 1,810 crores which, I believe, may well go upto Rs. 3000 crores or Rs. 4000 crores and his hopes may turn out to be dupes as far as returns from the public sector undertakings and black bonds are concerned. Last year the estimate was Rs. 1,417 crores, but it went upto approximately Rs. 2000 crores. Nor will this be the first year of massive deficit. In 1979-80, we had a deficit of nearly 3000 crores. In 1980-81, we had nearly Rs. 2000 crores deficit. In 1981-82, we are told that the deficit will be Rs. 1,539 crores. Let us take him at his word.

The average for the last three years works out to Rs. 1,800 crores deficit. Earlier too, in the years 1973 to 1975, there was 22 per cent inflation. For the second year running now, we have a 17 per cent inflation.

What is the meaning of this? At the rate of 17 per cent inflation in the three years, incomes got reduced by 50 per cent.

Just now, the Hon. Finance Minister said that by his magic touch it would be possible for him to double monetary incomes and to ensure at least that incomes are not halved. If they are not increased, at least they should not be halved.

The Planning Commission has calculated that the budgetary deficit that can be absorbed in the plan period of five years is Rs. 5,000 crores. My Hon. friend Mr. Kamalnath knows that, of this, the deficit in 1980-81 was Rs. 1,975 crores. This year it is Rs. 1,539 crores thus already adding up to Rs. 3,500 crores in the two years of the Five Year Plan.

AN HON. MEMBER: There are stimulants to production.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Stimulants have been there in the past as well. These stimulants have put you to sleep and at the end of the year you will say that the Janata Party was responsible. (*Interruptions*).

Let me turn to the Plan. If you want to increase incomes, and if you want to increase opportunities for employment, you need a purposeful strategy and an increase in real investment. Neither of these is visible in the Budget proposals of my Hon. friend the Finance Minister.

The Sixth Plan has now been presented. The Janata Government was criticised for the concept of a rolling plan. And, my dear friend what has happened now? You have rolled up the Plan for two years. The Janata Party was criticised for the idea of the rolling plan. What has the Government done? In the last year, the first year of the Plan, the increase in the monetary outlay was 16 per cent and the inflation rate was 18 per cent. The rate of inflation of 18 per cent made a mockery of the increase in the monetary terms of the outlay. This year the increase in outlay is 20 per cent. But, with a rate of inflation which may go up above 18 per cent, it might turn out to be another mirage. This country is being treated to a string of mirages.

Investment seems to register a zero increase. If investment registers a zero increase, population will not decrease. The rate of increase in the population continues. Per capita growth will fall. More and more people will be pushed under the poverty line. I do not want this to happen. But, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the present strategy or the absence of strategy which the Budget shows may lead to grave consequences for the national.

The investment outlay in the Plan is static in real terms. The sectoral allocation in terms of percentages continues to be the same as in the Plan of the Janata Party, unfortunately for you.

The Plan has no time-frame for its attack on poverty and unemployment. This is the worst feature of this Plan—that there is no time-frame and no commitment to a time-frame for the attack on poverty and unemployment. There are no priorities oriented to such a strategy.

It talks of bringing down the number of these below the poverty line from 48 per cent to 38 per cent by 1985. But there is no strategy.

The Janata Party visualised the creation of 49 million man hours of employment. This Plan brings it down to 34 million.

The Janata Party proposed the extension of irrigation to an additional 17 million hectares in this Plan period. This Plan brings it down to 13 million. The Janata Party proposed to make drinking water available to all problem villages by 1983. This Plan proposes to achieve the same target by 1985. This is despite an increase in outlay.

The Janata Party proposed an outlay of Rs. 8 crores for housing sites of the landless. It has been cut down to Rs. 6.8 crores.

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The Janata Party proposed an outlay of Rs. 500 crores for assistance to rural housing schemes. It will now be reduced to Rs. 344 crores.

The Janata Party said that it would build rural roads to villages with population above 1,500 by the year, 1983. The new Plan proposes to achieve it by 1980.

The slum improvement programme will now cover 10 million people as against 13 million people earlier.

Nutrition programmes for Children will cover 5 million instead of 6.5 million earlier.

The outlay on Adult Education will go down from Rs. 200 crores to Rs. 128 crores.

The allocations for anti-poverty measures like Food-for-Work and Antyodaya have either been reduced or been allowed to lapse. This is the spectacular anti-poverty programme that this Budget enshrines. The impact of the increase in railway freights by 15 per cent and the impact of increase in administered prices have chain reactions; the continuing excise duties have not been removed; all these will mean an additional burden of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000 crores on the economy; I am making an understatement when I say Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000 crores; it may well be over Rs. 5,000 crores; they lead to erosion of real incomes, increasing poverty for an increasing number.

As far as the growth rate is concerned, if an eight per cent growth rate is to be achieved, there must be commensurate investment, there must be a strategy to remove under-utilisation of capacity and to remove the fragility of infrastructure, which I do not see in the Budget proposals. Therefore, one is led to the conclusion that the Budget is neither growth-oriented nor oriented towards an attack on poverty and unemployment.

I now turn to non-plan expenditure. If you have such heavy demands on your scarce resources, then you must

husband them well. What have you tried to do? As far as the non-plan expenditure, subsidies and administered prices are concerned, what has the Government tried to do? The Government has to pay special attention to non-plan expenditure and the system of subsidies. The non-plan expenditure in 1981-82 will be of the order of Rs. 15,100 crores, mainly on salaries and allowances. But, even so, it does not take into account the possible additional instalments of Dearness Allowance that you will have to pay. Last year you made three additional payments though you did not anticipate them. This year, perhaps, one does not know whether you are performing another hat trick; my hon. Friend Mr. Barot, may perform another hat trick this time; two are pending already, but there is no provision made for increases in Dearness allowance. (Interruptions). So, it does not take into account the possible additional instalments of Dearness Allowance. The likely impact of the recently announced increases of administered prices on government expenditure has not been taken into account, because petrol and many other items in respect of which prices have been increased will have their impact on government expenditure. But, instead of scrutinising the expenditure and trying to reduce expenditure, unnecessary expenditure, there is no mention at all of what can be done. . . .

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT): The hon. Finance Minister has provided. So far as the quotation is concerned, it has to be correctly made. It has been provided for.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: I know, the Finance Minister has made a passing reference. . .

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: No.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: You can answer me later. He has made a passing reference, so that it may not be said that he ignored this aspect.

There was an Expenditure Commission. That has been abolished. I would like to be educated by my hon. friend about the steps Government propose to take to scrutinise and bring down the impact of non-plan expenditure.

As far as subsidies and administered prices are concerned, the deficit could have been smaller if the subsidies had been reduced. The estimates of 1981-82 show that Rs. 1,700 crores of subsidies are planned as against Rs. 1,423 crores in 1980-81 for food, foreign trade and export promotion, controlled cloth, fertilisers, etc. Food is the item on which there is the utmost subsidy, giving the impression that the beneficiary will be the common man, the consumer and the producer. But it is the Food Corporation that receives this subsidy. I do not want to go into this question elaborately. But if, there is better management, if there is managerial efficiency,—if inventory control, supervision of transport, better handling, etc., are resorted to, then there can be a reduction of ten per cent or more in this expenditure. I do not want to go into each one of these items because you have rung the bell and there is no time. But the point I want to make is this: whether there is a hidden or a straight forward subsidy, the subsidy should not be used to cover up managerial inefficiency. It should not be used to give immunity to uneconomic operations. There must be a scrutiny therefore in the areas, the quantum and the duration of the subsidies. In fact, the Dagli Committee has made recommendations on this. Perhaps the Government has given some consideration to these recommendations, or perhaps the Government has not given any thought. But I would plead with the Government that subsidies and administered prices should not confer immunity for mismanagement or become the happy hunting ground of monopoly. I am happy that my hon. friend, the right hon'ble Finance Minister has come in as I am about to wind up my observations. References have already been made to concessions to multinationals and to big houses and to

manufacturers of luxury items, not necessarily manufacturers of consumer items. I shall not deal with them at length. Nor with the grim situation that we face in the area of balance of trade. I want to end by referring to the benefits that have accrued from this Budget to the common man. My hon. friend knows that we have 660 million people. I am sure my hon. friend there will now rise and say, 'No, it is more by 0.001' because every moment there is an increase in the population. I stand corrected. 660 million people. 4 million tax-payers according to my hon. friend, the Rt. Hon'ble Finance Minister who said. . . .

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): Only hon'ble.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Rt. Hon'ble. Why not?

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: Not in this House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: There was one Rt. Hon'ble. It was Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry. He was called Rt. Hon'ble in our country.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Rt. Hon'ble is established usage when referring to a Minister and my hon. friend's shyness and modesty should not make him object to my calling him Rt. Hon'ble.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It may be that rightly you are calling them Hon. Gentlemen.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA: Why do you fight shy of a description? There are other things which I have said to which you may take objection, but not this.

So, I was saying that there are 660 million people. 4 million tax-payers 1.4 million will be out of the tax-net as he said the other day. 2.5 million may receive various benefits from the tax reliefs. But what about the 330 million who are below the povertyline?

My hon. friend, Mr. Biju Patnaik yesterday spoke with great emotion and effect on the plight of these men and women. I shall not repeat all that he said. But when the indirect impost re-

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main, when the inflationary pressures remain, the effect of the impact of the Budget on the economic situation is bound to be felt by these 330 million people. They will have to pay to the coffers of my hon. friend who does not want to be called Rt. Hon'ble, without knowing that they are making a contribution to his coffers when they buy anything, when they engage in any kind of activity. Whether it involves payment of tax or not, they will be squeezed by the deft fingers of my friend. For them there is no hope held forth in this Budget because there is no spectacular or specific programme in the Budget which involves an attack on poverty or unemployment.

I shall not take more of your time. But in conclusion I will only say this that my hon. friend I began by saying has a reputation of being somewhat of a magician. He has very deft fingers. While one goes through the Budget, apart from all the hopes that he raises in the beginning, when the curtain is about to be rung down, when one sees that the magician is rolling up his kit after bowing to the audience and the curtain is falling, then one has the feeling that one has been brought down to earth and brought down to the world of reality. One begins to feel the gnawing hunger—not because we are skipping the lunch recess in one's stomach and one goes out into the cold grabbing one's clothes to protect oneself from the cold, and one faces the prospect of poverty, continued poverty and unemployment and increased inflationary pressures,—With the prospect of spiralling prices, the prospect of the deficit turning out to be much higher than what the Finance Minister has anticipated, told the House. I do not want these things to happen. His hope may turn out to be true. But, today, looking into the budget which he has presented, I am forced to come to the conclusion that his hope may not turn out to be true.

**THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI MAGANBHA BAROT):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, on 28th February even

ing, when the hon. Finance Minister, my respected senior, presented the budget to this House immediately thereafter, the All-India Radio brought out its bulletin and it is reported in the newspapers that the crowd in the street danced with joy. The next day morning newspaper came out with an editorial welcoming the budget. Some say it is a growth budget and some others say it is an imaginative budget. The hon. Members on the Opposite side may kindly remember that all this happened. The complements came in spite of the fact that the very newspapers had attacked the imposition of excise duty upon them.

Sir, the hon. Member, Shri Varma, was just referring to the benefits to the common man and I know of one common man sometimes is amused, some knows—Laxaman's common man is a symbol of the common man of India. Only the day before yesterday the commonman had suffered from night-mare. But, on the 2nd March, when it came out, for the first time it was a surprise to him at least. So far, in thirty three years, we have never seen it. The common man sometimes is amused, sometimes he is perplexed and sometimes he is annoyed. But never have we seen before that he is overzealous. The hon. Finance Minister instead of taking out something from his pocket, as was expected of him, is presenting something to the common man. This is how the common man of India has praised this budget. Yesterday one hon. Member referred to—if I mistake not, it was Shri Bhagat—the economists of the country. They have condemned this budget. I have carefully gone through the pages of reports and the comments. I have not seen any condemnation. I have seen criticisms somewhere. It has been said that it is a proverbial curate's egg it is good in parts. For the poor it is good in parts; for the farmers in the fields and all those who are working in factories it may not be good in parts to the hon. Members on the opposition benches. If it is not good, I sympathise with them because my senior did not give any stick to them with which they can beat the Prime Minister or the Government or



the hon. Finance Minister. (*Interruptions*). Having quoted the common man's viewpoint, I shall also quote an editorial which came out with what is called 'a deceptive budget'. It came from the *Indian Express*. The sympathy of the paper is fairly wellknown. I shall be tempted to quote from that quotation also. This is the editorial of the *Indian Express*.

14.01 hrs.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Is it deceptive?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Prof. Dandavate generally does not hear wrongly like this.

SHRI MAGANBHAI BAROT: I said that the editorial called it 'a deceptive budget'. I won't be unfair to it. The editorial says:

"No doubt, 20 per cent increase in the general outlay for 1981-82 over the preceding year makes for a better growth outlook."

"No doubt, a 20 per cent increase in the Plan outlay for 1981-82 over the preceding year makes for a better growth outlook. Similarly, the incentive given to savings and investments in the form of enhanced interest rates on bank deposits and on debentures should encourage resource mobilisation in both the public and private sectors. Equally welcome is the proposed five year tax holiday for new industries in free port zones."

14.01 hrs.

[SHRI GULSHER AHMED *in the Chair*]

This, Sir, I am quoting from what is otherwise called to be an editorial of deceptive budget.

Sir, I would now like to go back to what is a Budget to us. I have the privilege of seeing my reverent senior colleague, hon. Finance Minister, working on his Budget on the previous days. I am an eye witness to what he calls as 'night sessions' before Budget. For him presentation of Budget is not

only to give estimated expenditure, revenues or incomes for the next year but it also means something more than that. For us it is redemption of the pledges that we have given to the people on whose mandate we are sitting here. Therefore, after completion of the Sixth Five Year Plan we are now on the way to implement it and the first year's Budget is a contribution towards fulfilling that dream and pledge that we have given to the people of the country.

May I now recall to you as to what were the circumstances in which the hon. Finance Minister was called upon to look after the economy of this country. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, I am only going to refer to the legacy that they have given us and the constraints on which we were required to work. The hon. Members are aware that as a consequence of various constraints and the unimaginative policy of the Janata/Lok Dal Government, the country was faced with a crisis situation. When our Government took over the job of solving these problems, was like a fire fighting operation. Although it was a difficult task and the backlash of the problems and constraints of the previous year continued well upto the middle of 1980-81, the determined and purposeful effort of my Government made it possible to retrieve the situation. By the year end we have been able to bring back the economy on the rails. Not only has there been a substantial improvement in the infrastructure performance and industrial revival, the GNP is expected to increase by 6.5 per cent during 1980-81 as against a minus 4.5 per cent last year. Despite the continued cost push impact of international factors over which we have little control, there is a visible moderation of inflationary pressures.

The very fact that the economic situation has improved significantly and we are no longer faced with the crisis situation, makes it imperative that the emphasis shifts from crisis management to economic growth. Hon. Members will agree with me that with-

[Shri Maganbhai Barot]

out continued economic growth all talks of improving the conditions of the poor and the weaker sections of our society are without substance. Indeed, the Sixth Plan 1980-81 which has been approved by the National Development Council established a target of 5.2 per cent, investment programme of Rs. 97,500 crores. Special emphasis is laid on agriculture and weaker sections of society and substantial development of the critical sectors such as power, coal, oil, ports and railways. The budget of 1981-82 clearly enunciates this new thrust of the approach to economic development in the Sixth Plan.

May I draw the attention of hon. Members to the yellow chart (page 3) in the document "Budget at a Glance" submitted with the Budget. It will be observed that out of every rupee spent, 39 paise will be on Sixth Plan programmes and another 21 paise on other developmental activities. In other words, of the total Government expenditure, 60 per cent is earmarked for development purposes. Sir, Budget for 1981-82 envisages 17.4 per cent increase in Plan outlay at the Centre. In allocating the increased plan outlay, strong emphasis has been laid on agriculture, irrigation and infrastructural development. A much larger amount has been earmarked for specific programmes to benefit the weaker section of the society.

Hon'ble Members are aware that the Government has taken wide ranging measures in 1980-81 to create conditions for reviving the industrial sector. The budget 1980-81 contained specific fiscal incentives to encourage industrial investment activity. Further promotional measures were announced in the Industrial Policy Statement of July, 1980. Steps were taken to increase the flow of finances to industries. Measures were announced to attract investment funds from Oil Exporting Countries into new units in selective industries in the form of portfolio investment. Guidelines relating to the issue of debentures were revised. The

provisions of convertibility clause were liberalised.

The promotional impact of these measures has started manifesting itself since the middle of 1980-81 which is reflected in the cheerful industrial investment climate. The improved investment outlook is evident from the rise in consents for capital issues, the increase in the loan from the term lending institutions and spurt in the import licences for capital goods.

The budget 1981-82 contains several new proposals to further boost the investment climate. A significant reduction in the surcharge on Corporate Taxes from 7.5 per cent to 2.5 per cent would not only make more resources available for industry but also increase the scope of internal financing of their investment. The extension of specified tax concessions to 14 more industries is a major concession that will substantially increase further investment and production in these industries. The industry groups which would be able to avail of the specified tax concessions include such important items as electric fans, pressure cookers, glass and glass-ware, paints and varnishes. Some of these industries also have significant export potential. The urgent need for developing our renewable sources of energy is well known. To achieve this objective, depreciation allowance on plant and machinery installed for manufacturing renewable energy devices has been increased to 30 per cent.

Hon'ble Members are aware that village and small scale industries play an important role not only in contributing to the industrial production but particularly in developing substantial employment opportunities. The various benefits such as income tax concessions, so far available to the units with plant and machinery worth Rs. 10 lakhs will now be available to all those units which have plant and machinery valued upto Rs. 20 lakhs. A very large number of industrial units will thus be treated as small scale units and would avail of various concessions and facilities. It is hoped that

this will not only generate substantial employment opportunities but also help in reducing industrial sickness.

The promoters are now allowed to hold a maximum of 40 per cent of the equity of a new company. This rationalisation should now enable the promoters to raise more funds and speed up implementation of new projects in Industry. The increase in the limits of interest rate on debentures from 12 per cent to 13.5 per cent is intended to enable industrial units to mobilise investment finance through their own effort.

Hon'ble Members are aware that in view of the continued escalation of international prices of oil, our balance of payments has come under severe strains. This has also been one of the major factors for the continued inflationary pressures in the economy. As an important element of the balance of payments strategy, it is necessary to ensure a rapid increase in our export earnings. A number of steps have been taken in this regard in the budget 1981-82. An important incentive in this direction is the provision for complete tax holiday for five years in lieu of other concessions for units established in the free trade zones. This will not only have the desired effects of reducing the pressure on balance of payments but will also lead to the growth of export-oriented industries.

Sir, you would agree that there has been universal appreciation of the substantial concessions given to the middle income groups. The increase in the exemption limit and in the nil slab implies that in one stroke nearly 14 lakhs assesseees will be completely removed from the tax net and another 11.5 lakhs will get major tax relief. In fact, considering the increased limit of standard deduction and the concession available for specified investment income upto Rs. 24,000 will be exempt from the payment of income tax. Whereas it may be appreciated that while we have taken this step involving a loss of about Rs. 146 crores to the exchequer from in-

come-tax revenue, it is hoped that a significant part of this will be saved as a result of the various saving incentives that we have introduced in the budget. The bank deposits with upto three years and more maturity have now been made more attractive by raising the deposit interest rates and a new scheme of National Savings Certificates with a maturity of six years carrying an interest rate of 12 per cent has been introduced. The savings are also expected to be invested in debentures and deposits with public companies for which the ceiling limits in interest rates have been raised.

The hon. Members will observe that we have tried to help all sections of the society. Due emphasis is placed on the rural economy and rural employment. We have made provisions for the unemployed, poor and weaker sections of the society. Substantial incentives have been given to the industry. The middle income groups have been provided with the much needed relief. So, we have provided for everyone. For us this budget and this opportunity is like requesting this House, and through this House, the entire nation to join us in our endeavour to bring out our economy, what is known, from crisis management to growth. This is an endeavour, this is a task, as sacred as pulling the chariot of Jagannath. The chariot of Jagannath, as we all know, is not pulled by the help of an engine, an elephant, horses or bulls. It is pulled by the helping and willing hands of men. We call upon you and request you to join in this effort to bring out our nation's economy and to put it on the top in the map of the world. Let us all join, whether we be on that side or this side, let a message go to the country through you that we are on a way to fulfil our promise during the Sixth Plan. We are on our way to fulfil our promise to the people of India and in this sacred task, we request for your support. How can we achieve it? For that I may be allowed to conclude with a quotation from a poet. It would need the help of each and everyone, it would need the help of every farmer.

[Shri Maganbhai Barot]

in the field, it would need the help of those working in the factories, it would need the help of people in the middle class, poor class or any other class, it would need the help of those working in the factories either as employers or as employees. We need the help of everybody. We want our factories to run; we want our means of production to be utilised. How can this be achieved, says a poet:

"Much to cast down, much to build,  
Much to restore; Let the work not delay,  
time and the arm not waste; Let the clay be dug from the pit,  
Let the saw cut the stone; Let the fire not be quenched in the forge."

With these humble words, I request the hon. Members and the House to join me and pay compliments to the Finance Minister, who has given such a wonderful thing, called the budget of 1981-82.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: We accept your invitation to die below the chariot.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY (Asansol): Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is my pleasure to rise to support the budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. Since 1952, I had the honour to hear the budget speeches in the State Legislature and sometimes in the Central Parliament from the Finance Ministers. It is not because I am a member of the treasury benches, supporting the Congress (I) party, but on merits, I can say that this is the finest budget. While I say so, I am not trying to flatter the Finance Minister. Sir, you know the economic condition of the country when Shrimati Indira Gandhi took over power in 1980. It was in a total mess. The country was facing the worst economic crisis and the confidence of people was completely shaken. After that in the Budget in 1980 the whole effort was from the Fin-

ance Minister to restore the confidence of the people. We do not claim, we are not complacent, that the economic condition has been completely bright but it is definite, we can claim, the confidence of the people has been restored. And in agriculture, in industry, in all fields of the economy it is a sign of improvement. You know, Sir, it can be measured. If you look at the production in coal, it has come up. I am not going to compare the industrial output in the year 1978-79, 1979-80 or 1980-81. I am not going to bore this House with statistics. Sometimes statistics is very boring. But sometimes statistics picks. What it picks that the production in the industry has gone up, if not considerably, marginally. In coal it has registered an increase; in steel—the major core industry—it has registered an increase; in power it has registered an increase. This only shows that this Government has been able to create an atmosphere by which the confidence of the people has been restored. But if you look at the figures—I am not going to quote, the figures are in my possession—the rate of inflation, my God, it was going up every quarter at a rate faster. Inflation has not been completely checked, but it has been curbed. It is not an easy task. It is difficult. The other day in his speech the Finance Minister gave us figures comparing the rate of inflation in different countries of the world and in our country. And it is definitely encouraging to show that at least there is a serious attempt to curb it properly.

Sir, this Budget is aiming at three major points. The first point is to curb the inflation. Partly it has been successful and the programme is to curb it. What are the measures suggested by the Finance Minister to curb it? The second point I am mentioning is by developing the infrastructural facilities in the country for development of agriculture and industry, major steps have been taken

to develop infrastructural facilities in coal, infrastructural facilities in steel, infrastructural facilities in Railways, infrastructural facilities in power and to develop the growth rate in the industry. The growth rate of the industry, if you compare, my friends in the opposite are not present...

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Shastri is there.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: So, my incentive to speak is very much reduced. Therefore, Sir, I am addressing to you, not to them.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He represents the whole Opposition.

SHRI ANANDA GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: Yes, Sir; he is Ram-avatar.

Now, if you compare the growth rate with the previous year's rate, you will see that there is much improvement. But this Government is not satisfied with that improvement. It wants it to reach a figure, which is not less than 5.6 per cent. Why? Because the country's economy depends on it. Inflation, to be controlled, depends on it. Other measures for the economic development depend on it. So, the first task of this Government is to raise the growth rate of industry and agriculture in this country.

If you look at this Budget, you will find that there is art, and there is science in it. What is the art involved in it? It is the approach to the problems of the whole country, and of all the cross-sections of the people. And the art is that the Finance Minister has artistically examined his budget before placing it, and has shown to the people the great sympathy that he has for the poor people. If you look at the budget, you will see his sympathy to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the neglected villages, the agricultural sector, the small industry sector the small irrigation sector, and other areas.

If you examine the budget, you will find that even as between last year's expenditure and this year's expenditure, at every step more money has been put in for development of this area. If you look at the loans to be put forth for the development of this area, you will see that loans to be given to the marginal farmers, sub-marginal farmers and landless labourers from all the commercial banks, have been earmarked to be 40 per cent. And from the lending banks and other commercial banks, a substantial margin has been kept for loan for development of small-scale industries, cottage industries, marginal farmers, sub-marginal farmers, small irrigation farmers, small irrigation projects etc. If you look at it, you will see the emphasis given to small industries. Tax holiday has been given.

I am not going to quote statistics, which will bore the House. Figures have been given by the Members and by the Finance Minister. You will see that tax exemption has been given to small and cottage industries in various ways. Incentive has been given to other industries also to develop, and also to industrialists and entrepreneurs to come forward to develop industries in this country. The main object is to attract entrepreneurs to develop industries, to create employment potential. If you look at the budget, you will see that an effort has been made to develop employment in the rural areas, to generate employment potential in the rural areas. It has got a positive scheme by which an expected number of people will be provided with employment, and their level of subsistence will go up. There is an attempt to provide 3 million people at least, in the Budget year, in the drought prone areas with facilities to come above the poverty line. That has been calculated. And the entire effort of the budget has been to make it a success. For those who are down-trodden-Scheduled Caste, and Scheduled Tribes-corporations have been provided, to help the entrepreneurs among them to promote their indus-

[Shri Ananda Gopal Mukhopadhyay] tries, to enable them to develop their economic conditions, and to increase their economic standards properly. This is a total effort a total approach and a total commitment. This Government is going to fulfil these goals. I am sure this Government will fulfil them.

Please look at tax exemption, tax remission and tax relaxation to middle classes, industrial workers and to the common people. Figures have been quoted just now by my friend, Mr. Barot. I am not going to quote again the total amount of incentives given to the working class by these remittances this year. They feel encouraged by these incentives. They are not only trying to earn more but are also trying to employ their energy for the increase in production in the industry and also in other areas.

I would like to draw your attention to the main emphasis of the Government. Their main emphasis is to create a new confidence in the mind of the people, their main emphasis is to increase the growth rate by 5.6 per cent in the country and to check the inflation of this country which is killing the whole economy. But, surprisingly, we are importing inflation in our country. When we have to import petroleum products from abroad, the developed countries are keeping the developing countries including India at ransom. We have to find a way out of this. Our Finance Minister has suggested about it and has earmarked money for the development of those areas which can replace conventional sources of energy and other thing. I appeal to the scientists of the country that they must take up this challenge and try to find out an alternative for this. Yesterday, during the Question Hour, some of our friends had suggested that we should find out an alternative for petroleum whether it can be from tapioca or from molasses or from someother way so that we can meet our deficit to a large extent. The Finance Minister has made an appeal to our scientists to find out an alternative for this. India is one of

the developing countries in the world. Our economy may not be very good, but we are proud that we are the third best country in the world in the field of science and technology. It is this Government which has given incentives to the scientists, it is this Government which has given encouragement to the scientists, it is this Government which has given support to the scientists in our country and have asked them to come forward and develop solar energy and also other conventional energy so that our country can flourish. Our technicians and scientists have been recognised throughout the world. We, in our country, have demoralised them so far. But now the time has come when our scientists should also come up and find out alternatives to develop our country scientifically and technologically. But there is a great snag. The whole effort of the country is not going in one direction and carrying the people with it. Several attempts are being made by our friends on the opposite against it. I would ask them to search their heart. I do not claim that they will be patriotic; I do not claim that they will be nationalist. I know the character and the composition of the political parties in our country. If I ask some of the parties to have a national outlook, I would be a fool. They are breathing in our country; they are eating the fruits of our country they are taking air in our country, but their heart is elsewhere. Now the time has come. This is a challenge of the time. If they have got patriotic fervour and feelings, a small man like me would request them to come forward and talk in terms of the people, also see how an alternative can be found out and also see how economic conditions can be improved. They should be honest and fair to themselves. What ever you preach, you should practise the same thing, not that you preach something and practice the other thing. When I am developing this, it is with the idea that the country's production must go up, both in the field of agriculture and

in industry. It is not to the need of Shrimati Indira Gandhi or her Government, but to the greatest need of the people of this country to create more employment potential to check the inflation rate. Our friends should for the moment feel that they are Indians and they also tried to put their hands there, but what do we see in the field of industry? Our friends have taken up this strategy of starving the country and to agitate against this Government. Have they got definite reasons to do that? Have they got a dispute of industrial nature? What is the strike in Bangalore for? In the year 1978 these stalwarts sitting opposite today, Fernandes, Ramamurti... (Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: Ramavatar Shastri... (Interruptions)

SHRI ANAND GOPAL MUKHOPADHYAY: No, not Ramavatar Shastri. Shrivastava. They made an agreement there and in that agreement they agreed to a point value of 1.30 and the wage increase was 10 per cent; at the time they were in Government, and they wanted this to be the pattern for the whole industry in the country. They wanted to persuade the bargainers in the steel industry. But the INTUC did not agree to that. They wanted the same pattern in coal. The INTUC did not agree to that. As a result of bargaining—yes, we bargained much more than what they did in Bangalore—we achieved more than what they did. They wanted the same thing for oil and they wanted to make this a pattern throughout the country in 1978. Today they get pressure from the workers. And they have been pressurised so much that they have brought the workers into the field of strike and more than 80 days are lost. All leaders here who are getting T.A. and D.A. they brought the workers into a strike in Bangalore. And they wanted it to be the standard in the whole of the country at the time. Where is that

good sense today? Where has it gone? It has gone into the oblivion because they are not in power. (Interruptions) If you see the industrial manpower in West Bengal, what it was before they came to power and what they are doing today. You will see that there are jute workers numbering three lakhs and have their rights been maintained? Have they got their agreement on arrears of wage implemented? For three years, their arrears amounting to Rs. 60 crores have not been paid. Two and a half lakh engineering workers in West Bengal have lost more than Rs. 40 crores due to the Marxist Government in West Bengal. My hon. friends there are loudly speaking about LIC workers and the agreement to be followed for them? What have they done in Kerala to the State Electricity Board employees? What about those workers' demands for their arrears amounting to crores of rupees, which they have spoiled completely? By this you can judge our friends in the Opposition. We know them well. Even then we are requesting them to come forward. The time has come at last. At least for the time being, let us forget all partisan attitudes and try to develop the economy of the country and also to bring this chunk of the population at least to a standard by which they can live well. With these words, I again say, it is with pleasure that I support this Budget.

श्री टी. एल. नेगी (टहरी गढ़वाल): सभापति महोदय, दोनों तरफ से मने माननीय सदस्यों के भाषण सुने। बड़े अच्छे अच्छे भाषण हुए। लेकिन मुझे तो यह बजट देख कर ऐसा लगता है कि यह बजट गरीबों के पेट पर लात और जो आम जनता है जो बोलने वाली जनता है उस के मुंह पर हाथ देने का काम करता है। पेट पर लात और मुंह पर हाथ देने वाला यह बजट है।

मैं इस बात से इनकार नहीं करता कि हिन्दुस्तान में शिक्षा और तकनीकी क्षेत्र में काफी तरक्की नहीं हुई है लेकिन नतीजा क्या हुआ? नतीजा आज भी हम देखते हैं कि हमारे यहां पचास से ज्यादा

श्री टी. एस. नेगी]

प्रतिशत लोग गरीबी की रेखा के नीचे हैं। हमारे बड़े बड़े विद्वान, बड़े बड़े पढ़े लिखे लोग, डाक्टरों, इंजीनियर्स और टेकनीशियंस विदेशों में जा रहे हैं और विदेश के लोग उन से फायदा उठा रहे हैं। अकेले अमेरिका ने 697 करोड़ रुपये का फायदा इन डाक्टरों और इंजीनियर्स से उठाया है, यह मैंने एक रिपोर्ट में पढ़ा है। आंकड़ों से पता चलता है कि हमारे यहां एक इंजीनियर को पैदा करने में 2.56 लाख रुपये लगते हैं और अमेरिका में 27.55 लाख लगते हैं इसी तरह एक डाक्टर तैयार करने में हमारे मुल्क में 3.5 लाख का खर्चा होता है और अमेरिका में 55.3 लाख का खर्चा उस पर आता है अमेरिका आदि मुल्क हमारे डाक्टरों से और हमारे इंजीनियरों से, हमारे टेकनीशियनों से फायदा उठा रहे हैं। लेकिन हमारा मुल्क इन का फायदा उठाने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। हमारे बड़े कॉलेज लड़के जो पढ़ लिख कर निकलते हैं उन को विदेशों में शरण लेनी पड़ रही है। यहां उन के लिए रोजगार नहीं है।

मैं नम्र निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में आर्थिक सत्ता का कई सौ प्रतिशत अधिक केन्द्रीकरण हो चुका है। देश की दौलत मूटठी भर लोगों के हाथों में सिमटी जा रही है। वरोजगारी अबाध गति से बढ़ रही है। इस से इनकार नहीं, किया जा सकता। रोज बरोज हमारी अर्थ-व्यवस्था को निरन्तर के मुद्राप्रसार, लेवी और तकावी का सामना करना पड़ रहा है।

1960 से अब तक उपायोक्ता मूल्य सूचकांक में चंगुनी बढ़ोत्तरी हो गई है। आम लोगों की वास्तविक क्रय शक्ति में तेजी से गिरावट आई है जबकि एकाधिकारवादी घरानों, सटोरियों, बिचालियों और मुनाफाखोरों के मुनाफे बड़े पैमाने पर बढ़े हैं। इस प्रक्रिया में जन्म ले रहे सामाजिक परिवर्तन न केवल विकास की गति को अवरुद्ध और नेस्त नाबूद किया है अपितु इस ने सूचे

स्वाराज्य को दूर का स्वप्न बना कर छोड़ दिया है। ऐसी स्थिति हमारे देश की है।

एक ओर हम किसानों के फायदे की बात करते हैं, किसानों की बड़ी बड़ी रैली बुलाते हैं लेकिन उन के साथ हो क्या रहा है यह आप के सामने निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। एक ओर किसानों की हालत बिगड़ती जा रही है तो दूसरी ओर विचालियों, सटोरियों, जखीरवाजों और एकाधिकारवादियों द्वारा किसानों की लूट जारी है। वे किसानों के उत्पादन को लूटने में लगे हुए हैं। यह वर्ग प्रति वर्ष कृषि का दौहन कर हजारों करोड़ का मुनाफा वाणिज्य और उद्योग के क्षेत्र को पहुंचा रहा है। किसान अपनी मेहनत का फल पाने से वंचित है लेकिन उपभोक्ताओं को अधिक मूल्य चुकाने को विवश किया जाता है। इस बिचालिया संस्कृति ने जो हमारे राजनीतिक और आर्थिक जिन्दगी में प्रभावी तत्व बन चुकी है, काले धन की अर्थ-व्यवस्था को रावोच्च स्थान पर पहुंचा दिया है। छठी पंच वर्षीय योजना में 21 सौ करोड़ रुपये की लेवी अकेले खाद पर किसानों से वसूल की जायगी। इतनी लेवी आप तक कभी भी किसानों पर नहीं लगी थी। अभी नासिक में किसानों का आन्दोलन चला। हम लोग वहां बम्बई में थे हम ने देखा, नासिक में किसानों ने सिर्फ एक मांग की थी कि प्याज की कीमत एक रुपये किलो बढ़ायी जाय। लेकिन उस को सरकार ने नहीं माना जब कि बम्बई के बाजार में 3 रुपये किलो प्याज बिक रही थी। क्या उन की यह जायज मांग नहीं थी? इस ढंग से किसानों को आज तंग और परेशान किया जा रहा है। धान की खरीद में सभी जगह लूट हुई। जो खरीद केन्द्र बनाये गये थे वहां पर किसानों को मजबूरन अपना धान कम कीमत पर बेचना पड़ता था। सरकार ने जो धान की वसूली कीमत निर्धारित की थी उससे कम कीमत पर किसानों का धान लिया गया।

सभापति श्रीरोषय : नेगीजी, आपके सिर्फ दो मिनट ही और हैं।

श्री टी. एस. नेगी : मैं चार मिनट में समाप्त कर दूंगा।



इस प्रकार से इस मुल्क में स्थिति गम्भीर होती चली जा रही है। अभी अभी इलाहाबाद में एक साइन्स कांग्रेस हुई थी जहाँ पर हरिनारायण जी का वक्तव्य हुआ था और प्रधान मंत्री जी भी वहाँ पर मौजूद थीं। उनके वक्तव्य के मूताबिक इस देश में इस शताब्दि के अन्त तक गिरने गल्ले की जरूरत पड़ेगी। लेकिन अगर आप किसानों के साथ ऐसा हो व्यवहार करेंगे तो किसान अपनी पैदावार नहीं बढ़ायेंगे। किसानों का कहना है कि जब जब उनकी पैदावार बढ़ी फसल को जलाना पड़ा है।

श्री हरीश चन्द्र सिंह रावत (अलमोड़ा) :  
कूछ पहाड़ के लिए भी बोलिए।

श्री टी. एस. नेगी : पहाड़ के लिए सोचने वाली तो स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी यहाँ पर हैं। वह स्वयं कश्मीर की हैं। वे कभी कहीं को बंटी और कभी कहीं की वह बनती हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री गुलाम रसूल खोचक: (अनन्तनाग):  
क्या आपको शक है वे कश्मीर की बंटी नहीं हैं?

श्री टी. एस. नेगी: मैंने तो यह नहीं कहा है कि मुझे कोई शक है। (व्यवधान) मेरा यह निवेदन है कि आज मुल्क की जो स्थिति है और जिस ढंग से हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं उनसे मुल्क को नुकसान होगा अपराधों में हो रहे लगातार बढ़ते-तरी इस संकट का स्वाभाविक खतरा है। इसमें हमारी राष्ट्रीय जिन्दगी में एक खतरनाक रूप धारण कर लिया है। इसी वजह से आज भारतीय राजनीति चारों तरफ समस्याओं से घिर चुकी है। मौजूदा प्रशासन तन्त्र समस्याओं के समाधान में नगण्य प्रभाव भी छोड़ने में असमर्थ है। पिछले कई वर्षों से स्थानीय निकायों की कार्यक्षमता भी समाप्त की गई है।

शिक्षा सरकारी दखलन्दाजी का शिकार का आपनिवेशक शोषण आज भी हो चुका है। हमारे प्राकृतिक साधनों

काले धन के अथाह प्रसार ने मिलकर विचालियों और सुविधाभाषियों के नव धनाढ्य वर्ग को पैदा किया जिससे सामाजिक विकास की गति अवरुद्ध हो रही है और आम लोग स्वराज के लाभों से वंचित हैं।

(व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय: आप कहां से पढ़ रहे हैं ?

श्री टी. एस. नेगी : इस सदन में हमेशा स्पीचेज पढ़ी गई हैं, मैं तो केवल कहीं कहीं रेफ्रेंस ही दे रहा हूँ फिर भी माननीय सदस्यों को एतराज हो रहा है। (व्यवधान) सारी दुनिया जानती है और सारा विरोध पक्ष जानता है कि सरकार का यहाँ पर कितना भारी बहुमत मौजूद है लेकिन फिर भी उनके नीचे से जमीन खिसकती जा रही है। इसीलिए ये बाँखला रहे हैं और यह दिखाना चाहते हैं कि हम अपनी जगह पर हैं।

सभापति महोदय : पंडितजी, सुन लीजिए, ये कह रहे हैं आपकी जमीन खिसकती जा रही है।

श्री टी. एस. नेगी : जब इस देश में एकाधिकारवाद हुआ और इमर्जेन्सी लगी तो जनता ने महसूस किया कि सरकार को बदल देना चाहिए लेकिन नयी सरकार ने भी कोई ज्यादा प्रभाव राष्ट्र पर नहीं छोड़ा इस लिए वह भी चली गई। दोबारा वही सरकार फिर आ गई। हम समझते थे अब कुछ उन्नति होगी और देश कुछ सुधरेगा लेकिन वैसे लक्षण नहीं दिखाई दिए। इस बजट से कहीं नहीं दीखता कि बेरोजगारी खत्म होगी या गरीबी की रेशा से नीचे के लोगों की संख्या घटेगी। लगता है सारा मुल्क तबाह होता जायेगा। ला एन्ड आर्डर की स्थिति यह है कि रोज अखबारों में देश में कहीं न कहीं अपराधों की खबर मिलेगी।

इस बारे में सरकार कुछ नहीं करती है। मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि इन अपराधों को बढ़ाने में सरकार का स्वयं हाथ है। क्योंकि मैंने देखा है कि बहुत से अपराधी, जो जेलों के अन्दर हैं, उन

[श्री टी. एस. नेगी]

है। वे पुलिस स्टेशन पर जा कर, थाने को सर्टिफिकेट मिला हुआ है, पास मिले हुए हैं, गिन् पर उनके नेता की मोहर में जाकर कहते हैं कि हमारे पास सर्टिफिकेट है। पुलिस वाले उन लोगों से बचते हैं, तो ला एन्ड आर्डर किस मुल्क का क्या होगा, वह भगवान ही रक्षा करेगा—ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ।

सभापति जी, आपका पूनः ज़माना प्रकट करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बजट पर बोलने के लिए समय दिया।

श्री. राजेन्द्र कुमार जी बाबूबायी (सीता-पर) : सभापति जी, माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी ने सदन के समक्ष जो बजट रखा है, वह एक आशा का बजट है, इसके लिए मैं माननीय वित्त मंत्री जी को बधाई देती हूँ। उन्होंने देश को निराशा के वातावरण से निकाल कर एक स्वस्थ आर्थिक-व्यवस्था की ओर ले जाने का संकेत अपने बजट भाषण में किया है। केवल संकेत ही नहीं किया है, बल्कि कुछ ऐसे ठोस कदम उठाए हैं, बजट के द्वारा, जिससे हमें पूरी आशा है तथा देश को भी पूरी आशा है कि 1981-82 का जो वर्ष होगा, उसमें हम देश को एक ऐसे रास्ते पर ले जायेंगे, जिसके लिए भारत की जनता ने श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी को पूनः विश्वास के साथ देश की बागडोर उनके हाथों में देकर के फिर से उनको जिताया है।

हम यह जानते हैं कि पिछले वर्ष जो वित्त मंत्री जी का भाषण हुआ था, जिसमें उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हम विशेष परिस्थितियों में इस समय आपके सामने आज बोल रहे हैं। जिस बस्ता हालत में जिस तरह की उखड़ी हुई बर्ध-व्यवस्था हमें मिली है, उसको सही करने में करीब-करीब एक वर्ष लगेगा। इसलिए आज हम यह कह सकते हैं कि यह एक उजाले का बजट है और विकास की ओर ले जाने वाला बजट है। छठी पंचवर्षीय योजना आ

रही है, जिसका जिक्र भी बजट-बजट पर वित्त मंत्री जी के भाषण में हुआ है, जो कि यह बताता है कि किस तरीके से उस कदम उठाए गए हैं बजट भाषण को पढ़ने के बाद, मुझे यह देखकर प्रसन्नता होती है कि जो भी चाहे कृषि के क्षेत्र में हो या उद्योग के क्षेत्र में, योजनाओं इस वर्ष के लिए बनाई गई हैं, उनको कार्यान्वित किया जाएगा। इन सब को मिला कर के हम यह आशा करते हैं कि करीब-करीब 6.5 प्रतिशत ग्रास-नैशनल-प्रोडक्ट आगे बढ़ेगा। यह जरूर है कि आज की परिस्थितियों में जहाँ एक ओर इतनी अधिक मुद्रास्फीति की स्थिति है, जिसको रोकने के लिए हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। मुद्रास्फीति की स्थिति को रोकने के लिए ज्यादा सं ज्यादा हम उत्पादन की ओर चले—इसके अलावा हमारे पास और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। इस बजट में कहा गया है कि जब हम प्राइस-मैनेजमेंट से शोध की ओर जायेंगे—इस से मैं कहती हूँ कि यह एक आशा का बजट है। इस के द्वारा हमारी नई आशाएँ पैदा हुई हैं।

जब मैं दो-तीन बातें, जो हमारे विरोधी दलों के भाई अक्सर कहा करते हैं, की सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहती हूँ। एक खास बात तो यह कही गई है—जो प्रायः पिछले बजट के समय भी कही गई थी, लेकिन इस बार भी कही जायगी, ऐसी मैं आशा नहीं करती थी—कि इस में किसानों का ध्यान नहीं रखा गया है। इस बजट का देखने के बाद भी अगर यह बात हमारे विरोधी दलों के भाई कहते हैं तो मुझे आश्चर्य होता है। किसानों का ध्यान तो आज से नहीं, आजादी के बाद जब से पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ बनाई गईं, तब से रखा जाता रहा है और इस बार भी हम ने जो 6वीं पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाई है और उस के अनुसार इस वर्ष के बजट में जो प्रावधान किया गया है, वह निश्चित रूप से कृषि को ज्यादा तरक्की की ओर ले जाने वाला है। आंकड़े यह बतलाते हैं कि कृषि के क्षेत्र में जो तरक्की होने वाली है वह पिछले वर्षों के मुकाबले ज्यादा होने वाली है तथा हमारा प्रोडक्शन पहले से भी ज्यादा बढ़ने वाला है। यह प्रोडक्शन अपने आप ही नहीं बढ़ जायगा, यह इसलिए बढ़ेगा कि

अपने वर्ष में हम उनकी सुविधाओं में ज्यादा सुधार करेंगे, बिजली की स्थिति को सुधारेंगे, पानी ज्यादा तथा ठीक से दें पायेंगे, हाई इलिंडिंग बैराइटों के बीज देंगे अच्छी तथा पर्याप्त मात्रा में खाद दें सकेंगे—जिस का प्रभाव हमारे प्रोडक्शन पर पड़ेगा। हम जो खाद देते हैं, उसके अन्दर जो हिडन-सिम्प्टोमी है—क्या उस से किसानों की मदद नहीं होती है? यदि हम गांवों की तरफ सड़कों को ले जाते हैं—क्या उस से किसानों की मदद नहीं होती है? यदि हम रेल-यातायात के साधनों को सुधारते हैं—तो क्या इस से किसानों की मदद नहीं होती है? मैंने इस बजट में यह भी देखा है—गांवों के लिए कुछ ऐसे प्रावधान किये गये हैं जिन से एग्रीकल्चरल-प्रोडक्शन को बढ़ाया जा सकता है तथा जो हमारे मार्जिनल-फार्मर्स हैं, स्मालफार्मर्स हैं, लैण्डलेस-लेबर हैं, गांव में रहने वाले जो कास्तकार हैं, रूरल-आर्टिजन्स हैं, हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं—इन सब के लिए इसमें विशेष प्रावधान किये गये हैं। इस बात के लिये तो मैं भारत सरकार को विशेष रूप से बधाई देना चाहती हूँ—कि इस में नेशनल-रूरल-एम्प्लायमेंट प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से 180 करोड़ रुपये का प्रावधान किया गया है तथा इसमें मीचिंग-कान्ट्रीव्यूशन स्टेट्स का होगा—इस तरह से करीब-करीब 380 करोड़ रुपये एक वर्ष के अन्दर इस योजना के अन्तर्गत हम गांवों में खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। यह खर्च किसके ऊपर होगा? यह इस देश के गरीब लोगों के ऊपर होगा या दूसरे लोगों पर होगा? इस लिए यह कहना कि यह बजट बड़े लोगों के लिए ही है, बड़े लोगों को इस में कन्सेशन दिया गया है—बिलकुल गलत है।

इसी तरह से एक बड़ी स्कीम "इन्टीग्रेटेड रूरल डवलपमेंट" की है जिस के द्वारा इस देश के गरीब भाई-बहनों को, विशेष कर जो बीकर-संरक्षण है, उनको बहुत मदद पहुंचाने वाली है। आज भी हमारे देश में बीकर-संरक्षण के लोग बहुत बड़ी तादाद में गांवों में बसते हैं—इस तरह इस योजना के द्वारा भी गांवों के लोगों को ही राहत मिलने वाली है—लेकिन इस के लिए आप को अपना ध्यान बदल कर देखना होगा। लोग यहां पर रटी-रटाई बात

कहते हैं, हर साल एक ही तरह की बात कहते हैं, हर साल बजट पर एक ही तरह का क्रांतिसिद्ध करने के बादी हो गये हैं। यह भी नहीं देखना चाहते हैं कि जो हमारी नई-नई स्कीमों आ रही हैं, नये तरीके से सारी बाजों को दिशा दी जा रही है—यह सब किस के लिए किया जा रहा है? हमारे यहां शहर कितने हैं, देश के अन्दर शहरों में रहने वाली पापुलेशन कितनी है? क्या सारे देश का पैसा इन्हीं शहरों के लोगों पर लगाया जाता है और गांवों के लोगों पर शगाया ही नहीं जाता है लेकिन एक पिप्पी-पिप्पी सी बात कही जाती है हर जगह पर, इस सदन के अन्दर भी और सदन के बाहर भी कि गांव वालों को छोड़ दिया जाता है और केवल शहर वालों के लिए ही सोचा जाता है।

इस बार जो बजट आया है, मैं समझती हूँ कि पहली बार मध्यम वर्गों के लोगों ने राहत की सांस ली है और इसके लिए हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी और हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी तथा उन की पूरी कैबिनेट बधाई की पात्र है। इन्कम टैक्स में भी राहत मिली है। पिछले साल की तरह इन्कम टैक्स देने वालों के लिए जो 8 हजार रुपये का स्लैब रखा गया था, उसको बढ़ा कर अब 15 हजार कर दिया गया है। इससे पहले 12 हजार रुपये तक का स्लैब रखा गया था और 12 हजार से ऊपर वालों पर इन्कम टैक्स लगता था, जिस को अब बढ़ा कर 15 हजार रुपये कर दिया गया है। इस तरह की जो छूट दी गई है, उससे 40 लाख जो इन्कम टैक्स देने वाले हैं उन में से 25 लाख लोगों को इस का लाभ मिलेगा। 25 लाख लोगों को लाभ देना कोई मामूली बात नहीं होती है। इन में से बहुमत से लोग तो बिलकुल इन्कम टैक्स नहीं देंगे और बाकी जो हैं उनको दूसरी तरह से छूट दी गई है, उससे फायदा होगा। इस का एक अच्छा असर देश की आम जनता पर पड़ने वाला है। हमारे विपक्ष के कुछ सदस्यों को और हमारे रवीन्द्र वर्मा जी को, जो इस समय यहां उपस्थित नहीं हैं, और जो अभी बोल रहे थे, इस बजट में कुछ दिवसाई ही नहीं पड़ा कि फायदा है, गरीबों के लिये कोई फायदा है। जो बातें उन्होंने कही, वे तोड़-

[ड. राजेन्द्र कुमारी बाजपेयी]

मरार कर कही और इस का मुझे अफसोस है।

एक बात में और कहना चाहूंगी कि पिछले वर्ष के बजट में जो स्पेशल कम्पॉ-नेन्ट प्लान फर शेड-युल्ड कास्ट्स इन्ट्रो-ड्यूस की गई थी, उसमें भी इस वर्ष के बजट में रुपया बढ़ाया गया है और यह एक अच्छी बात है। पूरे बजट को पढ़ने के बाद, मैंने बजट स्पीच को पढ़ा और जो आर्थिक समीक्षा की पुस्तिका है, उसके कुछ पन्नों को भी पलट कर देखा और उस से मुझे यह लगा कि सरकार एक ठोस कदम उठाने का पक्का इरादा रखती है। यहाँ पर जो लोगों के मनोबल को गिराने की बातें कही जाती हैं, दूसरे पक्ष के लोगों की तरफ से हमेशा ऐसी बातें कही जाती हैं, उनसे देश का कल्याण नहीं होने वाला है। मैं अपने उन भाईयों से कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस से उन का भी कल्याण नहीं होने वाला है और ये जो मनो-बल को गिराने की बातें कही जाती हैं, इन से काम नहीं चलने वाला है। हम एक संघर्ष के बीच से गुजर रहे हैं। हमने यह कभी नहीं कहा है कि हमने सारी चीजें कर ली हैं। अभी हमें बहुत कुछ करना है।

मैं दो तीन बातें और कह कर और अपने सुभाव दे कर समाप्त करूंगी। इस बजट में डिसएबिल्ड लोगों को भी छूट दी गई है। उन भाईयों के लिए बरेले वाचेज और उन के पाटंस, ट्राईसिकल्स क्रिगिल्ड लोगों के लिए और हिर्योरिंग एंड्स और उन के पाटंस और दूसरी ऐसी सारी चीजों पर कसटम ड्यूटीज और एक्ससाइज ड्यूटीज में काफी छूट दी है। इस से पता चलता है कि सरकार का न केवल इस देश के गरीब लोगों की तरफ ध्यान है बल्कि उन लोगों की तारीफ भी ध्यान है, जो अस्-हाय है और जो दूसरी पर निर्भर करते हैं और जिन को आज समाज की मदद की बहुत जरूरत है।

मैं एक दो बातें और कहना चाहती हूँ और वे ये हैं। इस सदन में बियोरर-बॉर्ड्स की बहुत चर्चा हुई है कि ये बॉर्ड किस लिए निकाले हैं। इस बात को अप

जानते हैं कि हमारे देश में जहाँ एक ओर ऐसी आर्थिक व्यवस्था है कि एक वह मनी है जिसको व्हाइट मनी कहते हैं और उसके साथ साथ ब्लैक मनी का भी दूसरा सिलसिला हमारे देश में अन्दर चल रहा है। अब यह जो ब्लैक मनी है, इससे हमारी जो सारी प्लानिंग है, हमारी जो योजना है, उस पर इस का असर पड़ रहा है। जो योजना है, उसको इम्प्लेमेंट के रूप में बदल कर के मार्केट में उसका फलों हो जाता है। अगर इस ब्लैक मनी को नहीं रोक पाते हैं, तो उसके नतीजे बहुत खराब होते हैं जहाँ तक ब्लैक मनी का सवाल है, यही नहीं कि हमारे देश में यह हो रहा है बल्कि दूसरे देशों में भी हम इस चीज को देख रहे हैं। तो मैं 15.0 hrs.

यह चाहूंगी कि इस ब्लैक मनी को रोकने के लिए हम और भी ज्यादा इफेक्टिव स्टेप्स उठाएं। बिना इसके किये जो हम इको-नॉमिक ग्रोथ करना चाहते हैं वह ग्रोथ नहीं होगी। जब हमने समाजवाद को स्वीकार किया है, साथ ही साथ हम मिक्स्ड इको-नॉमी स्वीकार कर के चल रहे हैं तो हमारे लिये यह भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि जो हमारी मिक्स्ड इकोनॉमी है इसमें हम देखें कि पब्लिक सेक्टर का और प्राइवेट सेक्टर का क्या रोल हो।

इसी तरह से हमें अपने पब्लिक डिस्ट्रि-ब्यूशन सिस्टम को भी मजबूत करना है। इस पर भी मैं सुभाव देना चाहती हूँ कि जो हमारी प्राइस पॉलिसी है, आज हमें यह सोचना पड़ेगा कि हम कैसे स्टेबल प्राइस कंडीशंस क्रियेट कर सकते हैं, कैसे नहीं कर सकते हैं। मेरा सुभाव है कि जो हमारे अर्थोशल कर्मांडोज है जो कि हम पब्लिक सेक्टर के द्वारा प्रोड्यूस कर सकते हैं उनका मास स्कोल पर प्रोडक्शन करने की तरफ हमें अभी से आगे बढ़ना चाहिए और हमें इस प्रकार से यह कार्य-क्रम रखना चाहिए कि जाने वाले वर्षों में उनकी कीठनाई न हो। कुछ चीजें तो हमारे किसान पैदा करते हैं और कुछ चीजों का उत्पादन हमारे कारखानों में होता है। जो चीजें हमारे कारखानों में पैदा होती हैं तो उनके बारे में हमें यह बखेना होगा कि किस हद तक हम उनको आजादी

दें और किस हद तक उनको आजादी न दें। किस हद तक हम ये प्राइवेट हाथों में रखें किस हद तक नहीं रखें, यह भी हमें देखना होगा।

एक बात मैं यह कहना चाहती हूँ कि उत्तर प्रदेश बहुत बड़ा सूबा है। भारत का ही यह बहुत बड़ा सूबा नहीं है बल्कि आबादी के लिहाज से यह दुनियाँ का आठवाँ या नवाँ देश कहलाएगा। अब हमारा छठा प्लान शुरू होने वाला है। पिछले पांच प्लानों में हमने 15 हजार करोड़ रुपया इन्डस्ट्रीज के ऊपर खर्च किया है उसमें से केवल पांच सौ करोड़ रुपया उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए अलॉट किया गया है। मैं आशा करती हूँ कि कुछ और रुपया उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए आप इस प्लान में देंगे। मैं सीतापुर कॉन्स्टीच्यूएन्सी से आती हूँ और वह एक पिछड़ा हुआ जिला है। भारत सरकार से मेरी माँग है कि वहाँ पर एक स्पिनग मिल खोली जाए। हमारी कॉन्स्टीच्यूएन्सी का लहरपुर जो क्षेत्र है वहाँ पर यह मिल स्थापित की जाए।

**श्री मूल चन्ध डोगा (पाली):** सभापति जी, बजट में सरकार की नीति पैसे की भाषा में लिखी गयी है। आज तक हमने पांच योजनाएँ पूरी की हैं और उनके ऊपर एक लाख तीस हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया है। बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। हमें यह सोचना है कि इसके आधार पर हमने जो कुछ प्राप्त किया है, वह क्या है और उसे मैं कुछ बताना चाहता हूँ। इतने हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने के बाद हम क्या उपलब्ध कर पाये हैं उसके बारे में मैं कुछ बताता हूँ—मैंने

The total number of people is about 300 billion over half of whom fall well below the poverty line. Successive five-year plan documents have been admitting that the character of Indian's poverty and inequality remains virtually unchanged. Then it says that the protein content of the Indian diet is only a ridiculous 4 gramme per day as against over 100 gramme in advanced countries and nearly 85 to 90 per cent gramme even in developing countries.

मैंने एक बात कही थी कि आपने यह जो इतना इन्वेस्टमेंट किया है उस पर हमारा रिटर्न कितना हुआ है, इसके बाबद् मैं बाद में

बतलाऊंगा। मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह बजट किस स्थिति में रखा गया है। आज हमें समाज में परिवर्तन लाना है। सवाल सरकार बदलने या सरकार की उपलब्धियों या लाभ का नहीं है, सवाल है समाज को बदलने का, समाज में फैली विषमता को समाप्त करने का। आज हमें यह देखना है कि डिस्पॉर्टी बढ़ी है या नहीं बढ़ी है।

सभापति महोदय, हमने एक काम किया और वह यह कि सरकारी आदमियों को ज्यादा संख्या में नौकरी पर रखा और उनका बजट बढ़ता गया। आप देखिए कि यह बजट किस प्रकार बढ़ता है, मैं बताना चाहता हूँ। 1979-80 के अन्दर 1396.34 करोड़ रखा गया था जो बाद में 12047.53 करोड़ रिजर्व बजट में पेश किया गया। अब 1980-81 के बजट में 13310.35 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है। इतना रुपया आपने उनके वेतन में बढ़ा दिया। यह उचित है या अनुचित यह सवाल नहीं है, सवाल यह है कि आपका नान प्लान एक्सपेंडीचर किस प्रकार बढ़ता है मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ। इसके लिए आप यह तर्क दे सकते हैं कि हमें अपने कर्मचारियों को अच्छी तनखाहें देनी हैं, ठीक है। अब आगे आप देखिये कि आपने ओवर टाइम अलाउंस क्या दिया है। 1978-79 के अंदर आपने 39 करोड़ 15 लाख रुपया दिया है और 1979 में 56 करोड़ 52 लाख रुपया दिया है और 1980 के अन्दर 72 करोड़ 68 लाख रुपया आपने दिया है। सभापति महोदय, श्री सी. सुब्रमण्यम जब फिनांस मिनिस्टर थे वे मुझे बार-बार कहते थे कि मैं ओवर-टाइम अलाउंस खत्म कर दूंगा। आज 72 करोड़ रुपया ओवर-टाइम अलाउंस के लिए दिया गया है। सभापति महोदय, आज हम जो यहाँ पर दो तिहाई बहुमत में बैठे हुए हैं, हमने कोई निर्णायक कदम नहीं लिया, राजनीतिक मानदण्ड पर कोई श्रृंखला के मूल्य स्थापित नहीं किए। यह श्रृंखला कब आएगी। यह श्रृंखला केवल कुछ लोगों के लिए ही आएगी या गरीबों के लिए भी आएगी। इसके बारे में लिखा गया है:—

“Instruction have been issued from time to time stressing the need for

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organizing the work of the office in such a way that there is a minimum incidence of overtime allowance payment. All the Department have been instructed that overtime allowance should, under no circumstances, be paid."

This is the answer which I am getting!

सभापति महोदय, 72 करोड़ रुपया ओवर टाइम में दिया गया है। एक अखबार में मैंने पढ़ा है कि बैंक्स में क्या ओवर टाइम मिल रहा है।

"State Bank paid Rs. 900 lakhs overtime in 1980"

"With Rs. 900 lakhs paid to its employees as overtime in 1980; the State Bank of India topped the list of 28 public sector banks which paid a total of Rs. 3,084.86 lakhs. as overtime."

30, 31 करोड़ रुपया आपने बैंक एम्प्लॉयर्स के ओवरटाइम दिया, मंडिकल रिइन्वर्समेंट में करोड़ों रुपया दिया। यह सोचकर कि काम करने वाले अच्छे होंगे, देश का उद्धार करेंगे, कल्याण कर देंगे लोगों का, इसलिये उनके ओवर-टाइम एलाउन्स को कम नहीं कर रहे हैं। एक कदम आपने एल.आई.सी. के बारे में लिया, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह ओवर-टाइम एलाउन्स बढ़ता जाये, मंहगाई भत्ता बढ़ता जाए, तनखाह बढ़ती जाये, जनसंख्या बढ़ती जाये, अगर जनसंख्या के बारे में मैं गिनाऊंगा तो आप उस पर आश्चर्य करेंगे।

"Pandit Nehru described the unplanned growth of the bureaucracy as an 'administrative jungle'. It is an administrative jungle. Now what has he said:

ये लोग कैसे हैं?

"It is idle to expect a redundant staff to be efficient; disciplined and diligent. The Planning Commission,

which ought to set an example in such matters; to itself guilty of having an excessive staff in its establishment. According to a knowledgeable person, who wrote some years ago, the planning body had 500 officers, 348 clerical staff. 255 orderlies and messengers. In addition it employed 45 senior research officers, 81 research officers and 118 economic investigators. 'This grand establishment' we are told costs the nation 10 million rupees annually.'

If the Central and State Governments can become the most fertile breeding grounds for the bureaucrats to multiply, why should not Planning Commission?"

यह योजना भवन में लगे हुए लोग हैं, इनका क्या कंट्रिब्यूशन है? मैं बहुत ज्यादा कहना नहीं चाहता, मैं क्रिटिसिज्म करूंगा तो आप कहेंगे कि सरकारी आदमियों की बात मत कहो।

Nobody wants to take the displeasure of these people.

ये लोग नाराज हो जायेंगे, काम नहीं चलेगा। ये मिनिस्टर्स के बैसाखियां बन जाते हैं, जिन पर मिनिस्टर लोग चलते हैं।

Now, what do they say?

"The bureaucracy is not only idle incompetent, but also corrupt. There are, of course, a good number of able and upright persons in it, but an overwhelming majority are notorious for their dishonesty. It has become impossible to get anything done in a Government department without speed money. Industrial and business houses find it almost impossible to deal with the Government except through contact men who are specialists in greasing the palm of the bureaucrats concerned."

I should read this article. This is a recently-written article.

कभी हिन्दुस्तान इस बात के लिये धर्म करेगा, जपकी

मैजॉरिटी बनाने के बाद भी आर्टिकल 309 और 311 के अधीन कुछ भी नहीं किया गया।

I can challenge.

संकेतरी उनका राय देते हैं। मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि आपका करोड़ों और बरबों रुपया और उससे भी ज्यादा इन्वैस्ट-मेंट है और यह हर साल बढ़ रहा है। डीवरनेस बढ़ रहा है। आप चाहते क्या है? इस मुल्क में समाज को बदलना चाहते हैं, या मिडिल क्लास के 15 हजार लोगों को बदलना चाहते हैं या और कुछ लोगों को छोड़ना चाहते हैं?

गांधी जी ने कहा था कि आखिरी पीढ़ी के आदमी की आंख में जब तक आंसू होगा तब तक स्वराज्य आया मैं नहीं कहूँगा। अगर आप बापू के स्वप्न को पूरा करना चाहते हैं तो इस मामले में कड़े कदम उठाइये।

संविधान को इस तरह बदल देना चाहिए कि मीनार पर बैठे हुए आदमी जमीन पर आ जाये और जमीन पर पड़े हुए आदमी कुछ ऊपर हो जाये। हम राज एग्रीकल्चरल लैबरर्स को रूकित करते हैं। लेकिन आपको जान कर हैरानी होगी कि उनका परसेंटेज बढ़ गया है। इसी तरह वॉर्डिड लैबर का परसेंटेज भी बढ़ गया है।

लोग कहेंगे कि बकवास करता है, कितना बढ़िया बजट है। मैं कब कहता हूँ कि यह बुरा बजट है? और श्री मगनभाई बराट के भाषण के बाद इसका बुरा कहना—राम राम, वह तो हत्या के बराबर है। लेकिन यह सवाल नहीं है। सवाल यह है कि हम मुल्क को किस डायरेक्शन में ले जाना चाहते हैं, आज मुल्क की क्या जरूरत है, हम मुल्क में किन लोगों को ऊपर उठाना चाहते हैं। इसमें लिखा है कि खेतियर मजदूरों की संख्या 131 मिलियन से बढ़ कर 167 मिलियन हो गई है। उनके लिए कोई मिनिमम वेज नहीं है। 27 दिसम्बर, 1980 के कामर्स में एक आर्टिकल निकला था, जिसका हॉडिंग था स्वीलिंग रैक्स एंड हम्पटियर बीबीज।

कहा जाता है कि हमने बहुत कुछ कर दिया है—कैस प्रोग्राम बनाया है, मिनिमम

नीड प्रोग्राम बनाया है, कूड फार वर्क प्रोग्राम बनाया है। लेकिन आज भी राजस्थान में हथारों गांव बिना पानी के हैं। कोई भी जा कर देख ले।

"The Minimum Wages Act, 1948 was the first legislation in the country for 15 minimum wages for labour. Part II of the schedule to the Act related to employment in agriculture and the State governments were allowed to carry out the fixation of minimum Wages in agriculture and other places".

"The National Commission on Labour (1969) made a survey of the implementation of the statutory provisions in this regard in various States..."

Even so, this remained a dead-letter.

लेकिन 1974 में सरकारी कर्मचारियों के पे स्केल को रिवाइज कर दिया गया। सरकारी आंकड़ों के अनुसार 48 परसेंट लोग पावर्टी लाइन के नीचे रहते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस समय जबकि इस सरकार को टू-थर्ड्स मैजॉरिटी प्राप्त है वह हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों की आकांक्षाओं को पूरा करने की कोशिश करे। हिन्दुस्तान के लोग सिर्फ जीना नहीं चाहते हैं। वे गौरव के साथ जीना चाहते हैं। सरकार तो कुछ लोगों को काम देती है, ताकि वे सिर्फ जिन्दा रहें। उन्हें पांच रुपये की मजदूरी दी जाती है, ताकि वे जिन्दा रहें। इस तरह मुल्क में दो कामों में पैदा करने की कोशिश हो रही है।

जहाँ तक हमारे प्रोडक्शन और एक्स-पेंडिचर का सवाल है, हाल के इलस्ट्रॉटिड वीकली के आर्टिकल को पढ़ लीजिए। वह कहता है:—

"Government expenditure of the Centre and the States went up from 10 per cent of the G.N.P. to 29 per cent of the G.N.P. and the net capital formation right went up from 7 per cent of the national income to 19 per cent of the national income".

The average annual growth rate to the real national income is 3.5 per cent, 3.8 per cent or 3.2 per cent.

[श्री जूल चन्द डागा]

तीस सालों में हमारा एम्बेजस ग्रांध रेट 3.2 परसेंट प्रति-वर्ष रहा है। मैं उसको 3.5 परसेंट मान लेता हूँ। लेकिन आप के 5.2 परसेंट बढ़ाने के पहले आप को मालूम है कि आप कहां चले गए हैं। इस में दिया है—

"It should be noted, that in 1960, India ranked 12th; by 1978, it had dropped to 23rd..."

आप की नेट इनकम कितनी बढ़ी है और आप देखें कि आप की पापुलेशन कितनी बढ़ी है? हमारे प्रोफेसर रंगा साहब बड़ा अच्छा बोलने वाले हैं, बहुत पुराने पार्लियामेंटोरियन हैं, उन्होंने यह बात कही और बहुत अच्छी बात कही कि फेमिली प्लानिंग को हम जबर्दस्ती लागू नहीं कर सकते। बहुत अच्छी बात है मत कीजिए, लोग नाराज हो जाएंगे। लेकिन यह सवाल नहीं है। फिर हम करें क्या? उस के लिए आप ने कहा कि पब्लिक अंडरटैकिंग्स को हमें बढ़ावा देना चाहिए। जरूर देना चाहिए लेकिन किस की कास्ट पर? पब्लिक अंडरटैकिंग्स का हाल सुनिए। पब्लिक अंडरटैकिंग्स से 12 परसेंट रिटर्न की शक्ति छाँड़िए, दस परसेंट छाँड़िए, 9 परसेंट ही दीजिए। लेकिन भगवान जाने वह देना कब शुरू होगा। हम ने खर्चों रुपये उस में लगा दिए। टोटल इन्वेस्टमेंट उस में हम ने किया है 1 खरब 82 करोड़ यानि 18 हजार रुपये का और उस में लास कितना हुआ, यह देखें—

"Losses in the year 1978-79 were Rs. 37,346 lakhs whereas in the year 1979/80 it went up to Rs. 53,777 lakhs...."

अब आप बताइए हमें 5 अरब का घाटा हो और फिर आप कहें कि पब्लिक सेक्टर में और इन्वेस्टमेंट करें इस का क्या नतीजा होगा? 12 परसेंट या 9 परसेंट रिटर्न की जगह अरबों रुपये का घाटा पब्लिक सेक्टर में, यह कौन बर्दाश्त करेगा? और जहाँ पर जब एम पी यह कहते हैं कि हमें बोर्ड आफ डायरेक्टर्स में डाल दीजिए ताकि हमारी रेस्पॉन्सिबिलिटी कुछ होवी तो कहेंगे, नहीं एम पीज को उस में नहीं जाना है। मैंने पहले भी कहा

था कि इस पब्लिक सेक्टर की जिम्मेदारी कौन लेगा? अब आप का इतना इन्वेस्टमेंट बढ़ रहा है और उस के बाद भी उस में इतने लासब हो रहे हैं कौन इस के लिए जिम्मेदार होगा?

मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग जो कुछ भी बात करते हैं वह जरूर करें, करना चाहिए लेकिन उस के अन्दर एक बात हमें जरूर सोचनी है। आज के जमाने में एक तो एकोनॉमिक डिस्कशन होता है जिस में बड़े बड़े विद्वान और अर्थशास्त्री बोलते हैं और एक होता है जिस में हम जैसे धरती से जुड़े हुए लोग आ कर बोलते हैं। अर्थ-शास्त्री बड़ी बड़ी बातें करते हैं, उधर के बैठने वाले भी अच्छी बातें करते हैं लेकिन आप जो कहते हैं कि आप बजट को समझते हैं, मैं कहता हूँ बजट को समझने वाला हो-बी-भिन्ड हो सकता है। बजट को बनाने वाला गांवों में जा कर बजट को बनाए। गांवों में जा कर देखें कि बजट क्या होना चाहिए। मगर आप बजट ऊपर से लाधते हैं। अगर आप की राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया के अन्दर जनसामान्य को प्रतिष्ठित नहीं किया गया और कुछ लोगों के पास सारी सत्ता केंद्रित कर दी गई तो आने वाला लोकतंत्र आप को बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा। अब जनता वह नहीं रह गई है। आप गरीबों की तरफ देखें। मैंने पढ़ा, एक प्रश्न के उत्तर में यहाँ बताया गया है कि मकान बनाने के लिए 3 करोड़ प्लाट्स की जरूरत है। 6 करोड़ लोग बिना मकान के हैं। 2 करोड़ बच्चों का आप के होटलों में शोषण हो रहा है। यह कौन सा समाजवाद हम लाना चाहते हैं? हम बजट की बात कर रहे हैं... (अध्यापक)... मैं मानता हूँ, मुझे रुढ़ को मालूम है कितना मैं डिस्प्लेजर आप लोगों का इनकार कर रहा हूँ। यह मुझे मालूम है, लेकिन यह बात मुझे कहनी है। जिस हालत में आप ने बजट रखा है, वह ठीक है, इसके लिए आपको मजबूती के साथ कोई कदम उठाने पड़ेंगे। भ्रष्टाचार और रेड-टैपिज्म को मजबूती के साथ वाइप-आउट करना पड़ेगा। भ्रष्टाचार जब ऊपर बनपता है तभी नीचे जाता है। अ्यूरॉपियंस को भी कंट्रोल करना पड़ेगा। इन



ब्यूरोक्रेट्स ने आपकी पांच योजनाओं की सफल नहीं होने दिया, आपके टारगेट्स पर नहीं हों पाए। आपने छठी योजना के लिए 5.2 प्रतिशत की ग्रूथ-रेट निर्दिष्ट की है, मैं आशा करता हूँ आप इसको पूरा करने में सफल हो सकेंगे। जो घंटी बज रही है उसको शायद आप भी सुन लेंगे क्योंकि यह खतरों की घंटी है।

श्री विगम्बर सिंह (मधुरा) सभापति महोदय, प्रस्तुत बजट पर मैंने प्रमुख नेताजी के भाषण सुने। मेरा भी इच्छा है कि इस बजट के ऊपर अपने कुछ विचार प्रस्तुत करूँ। आम तौर से यहाँ पर परम्परा यह रही है कि जो उधर बैठते हैं वे सरकार की तारीफ़ करते हैं और जो इधर बैठते हैं वे सरकार की बुराई करते हैं चाहे बात अच्छी हो या बुरी हो...

सभापति महोदयः आप न करिए दुराई।

श्री विगम्बर सिंह : मैं सोच रहा था मैं वही बात कहूँ जो मेरे दिल में है। जिस बात को मैं ठीक समझता हूँ उसको ठीक कहूँ और जिसको गलत समझता हूँ उसको गलत कहूँ बिना इस बात की परवाह किए कि उससे कौन नाराज होता है और कौन खुश होता है। मैं बिना संकोच के यह कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि सरकार ने कृषि मंत्रालय को अन्तर्गत कृषि की तरफ़ जो ध्यान दिया है वह प्रशंसनीय है। मुझे इस बात को कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि किसानों की तरफ़ कुछ ध्यान दिया जा रहा है। मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि कृषि मंत्रालय के बजट पर मैंने पहले कुछ बातें कही थीं। मैंने कहा था प्रधान मंत्री और मंत्री जी से कि जो कार्रवाई लखनौ में इस्तेमाल होती है उनको इण्डिया को उखाड़ कर गांवों में ले जाया जाए ताकि उनसे सिंचाई की जा सके और बजट में जो रूपया है वह अधिकतर किसानों के लिए खर्च किया जाए। अगर ऐसा नहीं होता है तो मंत्री जी को बताना चाहूँगा कि मजदूरों की हड़ताल

तो आप बरदाश्त कर सकते हैं लेकिन जब किसान और उसके नाबवान लड़के क्रांति के लिए रुड़े हो जायेंगे तो फिर उनको रोकना सरकार के लिए कठिन हो जायेगा। उसके बाद बड़े बड़े पूंजीपतियों के और बड़े बड़े सरकारी कर्मचारियों के लिए महलों में रहना असम्भव हो जाएगा। अपने देखा कि जब किसानों में असंतोष बढ़ा तो उससे जनता में एक जागृति पैदा हुई। मैं देख रहा हूँ और इस बात को कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि आज कोई भी पार्टी हो वह किसानों के पीछे लगने की कोशिश कर रही है। पहले देश की जनता पार्टियों के पीछे लगती थी लेकिन अब पार्टियाँ जनता के पीछे लग रही हैं। असम में जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है क्या उसको पार्टियाँ चला रहीं हैं? गुजरात में जो आन्दोलन चला उसको भी किसी पार्टी ने नहीं चलाया। किसानों ने भी आन्दोलन चलाया स्वयं जब पार्टियाँ ने उसमें दिलचस्पी ली तो वह आन्दोलन ढीले पड़ गए।

मैं आपके द्वारा सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो बजट यहाँ पर प्रस्तुत किया गया है उसको जब मैं पढ़ने लगा तो मुझे खुशी हुई कि उसमें कोई ऐसी बातें हैं जिससे किसानों को लाभ होगा। जब मैं योजना बजट को पढ़ने लगा तो मैंने देखा कि पिछले साल के मुकाबले इस साल सब के लिए खर्च अधिक बढ़ा दिया गया है, बजट की धनराशि पहले से बढ़ा दी गई है लेकिन आगे एक जगह पर मैंने देखा कि "ग्रामीण विकास" के अन्तर्गत जहाँ पहले 344.23 करोड़ की धनराशि रखी गई थी उसको अब घटाकर 183.50 करोड़ कर दिया गया है।

15.29 hrs.

[SHRI K. RAJAMALLU in the Chair]

इसी प्रकार से पृष्ठ 41 पर मैंने देखा कि "ग्रामीण पुनर्निर्माणों" के रूरल रिक्वा-स्ट्रक्शन के अन्तर्गत जहाँ पहले 570.43 करोड़ की रकम रखी गई थी उसको अब घटाकर 485.06 करोड़ कर दिया गया

### [श्री दिगम्बर सिंह]

है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस ओर सरकार को गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि किसानों के कामों को ओर ध्यान इस लिए जरूरी है कि किसान के विकास से ही देश का विकास होगा। आप देखेंगे इस बजट में देश को जो राष्ट्रीय आय है, उसमें किसानों का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है, लेकिन दुर्भाग्य है कि किसानों की ओर उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है। अभी एक माननीय सदस्य कह रहे थे, सरकार कहती है और प्रधान मंत्री कहती है कि उस तरफ ध्यान दिया जा रहा है, लेकिन मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ आवश्यकता अनुसार ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता है।

मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। गेहूँ की बुआई हो रही थी, उससे पहले मैंने एक पत्र प्रधान मंत्री जी को लिखा, यह निवेदन करते हुए कि गेहूँ की बुआई होने से पहले कृपा करके एक काम कर दीजिए कि किसानों को विसादास दिलायें कि उन्हें डीजल, बिजली-सिंचाई के लिए-आवश्यकता अनुसार मिलेंगे अगर उन्हें यह विश्वास हो जाएगा कि उन्हें डीजल और बिजली समय पर मिलेंगी तो वे गेहूँ को बुआई ज्यादा करेंगे, लेकिन अगर उनको डीजल, बिजली आदि नहीं मिलेंगी, तो वे अधिक बुआई नहीं करेंगे, जितना कि उनको करना चाहिए।

सभापति महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे पत्र के आधार पर प्रधान मंत्री ने उर्जा मंत्री को लिखा और पेट्रोलियम मंत्री को लिखा पत्र द्वारा मुझे भी बताया। फिर उर्जा मंत्री ने मुझे पत्र लिखा, जिसमें यह कहा गया कि हम मुख्यमंत्री से मिले हैं। मुख्यमंत्री ने और वहाँ के उर्जा मंत्री ने पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश के लिए बिजली छः घंटे से बढ़ाकर 10 घंटे दी है। लेकिन अगर वहाँ जाकर देखें तो छः घंटे से ज्यादा बिजली बढ़ी ही नहीं है, बल्कि कम हो गई है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को इस पर गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए। यदि इसी तरह से काम करेंगे, तो देश की तरक्की कैसे हो सकती है।

सभापति महोदय, मैं आपसे निवेदन कर दुर्भाग्य यह है कि जो लोग पार्टी के नेताओं के साथ काम करते हैं। उनके दिलों में जो बात है, वह सच बात नहीं कह पाते हैं। वे इसलिए नहीं कह पाते हैं कि अगर कहेंगे तो पार्टी के नेता नाराज हो जायेंगे। कहा जाता है कि समाजवाद लायेंगे, गरीबी को हटा-येंगे, लेकिन मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि गरीबी और अमीरी को हटाने के लिए, वर्गहीन समाज बनाने के लिए, सबसे जरूरी है कि गरीब व अमीर में जो अन्त है, उसको समाप्त करना चाहिए। मैं पहले भी एक बार द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना पर बोलते हुए 1956 में कह चुका हूँ कि यदि हम वर्गहीन समाज बनाना चाहते हैं, तो हमें सबसे पहले लोक सभा के सदस्यों से जो दो समाज बने हुए हैं,—एक जिसके पास कार है और दूसरा वह जिसके पास कार नहीं है—उसको दूर करना चाहिए। आप देखेंगे कि कितना बुरा गालूम हाँटा है कि एक संसद सदस्य खड़ा हुआ है इस के लिए या मेटाडोर के लिए और दूसरे के लिए आवाज लगाई जाती है कि "अमूक सज्जन के लिए कार लाइए" और वह कार में बैठ कर चले जाते हैं।

सभापति जी, इसलिए मैं आपके द्वारा निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम पार्लियामेंट के मंत्रियों को वर्गहीन समाज नहीं बना पाते हैं, तो बाहर हम वर्गहीन समाज कैसे बना सकते हैं। मैं सैलरी, एलाउंस की ज्वाइंट कमिटी का सदस्य हूँ, मुझे संसद सदस्य कहते हैं कि हमारा भत्ता कम है, बढ़ना चाहिए, यदि सब सदस्यों की राय ले ली जाए, तो मैं आपसे कहता हूँ कि बहुत तय करेगा कि बढ़ना ही चाहिए, क्योंकि कम मिलता है, लेकिन विरोध कान करते हैं—विरोध करते हैं पूंजीपति सदस्य जिनके पास साधन हैं, जिनके पास कार है, कर्मचारी है, नाकिर है—वे विरोध करते हैं। सरकार के मंत्री व अधिकारी जिनके पास सरकारी गाड़ियाँ व सुविधा है वे विरोध करते हैं। पार्टी के नेता पार्टी के पैसे से कार रखते हैं, कर्मचारी रखते हैं, वे विरोध करते हैं। सभापति मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता

हूँ कि मैं पहले भी लोकसभा का सदस्य था, मैं ने कहा था कि पार्लियामेंट का सदस्य काम नहीं कर सकता है, जब तक कि उसके पास प्राइवेट सैक्रेटरी न हो, टाइपिस्ट नहीं, कार न हो और चपरासी न हो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम से निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में पूछते हैं, बहस करते हैं कि भाई अब्दुल मन्सूर आपका नाम नहीं देखा, अब्दुल मन्सूर नाम आयेगा कहीं से सुविधा नहीं। मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँगा, मैं अपने बारे में कह रहा हूँ, संतोष तब हो जाता है, जब मैं देखता हूँ कि बाल-इंडिया कांग्रेस कमेट्री के भूत-पूर्व प्रेजिडेंट, जो कि बड़े-बड़े पदों पर रहे हैं, वे भी माटाडोर के लिए रुड़े रहते हैं। तो हम समझ लेते हैं कि जब ये ही खड़े हैं तो हमारे लिए भी ठीक है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब समय बदल रहा है, दुनिया बदल रही है। आज स्थिति यह है कि जो मन में हो, उस को कह देना चाहिये।

मैं आप की जानकारी में एक बात लाना चाहता हूँ—प्रीवी-पर्स के विल पर यहां वॉटिंग हो रहा था, मैं उस समय बी.के. डी. में था। मुझ से हमारी पार्टी के नेता ने कहा कि पार्टी के निर्णय के अनुसार आप को प्रीवी-पर्स के पक्ष में वोट देना चाहिये। लेकिन मेरे मन ने कहा—बी.के.डी. में होते हुए भी वह करना चाहिये, जो उचित है। मैंने प्रीवी-पर्स के खिलाफ वोट दिया, मेरी पार्टी मुझ से नाराज हो गई। हम कहते हैं कि यहां प्रजातन्त्र है—लेकिन होता वही है जो हमारे नेता का आदेश होता है।

एक बात और बतलाता हूँ—जर्मनी से एक लड़की यहां आई थी जो पोलिटिक्स में रिसर्च कर रही थी। यह 1962-67 के बीच की बात है। उस ने मुझ से एक प्रश्न पूछा कि यहां जो कुछ करते हैं वह कौन कराता है? मैंने उस को कहा कि मैं एक शर्त पर बतला सकता हूँ—आप यह बायदा कर दें—मैं उस समय कांग्रेस पार्टी में था—कि आप कांग्रेस पार्टी में शिकायत नहीं करेंगी। मैंने उस से कहा—यहां जो कुछ करते हैं, वह कौन करता है, यह मत पूछें, यहां हमारा पं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू जो चाहते हैं, वही होता है। हम लोग तो

केवल भाषण देते हैं, लेकिन होता वही है जो वह चाहते हैं।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जमाना बदल गया है, आप को इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना पड़ेगा। यहां पर भाषण देने से या बजट पास कर देने से या बाहर रूली करने से समस्याओं का हल नहीं हो सकता। आज एक पढ़ा-लिखा नौजवान विद्यार्थी डाका डालने को तैयार होता है, लूट करता है या कोई अपराध करता है—क्यों करता है? क्या इस लिये करता है कि वह अपराधी है? वह अपराधी नहीं है, सम्मान के साथ रहना चाहता है, लेकिन बाध्य हो कर करता है, इस लिए करता है कि आज एक मजदूर को 8 रुपये रोज मिलते हैं, एक राज को 16 रुपये रोज मिलते हैं, लेकिन उस पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान को 2 रुपये रोज की नौकरी भी नहीं मिलती। उस के साथ तो रहम करना चाहिये, लेकिन हमारे लोग कहते हैं कि अपराध बढ़ रहे हैं अपराधियों को जेल के बन्द कर दो। उन अपराधियों को बन्द न करो जो गरीबों का शोषण पूंजिपात होकर करते हैं, उन को रक्षा की जाती है, लेकिन उस गरीब-नौजवान को जेल में बन्द करना चाहते हैं। इन शोषण करने वालों की रक्षा के लिये तरह-तरह के कानून बने हुए हैं—पुलिस भी उन की मदद करती है, वकील भी उन की मदद करते हैं, जज भी उन की मदद करते हैं। मैं आज यह बात यहां इस लिये कह रहा हूँ कि यहां पुलिस मेरे मुँह को बन्द नहीं कर सकती। सजा तो पुलिस को देनी चाहिये, उन जजों को देनी चाहिये, उन वकीलों को देनी चाहिए, जो इन को अपराधी बतलाते हैं, बल्कि उन लोगों को भी सजा दी जानी चाहिये जो ऐसे कानून बनाते हैं। जिन के साथ दया की जानी चाहिए, उन के लिए इन का कानून कहता है कि उन को सजा दी जाय। वे नहीं समाज दोषी हैं।

गुजरात में आज जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है—इसको कौन चला रहा है? आज एक गरीब चपरासी का या जूते साफ करने वाले का लड़का या किसी भी गरीब का लड़का फर्स्ट डिवीजन में परीक्षा पास कर ले और दूसरी तरफ एक करोड़पति का लड़का, सैक्रेटरी का लड़का मिनिस्टर का लड़का

[श्री विगम्बर सिंह]

बड़े डिबीजन में परीक्षा पास करे, बाबा हो बरखण में लेकिन नाकरी के लिये जाते हैं तो जिस के कम नम्बर है, वह चुन लिया जाता है और जिस के ज्यादा नम्बर है, वह बेचारा निराश हो कर बैठ जाता है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—उस लड़के को जिस का फर्स्ट डिबीजन है, क्या कह कर समझायेंगे, कैसे उस को शान्त करेंगे? अगर मैं भी उस की जगह होता तो मैं भी किसी की परवाह नहीं करता, मैं भी खड़ा हूँ जाता—क्रान्ति करने के लिए, चाहे आप मुझे जेल में बन्द कर दें। जेल में भी कम से कम राटी कपड़ा और मकान तो मिलेगा, बाहर तो वह भी नहीं मिलता है।

अब मैं एक बात कह कर अपने भाषण को समाप्त करूंगा। सरकार कौन चलाते हैं? दुर्गापुर में ए. आर्. सी. सी. की मीटिंग हो रही थी। मैं भी उस समय ए. आर्. सी. सी. का मेम्बर था। मैंने वहाँ पर कहा था—जो मास्ट्रोलिजेंट होता है, जिस के पास पूंजी होती है, वह बिजनेस में जाता है, इण्डस्ट्रीयलिस्ट बन जाता है। लेकिन जिसके पास पैसा नहीं होता, लेकिन इन्टेलिजेंट होता है वह आर्. ए. एस. हो जाता है। जिसके पास धानो नहीं होते—वहाँ न बिजनेस-मैन बन सकता है और न आर्. ए. एस. बन सकता है, वह पॉलिटिक्स में आ जाता है और इस तरह से वह कसौटी पर बैठ कर फर्स्ट-ग्रेड और सैकण्ड ग्रेड पर हुकूमत करता है। मुसलमानी जमाने में भी यही होता था, पूंजीपतियों और अफसरों की चलती थी। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में भी पूंजीपतियों और अधिकारियों की चली और कांग्रेस के जमाने में भी उन की चली। उस के बाद जनता पार्टी का शासन आया—उस में भी कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया, उनकी ही चली। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करें। लोग जब सरकार में आ जाते हैं तो भूल जाते हैं, सोचने लगते हैं कि हम हमेशा सरकार में रहेंगे।

लेकिन इस बात को नहीं भूलना चाहिए और मैं आपके माध्यम से वह निवेदन सरकार से करना चाहता हूँ कि दुनियाँ में हमारे भारतवर्ष की जनता ऐसी है, जिस

ने हमेशा ही जो ताकत में आया है, उस को नीचा दिखाने की कोशिश की है और इस का समर्थन नहीं किया है। आप पुराने जमाने को ही देखें। रामचन्द्र जी जब जंगल में घूमते थे, तो उन्होंने रावण को हराया और जब वे गद्दी पर बैठ गये, तो लव कुछ ने उन्हें हराया। इसी तरह से पाण्डव जब जंगल में घूमते थे, तो कौरवों को उन्होंने हराया और जब वे गद्दी पर बैठ गये, तो भीलों ने उनकी पीठों को लूट लिया और वे उन को मदद नहीं कर सके और न ही अर्जुन उनको बचा सका। इसी तरह से आप देखिये कि जब गांधी जी जंगल में घूमते थे तो उन्होंने अंग्रेजों को हटा दिया और उस के बाद आप देखिए कि कांग्रेस का प्रभाव कम होता गया, कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने एक योजना बनाई और यह कि इन्दिरा जी को निकालो। उस वक़्त इन्दिरा जी बहुमत में नहीं थीं लेकिन जब 1971 का चुनाव हो गया, तब जनता ने इन्दिरा जी का समर्थन किया लेकिन उसके बाद जब इन्दिरा गांधी जी गद्दी पर आ गईं तो उन्होंने सब को जेल में बन्द कर दिया और सस्ली से काम लिया। इसके बाद उसी जनता ने उनको गद्दी से उतार दिया और जनता पार्टी की हुकूमत आई और जनता पार्टी के लोग यह सोचने लगे कि अब तो हमारी हुकूमत आ गई है, इसको बन्द करो, इसको पकड़ो और उसको पकड़ो। जब वे यह सोचने लगे कि हम तो हमेशा गद्दी पर रहेंगे, तो जनता ने उस पार्टी को भी बिछा दिया कि किस तरह से गद्दी से उतारा जाता है। तो मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार में बैठने वाले इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि जनता इस बात को बर्बाद करने वाली नहीं है। वह तो उन नेताओं की पूजा करने वाली है, जो त्यागी हैं, और तपस्वी हैं चाहे वह महाराजा प्रताप हो, चाहे वह स्वामी शंकराचार्य हो और चाहे वह गौतम बुद्ध हों, कोई भी हों। जो इस तरह के नेता होते हैं, उनकी पूजा होती है। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि हमारे देश का दुर्भाग्य हो गया है कि आज हमारे देश में जो पहले क्वलीफिकेश थी वह अब डिस्कवालीफिकेश हो गई है। पहले ऐसा जमाना नहीं था। गांधी जी के जमाने में राजनैतिक पार्टी के

वही नेता होते थे जो जनता के होते थे। आज स्थिति बदल गई है बाह्य बहु विरोधी पाटी हो गई और चाहे कमरेस पाटी हो। नेताओं के नेता हो, यह एक क्वालिफिकेशन बन गई है। आज आज व्होंने कि जो योग्य नेता हैं उन की उपेक्षा की जाती है और जो अयोग्य आदमी है उनको प्राथमिकता मिलती है। इससे समस्या हल नहीं होगी। जो प्रभावशाली जवता के नेता हैं, जो बिना नेताओं के सहाय के चलते हैं और जो मन में आया वह नहीं करते हैं बल्कि जो जनता पसन्द करती है, उस बात को करते हैं, ऐसे नेताओं की उपेक्षा नहीं करनी चाहिए। जनता का विश्वास जिन नेताओं में है, उनकी उपेक्षा नहीं करनी चाहिए। मैं यह बात इसलिए कह रहा हूँ, मुझे सभा-पति जी क्षमा करेंगे, कि मरों जो उम्मेद हो गई है, वह आज कल के जमाने में एक डिस्क्वालिफिकेशन हो जाती है और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगले चुनाव में मुझे शायद टिकट मिले या न मिले लेकिन मैं जो सच्ची बात है, उस को कह रहा हूँ। जो सच्चाई है, मरें मन में आया, उसको कहें। इसलिए मैं सच्ची बात आप के सामने कह रहा हूँ और मैं अपने साथियों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज देश के सामने जो समस्याएँ हैं, उन पर यदि गंभीरता से विचार नहीं किया गया, तो मैं यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि एक ऐसी स्थिति आ जाएगी, जो आउट ऑफ कंट्रोल हो जाएगी और उसको आप कंट्रोल नहीं कर सकेंगे।

मैं आप से प्रार्थना करूँगा कि सरकार ऐसा बजट बनाए, जिस में इन समस्याओं का ध्यान रखे और किसानों के हित की, मजदूरों के हित की बात सोचे और पूँजी-पति, जो शोषण करता है, उस पर कुछ बंकुश लगाए। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस देश की समस्याओं को हल करने का और इस कास को करके का एक यही तरीका है। इतना कह कर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ। और समय दिया उसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur):  
Hon. Mr. Chairman, Sir, I feel privileged to rise and to support the Budget presented by the Hon. Finance Minister. Fiscal problem, Sir, is important, but it is also complex. It influences the very way of life on earth. This very

factor, Sir, in the usual manner is the cause of conflicts, wars, varied living standards, man-made revolutions and spasmodic disturbances of the world over. It is this very factor which has a very big meaning all along.

As a potentially developing country, India is so circumstanced as to be in a position which is rather difficult. It is facing a multiplicity of problems, all at once. Fiscal and other problems are coming up at a galloping speed. And at such a stage, in a country like ours which is going through the developing stage, it demands an acute sense of balanced judgement and knowledge, to work out and frame a budget. In spite of such a situation, one admires the mathematically adroit manner in which the hon. Finance Minister, assisted by his able team and under the overall guidance of the Prime Minister, has been able to handle and balance the Indian fiscal policy so smoothly and so very correctly. It is the balance. The whole of the firmament is working on balance. Taking all the points into consideration, and all types of pressures and difficulties into consideration, if the proper balance is maintained, things can work smoothly, and to any country's advantage.

At the start of the year 1960, the economic picture of India seemed somewhat corroded. In fact, it was gloomy. Now it is picking up its lustre. We are clearing the woods are hopefully moving on our way to progress. This is the general assessment which one collates and collects from the people at large, and I have no compunction in pointing it out to you, for what it is worth. But we have to go through a lot of trouble and difficulty, as a disciplined nation, if we want to achieve our aim and objective of coming up to be one of top-most countries in the world. In fact, we have the potential. We have everything. We have the means, we have the know-how, we have the qualitative manpower. And I see nothing left out in this country, in the matter of potential and in actual form. Appropose that, we should be able to handle our situation, with all the contributions received, even from the side of the Opposi-

[Shri R. S. Sparrow.]

tion and from our wise-heads. So, the picture was bad. There is no doubt about it. But it is a very encouraging that we are forging ahead in a proper type of manner. And the cyclic move of ascendancy seems to be going in our favour. There is no doubt in my mind on that we have to have our turn of ascendancy in the world. One of the old couplets confirms this idea—at least from the point of view of my own knowledge. In persian they say:

हरदम रचिन्न बूदअस्त इं गुम्बद मीनारा  
गोई के नगूं करद अस्त इवाने फलक सारा  
हिकमे फलक गरबां या हकीमे फलक गरबां

Some people even call this movement of ascendancy

हर कमाले रा जवाले हर जवाले रा कमाल

We are on towards progress. We are going towards ascendancy. Things are in the making. All ups and downs, all oppositions, all types of fights are there, but they will help us to come up, eventually, as one of the top-most powers in the world. I have no doubt about it. I am speaking optimistically on the basis of the situation existing to-day.

As has been reflected in the present-  
ea budget, the alround economic pro-  
gress made in all fields is indeed a  
lauable achievement. I can quote  
many figures in that context. In fact,  
the hon. Finance Minister's speech  
lays everything bare before you to pick  
up and to understand. I will only  
indulge in a couple of important ex-  
amples to illustrate my paints.

For instance, let us take how suc-  
cessfully the petroleum products pro-  
blem was and is still being handled  
under the most difficult circumstances.  
How throughout the disturbed period of  
oil crisis, we managed to plough  
our fields with tractors, irrigate our  
fieldswith pumps, and move about and  
ply our scooters, cars, motors, buses  
and everything else that one had to use

in the way of movement. We carried  
through it and the situation was such  
that it needed a very wise thinking  
and a very upto-date type of manage-  
ment of affairs. How did we manage  
to bring about so much of diesel and  
oil products from outside—negotia-  
tions, friendship, striking a correct  
type of balance, moving about money  
this way and that way? It is some-  
thing indeed a short of miracle. At  
one time we thought that everything  
was going to burst even from within  
our country. From north east Assam  
area, 1.30 lakh tonnes of diesel alone  
every month we could not take out for  
over one year. The situation was  
such that we could not do anything. In  
spite of all that, we moved on and on  
and we moved on very well.

I come from a small area as a farmer  
and I know how things were. In  
Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh,  
Uttar Pradesh and other parts of the  
country, if you did not have diesel and  
oil, you could not have been able to  
sow your crop, and it so happened  
that we managed to get it, we kept  
being resuscitated in the manner and  
in the method which really gave us all  
the life, and even inside our own  
country, this thing was rather diffi-  
cult to manage, and this had been done  
from every point of view to come to a  
near miracle.

Even things like fertiliser right  
down to our fields did reach. We had  
our difficulties, but we managed to go  
through those and the production it-  
self will show you that we are improv-  
ing. It is very true that we had good  
showers this time, that is very correct,  
and incidentally that little respite had  
given us time to go through a crash  
programme of putting up our thermal  
plant correct, that has given us an  
added advantage. In relation to kisan  
in the field and in the small scale  
industry, I have already gone through  
it. That wealth tax has also been cut  
out and other small things like prices  
of the agricultural commodities kept  
in a balanced manner, remunerative  
prices have been given. It was never  
done before. The right balance has to

be struck now, taking into consideration that the user who does not produce has to be given his own proper share, apropose the correct price structure, and in that way, I want to assure you that everybody down the line is satisfied. There is no need to ask.

Then more banking facilities have been given. Two hundred and seventy banks in different villages all over the country are functioning for the sake of the small farmers, artisans and so on and so forth. Besides that more money has been set aside to increase irrigation, labour employment, electrification, rural development and so on. For a small scale industry, as everybody knows, there is free excise duty raised under item No. 68 from Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 30 lakhs. Besides, under another item, for a small scale industry like nuts and bolts and so on, raised from Rs. 5 lakhs to Rs. 7 1/2 lakhs.

Sir, we are on our way to move ahead in a proper and balanced manner. Due to the pragmatic policies pursued by the Government the investment climate concerning industrial production has increased considerably. The amount of consents in the first nine months of 1980-81 were more than double that in the corresponding period last year. The total of term loans sanctioned by term lending financial institutions showed an increase of 55.2 per cent in April-September, 1980 compared to April to September 1979. There is a graph which is going right up favourable for the people's sake. Besides, disbursement of IDBI increased by 39.3 per cent in the same period in 1980 over the corresponding period in 1979. Here, I have given only a couple of examples of the fine performance shown over last year by our Government.

It may be noticed that the comparative difference is radically different from that in another period when, as chance would have it, the Janata Party was in power, when the country's economy was badly shaken,

when hundreds of quintals of gold reserves were aimlessly frittered away, as if it was the property of a wastrel potentate. It reminds one again of a Persian poem by Hafiz Shirazi.

बगर मां तुको शिराजी

बदस्तारह दिले मारा

बचाले हिन्दुअश बख्शम,

समरकन्दो सुधारारा ।

The property belongs to somebody and it is being dished out by somebody just for the whim of it. The gold belonged to the Indian people and here comes a whimsical pseudo-economist to evaporate the same way to the four winds without any rhyme or reason. It was done. It had happened that way. It is unfortunate. That also, was the period.... (Interruptions).

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: If you permit me, in the very first session of this Lok Sabha I put a question to the Finance Minister as to what was the quantity of gold when the Janata Party came to power and what was it when it went out of power and the reply was that the stock of gold had increased tremendously. (Interruptions)

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: At this stage if I take the opportunity to answer this, I think it will not be fair. It will lead us into a discussion. So, that also was the period when 26 lakh tonnes of potatoes rotted in the fields of the kisans in Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. (Interruptions).

AN HON. MEMBER: There is no dispute about that.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: That was the time, if I may also point out for the information of my hon. friend, Prof. Dandavate, that for the first time in the history of India and possibly else where, that sugarcane fields were burnt alive, throwing the sugar market completely out of shape. That also happened. That should

[Shri R. S. Sparrow]

suffice as a sort of spot checks where comparisons go. So, I should not go into the details.

I have now to submit with your kind permission some effective recommendations that are worthwhile to be looked into. That concerns the nation as a whole. I have something to offer which I am quite certain, should be looked into objectively. It is mostly a question of shifting of and phasing out of priorities and also enforcing the decisions taken under different heads, down to the lay-man and in that the States will also have to be taken into confidence because we have to work out the economy of the nation as a whole. In that, firstly I have a word in relation to the uneven urban-rural economy. This is the hub-centre of the whole question. India is a land of villages. 7,70,000 villages of India hold about 80 per cent of India's vast population.---

16.00 hrs.

Sir, I have no compunction to mention with unmeasurable regret that over the last three decades of our independence, in spite of Mahatma Gandhi's blossoming vision and Pandit Nehru's dedicated hard work, correct economic balance between the rural and urban economic progress has not been evened out. That is the situation today. Did we notice the condition of millions of kisans and farm labourers who have been attending the kisan rallies in New Delhi? Their patchily covered bodies in wintry weather were a grim reminder of their poor living standards. The city-based and bred bureaucracy as also leadership find it difficult to envisage the reality concerning the backwardness of the rural masses. And, how encouraged one feels as a kisan to notice the full-focused attention that is now being paid by our Hon. Prime Minister and the Indian Government to improve the lot of the rural masses! That is the nodal point in that and I have something to suggest to you.

Here is a word about the rural economy building Centres. Prompt note must be taken to set up all future public and private plants of small, mini, medium and heavy scale industry and all types of other institutions, installations and centres away in the interior of the countryside and not in the already overburdened, over-populated and ecologically suffocating cities and towns. With one snap action and without causing any expenditure at all, you will be able to transform the whole of India into a humming type of economy, everything blossoming up at one go. Other countries could have their own way of doing things. We have to evolve our own method of doing things. Do you know what will happen? The pendulum of economic growth in India will start swinging equally on both sides—rural and urban. In fact, besides providing employment to millions of unemployed artisans, other rural labourers and small-scale farmers' families at or near their own home areas the headache of importing labour from far-off places will also disappear. I would urge on the hon. Finance Minister to set up an high-powered committee to process this recommendation as to how to bring about a shift and equalise the economic structure of our country in a big way. It is a big deal, it is a big idea and I fail to understand why this should not have been implemented or thought about as vigorously as it will have to be done now.

To further stimulate the growth and intensification of agriculture and agro-industry, it is but essential that block-wise tractor inputs and aides centres are set up on an all-India basis, to boost up the economy of the small and marginal farmer, the farm labourer and the village artisan. Added to these centres should be established handloom, handicraft and other cottage industry sections and work-wage centres, so as to make the countryside hum with economy-building activity. It could be done after coordinating this efforts with the States. I am quite certain that the



States will not mind taking this on as a collective step for the improvement of their economic structure.

Loan facility is a problem. When the loan starts moving from the Reserve Bank of India or such agencies and goes down to the last end of the villages, it gets fattened up with interest. It starts with about 5 per cent but it reaches the other end with about 15 to 17 per cent. There is a very big gap. That gap will have to be somehow reduced. Not only that. When the poor farmer or artisan in the village goes to the middleman or *Arhti*, he charges interest to the tune of 5 per cent per month, compound interest. That means the actual interest in the year rises to 60 per cent. No arrangements have been made to cut out this type of usury. This is another point on which I would like him to think about.

The hon. Finance Minister, under the broad policy laid down by our hon. Prime Minister, has been kind enough to allocate an additional sum of Rs. 294 crores for the servicemen in the defence part of the Budget. I have no doubt that this is going to work to India's advantage. I will say more on the defence angle later. At this juncture, I would like to draw the kind attention of the hon. Finance Minister to one specific point and that is the disparity in the pensions of ex-servicemen. I strongly recommend that it must be removed as soon as possible. There was some discussion in the House on it. But it has to be looked into at the highest level. Along with it, the correct yard-stick of commutation of pension should also be looked into.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Basirhat): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mr. Maganbhai Barot, when he intervened in this discussion a little while ago, claimed to have got authentic reports that when the Budget was known or the Budget speech of the Finance Minister was over in this House on the 28th February, large numbers of

people were dancing with joy. I agree with him. Only Mr. Barot did not mention which section of the people were dancing with joy. Because my friend, Mr. Venkataraman—I said it last year also—if nothing else, he is extremely intelligent and clever man.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE: (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN): I do not want that compliment.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Why do you want to be so uncharitable? I mean it.

SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN: I want the compliment that I am a good man. I do not want the compliment that I am a clever man.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Good man or bad man does not matter here because you are not acting as an individual. If you want me to tell you privately that you are a good man I am prepared to tell you. That is not the point. You are carrying out a certain policy of the Government.

If you take this Budget in its broad canvas it has certainly, I think quite consciously, tried to satisfy to some extent or to please certain sections of our community. There is no doubt about it. If they are dancing with joy, well, I do not blame them. I admit it grudgingly that a section of the middle class which was within the income tax net, at least upto an income of Rs. 30,000/- per year, has been given substantial relief by him and naturally to that extent, they should be pleased. It is the urban middle-class, salaried employees and so on. They are a very vocal section. One has to understand why suddenly Mr. Venkataraman's gaze has fallen on them because a little while ago when we were discussing on the LIC employees here—they are also part of the salaried middle class employees—he did not refer to them in very complimentary terms. He even

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called them bourgeois. He said that they had become an elite in the society. Therefore, I should like to say that those people whose annual income is upto Rs. 30,000/-, to whom he has given this income tax relief, according to him, they are a bourgeois elite. Why has he been so soft to them? Because they are a very vocal section, articulate and vocal section; they are not like our silent suffering masses, who are below the poverty line far far away, not here in the streets of Delhi, of course. But these are vocal people, and you are afraid of them, I know. In the cities of Delhi, Calcutta or Bombay, the bulk of these urban middle class dwells, and they are very much reacting nowadays to the realities of the economic policies of the Government, which are affecting them directly and in other ways. You wish to give them some sop, to keep them quiet for some time at least.

Secondly, there are the rich farmers. I have said many times here that people talk so much about our agriculturist farmers and peasants, but they are not a homogenous class; everybody knows it. There are marginal farmers, small farmers, poor farmers, middle farmers, and rich farmers; there are also farmers who operate big farms practically on capitalistic lines, with mechanisation of labour and all that. At the other end, there are people who, in addition to tilling their own soil, are also forced for part of the year to work as labourers on somebody else's land. Everybody is a farmer. The richer sections were a bit nervous and apprehensive for some years, at the time of the budget every year. Various people have suggested that, after so many years, the more affluent section, the richer section of the farmers, should be brought within the tax net, and they were apprehensive. But nothing has been done. They have been let off scot-free. I think Mr. Venkataraman should tell us whether this affluent section of the farming community has now become a sort of

secret cow, which is never to be touched. So, they would be dancing with joy, I am quite sure, because all the subsidies which are given to them over so many years are continuing and no new impost is made on them.

Thirdly, of course, there are our old friends, the big business. Need I talk so much about them? This budget, by and large, I should say, has shifted the reliance that we had on the public sector for mobilisation of resources; that emphasis is being shifted through this budget from the public sector to the private sector. The main reliance of the Finance Minister now on increasing production and on getting resources is not on the public sector, but on the private sector. It is as though the public sector has become a drag, has become a kind of unwelcome burden on our shoulders. That public sector, which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had visualized as the commanding height of the economy, decisively deciding the direction in which the country would go, is no longer considered to be that by our Government. Now the main emphasis in the budget is on how to appease, how to placate the private sector, so that they would come forward voluntarily to help in the process of investment and growth.

Of course, there is nothing new. Last year also Mr. Venkataraman had placed great faith on them. During the debate last year I had asked him, suppose they do not play fair with you, you are putting so much confidence and faith in them, these gentlemen, these Iatas, Birlas, Dalmias, Goenkas, Singhanias and so on, suppose they do not play fair with you, suppose they consider their own profits to be much more important than the welfare of the country, then what will you do, because your calculations will go astray, and Mr. Venkataraman replied, and that is why I say he is a good man, he said in the House "in that case, I will have to go; if

my calculation goes wrong, then I will have to go". On this particular point, I want to ask him whether in the last one year, let him put his hand on his heart and tell us honestly, whether he thinks that big business, these monopoly houses, these big business concerns did what he expected them to do. I think he should be honest in telling us about this.

Now I do not wish to go through all those concessions, which are listed in the budget. They are heavily slanted in favour of the private sector. There is no doubt about it that he is relying on them. For example, I would say that to that extent, it is really, if I may say so—I do not mean any offence—a gambler's Budget. You are gambling. There is a dangerous element of gambling in it which does not hold good for the nation's economy. The forces whom you want to rely on mainly are undependable and unreliable. That is why I am calling it as a gambler's budget. With the best will in the world, you will be let down by them. For example, it is a good thing,—of course compelling circumstances have brought us to that, not only us, but other countries also,—that you must try to step up your own indigenous production of oil obviously if you want to cut down on imports at these very high prices. Unfortunately, perhaps nobody in the world was able to forecast this energy crisis which would develop one day particularly when these Arab countries of the Middle-East would stand up on their own legs and say that 'we are masters of our own oil and we will dictate terms'. So, we are lagging behind, no doubt. Now, we have to make up that leeway and the Minister knows better than I do that no amount of imports which we can arrange to get from various friendly countries and so on will do, we have to do that as a short-term measure, but that can never be a substitute for developing your own indigenous oil resources and standing on your

own feet. But here we wanted to hear from him a more comprehensive statement of policy regarding our search for our indigenous oil. Our own resources, our own technicians, our own engineers, our own experts, I think, are not inferior to people in other parts of the world who are mobilised in this Oil and Natural Gas Commission. What role they are expected to play in this? The whole emphasis is being put on bringing foreign multinational companies to help us in prospecting and exploring oil on a production-sharing basis. That means, if they find the oil, a part of that oil will have to be given to them. Of course, we have not been told in detail about it because agreements have not yet been finalised. I know what will be the terms of those agreements. If you are so anxious to bring these people here, then to some extent you will have to accept their terms on the question of sharing of oil. And I think that perhaps our own ONGC of course, may require some consultancy and some expert help. That is a different matter. That is not the same thing as handing over a part of your oil resources to the foreign multinational companies. So, I would say in this matter that we should rely much more on our own people and other people's help should be taken, if necessary, only in essential and marginal cases, not asking them like this, you see. Some figures have been given in reply to a question that some 23 companies from so many countries have already applied that they want to look for oil because it is paying for them, because they will get part of the oil. Countries much smaller than India, oil-producing countries like Mexico and Venezuela have publicly declared that they too are willing to take the help of foreign technology and all that, but they are not going to agree to production sharing. They say 'My oil is my oil. If on those terms you are prepared to come and help, you will be paid fees and all that, whatever it is, but you are not going to get a part of my oil.' If they can

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take a stand like that, India which is a much bigger country, I think, can also take a much firmer stand.

Then there is the question of strong support to export promotion. This is a running trend throughout the Budget proposals. Exports must be stepped up because we have got such a big adverse balance of trade. But in this, what are you doing? For example, about these free trade zones you are saying that any concerns which are located in these free trade zones and which manufacture for export purposes will be given a complete tax holiday for five years. That is the incentive. You want to bring them into the free trade zone. I am raising the question as to whether the development of such free trade zones is not possibly going to add to regional imbalances in this country. What happened in the days of the British? The way the British had developed their railway system and ports at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and so on, what happened? All the concentration of industry, trade and business took place in these particular areas for which we are paying even now. Though I belong to Calcutta. I am saying it now. Are they not areas of concentration of trade and industry which are out of balance with the hinterland of those areas? In Calcutta, don't we see that lakhs and lakhs of people from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa, all these people who have got no other avenues of employment and earning, are drawn like a magnet to the huge metropolis of Calcutta because all the industry, trade and business is concentrated there because of the Calcutta port and the railway system built up by British? Did it not contribute to a regional imbalance? If you are going to create this kind of free trade zones in certain port areas, in certain coastal areas, where all the trade and industry should come and concentrate, according to them because they will be given a tax holiday for five years, I should like

to know what precautions you are going to take to see that this does not contribute further to regional imbalances.

I am not talking about the Sixth Five Year Plan because it is the fate of this sovereign Parliament of India that upto this day we were never given an opportunity to discuss and debate that Plan before it was finalised. It is an extra-ordinary state of affairs. I cannot imagine it. 15 or 20 years ago, the Government itself used to take an initiative to introduce debates and discussions in this House at the draft stage of the Plan. The Third Plan and the Fourth Plan were discussed in this House. What is Parliament for? The Government should listen at least to what the people in the House say about the draft of the Plan, their suggestions, their criticisms and their recommendations. Nothing was done. Now, it has gone to the National Development council. They have put a seal on it. It is finalised. The Parliament has not been told to discuss it. It is a strange thing. We have raised it so many times in the Business Advisory Committee, to please fix some time, during the last session and during this session, so that the House gets an opportunity to discuss the Plan and enough time could be found. But that has not been done. Is the Plan a matter of such low priority now-a-days? I do not want to say anything about the Sixth Plan. What is the use of giving us that book now after it is all over and done with. These are the questions which naturally arise.

About the definition of small-scale industry, investment in machinery and all that, it is being raised from Rs. 10 lakhs to Rs. 20 lakhs, to make them eligible for some concessions available to small-scale industry. I do not know what is the intention. Mr. Venkataraman should tell us. I do not know whether an industry with an investment of Rs. 20 lakhs can really be called a small-scale industry. When we think of small-

scale entrepreneurs, some kind of a picture comes before our eyes. We know that many of them are not able to invest Rs. 20 lakhs. There are only *benami* people. There are so many so-called small-scale units functioning which are only *benami-dars*, *benamis* of the big units who have set up so-called small-scale units under a different sign-board. Have you taken any precaution against that to make sure that it is a *bona-fide*, genuine small-scale unit and not just something which is being propped up by some big business houses. We are not told anything about it.

What about the traditional distinctions which used to be made between priority and non-priority industries? Some regulatory role the State is expected to play in planning if you want a planned economy. Some regulatory role has to be played by the State in deciding the priorities of industries, which are priority industries, which are non-priority industries, which are high-priority industries and which are low-priority industries. I find that this traditional procedure which we have followed over so many five-year plans in the past is now being given up. You are preparing to give it up. It is just said that dozens of industries which used to be called non-priority industries could no longer be called non-priority industries and they should be brought into the priority list and given so many tax concessions and benefits. So, I really do not know what you are trying to do. You should tell us.

In the case of import substitution also, a peculiar contradiction is developing because one of the major sources of revenue on which you are going to depend in 1981-82 is your revenue from these import customs duties which you have increased with auxiliary duties and all that. Naturally, Mr. Venkataraman knows well that our import bill which is already very big, is going to become bigger because unfortunately these

countries from whom we have to import, many of them, are developed countries and we know what they are doing for the world economy today. They are putting up prices of all their exports to countries like ours. We have to buy at much dearer rates from them and our import bill is going up all the time. But, in the calculation of the Finance Minister on next year's income, these customs duties do play a major part because we are getting so much from the import duties! That means the Government also will encourage more imports so that they will get more duties out of those imports and show them on the revenue side.

It is inevitable because you are hard-pressed for money. You have a huge gap of deficit of over Rs. 1,500 crores which you have shown. Therefore, there will be a tendency on your part to increase the import duties, the customs duties and also to increase your imports, so that out of those imports you will get more customs. That is the position.

This is not going to lead to self-reliance. Just now I was reading in the newspapers that it is good that we talk about self-reliance. But we must practise it more consistently. The Hon. Minister comes from Tamilnadu. For the Neyveli Project, you have agreed to import electric generators and equipment from abroad. When the whole thing can be manufactured in this country by our Bharat Heavy Electricals on exactly the same specifications, why are you going to import this type of equipment at such a high cost? It can be manufactured locally, indigenously, in our own country. What is the purpose behind getting it imported from abroad? One purpose surely there will be that you will get some revenue out of the customs duties. I should imagine that this is a very distorted and contradictory way of balancing your Budget and that it is done at the cost of self-reliance.

I would like to point out that much freedom is being given in this Budget

to private companies to collect deposits from the public. This is a diversion from our nationalised banking system. It means that you are encouraging them not to put their money in the banks but to invest that money with these big companies which are every day issuing big advertisements in the newspapers offering 13 per cent, 14 per cent and 15 per cent interest. They ask: "Why do you go to the Banks? You put the money here in the private company." That is being encouraged by you. That should not be encouraged in this manner. You see your own Budget is giving them a chance. This is one of the reasons I think why the thrust on direct taxes is so much less in this Budget. You want to leave more money with people so that they would be tempted to deposit it, not with your nationalised banks, but with these private companies many of which have already been accused of indulging in malpractices with the public money deposited with them. You said that reducing that income-tax surcharge on the private companies from 7.5 per cent to 2.5 per cent will leave more money with them and, therefore, it will increase their available funds for further investment from their own resources. I want to know what is the guarantee on that? What arrangement have you made in the present system and what power have you got to see that the money that you leave to them, which is added to their profits, is really to be invested, ploughed back by them? I ask this question because you have not put any ceiling on dividends. I quite understand if you impose some ceiling on dividends that they cannot pay out their money as dividends to their shareholder beyond a certain percentage. Then, what will they do with the rest of the money? They might be induced to reinvest it, plough it back. But, when there is no ceiling on dividend, they can go on distributing as dividend any amount of money to their shareholders.

There is no restriction on the issue of bonus shares. They can go on taking as much money as they like out of reserves, converting into bonus shares,

distributing it and paying dividend on that. I have no time. Otherwise, I would give you figures to reveal how bonus shares are being issued by these companies. This is a fantastic business. In 1979-80 and upto the 28th February, 1981, in this whole period, 568 private companies were allowed to issue bonus shares of Rs. 231.52 crores. During 1980, if you leave out the Janata period—I hold no brief for the Janta Party—I may assure you; I do not join in this controversy whether they are better or you are better; both have done enough damage..

SHRI R. R. BHOLE (Bombay South Central): You were with Janata. .. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We never joined the Janata Party. You should know your politics better, Mr. Bhole. I speak in front of Prof. Madhu Dandavate; he knows it very well. . .

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: On the contrary, he was with you

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We were with you Mr. Bhole for a long time, not with them.

During 1980, up to the 28th February, 1981, 305 companies issued bonus shares worth Rs. 143.87 crores. They are not ploughing this money back. This money could have been invested by them out of their reserves, but they are converting it into bonus shares. What is your assurance, your guarantee, that this money you are leaving with them to add to their profits will really be ploughed back? That is why, they are dancing. If they are dancing in the streets, it is not surprising at all. Among them, you will find—I have got the list with me so many well known foreign multi-nationals, their subsidiaries, their branches, all the big business groups; even concerns which have been under lock-out for six months and eight months continuously, have issued huge bonus shares; the Birla's Keshoram Industries & Cotton Mills in Calcutta and the Hindustan Pilkington Fibre Glass Works has been under lock-out for the last one year; there has been no production; but they are issuing bonus shares worth so many

lakhs of rupees. All these will be permitted! You will not do anything to check these things? Is it so?

Somebody referred here to the fact that the mass of the people in this country are really concerned with prices of everyday consumer goods and essential commodities. For that, of course, this Budget offers no hope at all, because, Mr. Shukla has made it categorically clear in this House the other day that, as far as the public distribution system is concerned, they are not going to go beyond where they are today, they are not going in for any more comprehensive public distribution system, they are not going to take over the wholesale trade in essential commodities, they are now inviting other private parties to open distributing centres—cooperative distributing centres.

People are happy, of course, that additional excise duties have not been imposed this year. But it was correctly pointed out by Mr. Ravindra Varma that no relief in excise duty has been given either. The entire burden of excise duties which was there and which you should know, accounts for 16 paise in every rupee; in every rupee which the Government collects, 16 paise in that are no account of excise duties while only seven paise in that rupee come from the corporate tax, that is, from the industry. This remains as it was as far as the excise duties go. But the share of the corporate tax has been reduced further, and I want to know why Mr. Venkataraman is doing this; when your own Ministers are every day giving figures in the House in reply to questions that the assets of these big business houses are continually going up to astronomical figures, why is no extra tax put on them? Who is to pay for this effort to raise the country out of this crisis? They are not to pay at all! In 1972, the assets of Tatas and Birlas together, these two houses, as you know, were Rs. 1,231.35 crores and by 1978 these assets have come up to Rs. 2,273.26 crores—of these two houses. Mr. Shiv Shankar, our Minister for Company Affairs, answering a question on the 24th February

here—I have the answer with me,—has said that the Tatas' assets in 1978 amounted to Rs. 1,102.11 crores. But I want to draw Mr. Venkataraman's attention to this that in the *New York Herald Tribune* of December 1979—some date in December; I can give you the exact date later on there was a big advertisement appearing on behalf of the house of Tatas. And in that advertisement they are claiming that their assets come to Rs. 2200 crores whereas Mr. Shiv Shankar has said here that it comes to Rs. 1102.21 crores. Who is telling the truth—I do not know. According to the official figures given here, according to the TATAS it is only half of their real assets. But on these people you do not want to increase in the slightest the burden of corporate tax. In fact, they have been given more and more concessions and holidays. Finally you are hoping that more money will be left with them and that they will use dutifully for the good of the country by investing. Why should they invest? They will distribute it as dividends. They will issue more bonus shares. Their records do not show that they have ever got the good of the country at heart. So I do not want to take much more time.

Everybody has referred to the fact. Why did I call it a 'gambler's budget'? Because of these uncertain elements including the Bearer Bonds from which you expect Rs. 200 crores this year and Rs. 800 crores next year. It is a speculation. To put it mildly, it is a speculative and gambler's attitude. We may get it or we may not get it. You may not be sure. You are balancing your budget like that. To-day is what? 11th of March. And the year will end on the 31st March. . . .

**SHRIMATI PRAMILA DANDAVATE:**  
There is a strike to-day.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** By the 31st of March you are supposed to get Rs. 200 crores out of these Black Money Bonds. Now I heard Mr. Venkataraman saying in the Budget speech, 'We have got Rs. 54 crores.' But the newspapers are reporting that it is only Rs. 34 or 36 crores. All right,

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even if it is Rs. 54 crores, so in the rest of the 20 days which are left, you are expecting Rs. 150 crores more. And next year you are expecting Rs. 800 crores. You may get it. If you get it, all the power to your elbow. That is why I call it a speculative and gambler's budget. You are gambling.

You are gambling also for your expectations of foreign assistance. Therefore, you have said quite significantly that this time we will have to go more and more for loans to the international commercial markets. From the international banks you will have to get at whatever rates of interest they charge because about the loans which are to come from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank or the United States of America you are not very sure. You are not sure what they will give and what they will not give. Mr. Ronald Reagan has, after assuming office, already said that one of the components in the programme by which he wants to salvage the American economy and put it on its feet and save it from recession is a drastic cutting down of foreign aid. You know it. On the one hand more arms expenditure and on the other hand, reduction of taxes, reduction of certain taxes on the people and thirdly cutting down of foreign aid. You do not know what you are going to get. But you have put in an amount. You have put in an amount for black money. You have put in an amount which you expect from these private big business people. The whole thing is a gamble. . . . Yes, it is a gamble. Sir, this is not the way. I think, a good accountant balances his books.

Finally, I would just mention two or three things which do not appear anywhere in the Budget speech. There is no mention of remunerative prices to the farmers. It is true our agricultural production has gone up due to a number of factors. Everybody welcomes that. But if you want to shift the balance of poverty and prosperity in the countryside, in this vast countryside to which Gen Sparrow was referring,

where 70 to 75 per cent of the country's population lives, can it be done without some land reforms being carried out? But there is nothing here said about land reforms. The poorer have to be brought into the picture. You cannot give concessions only to the affluent sections and giving remunerative price for their produce is equally beneficial to the rich farmer as well as the poor farmer. At present, very often they are not getting even the so-called minimum support prices which are announced by the Agricultural Prices Commission. Gen Sparrow was very keen on this that there should be no imbalance between the rural and the industrial sectors. But, what is happening? There is a Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices. There is a standing machinery called the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices which has been charged by the Government with keeping regular track on the index of production costs in the world of industry and whenever they consider it necessary if they find that the cost of production has risen, they sanction a further rise in the price of industrial goods. This is happening all the time. Why should there not be a similar machinery for the agrarian produce? The Agricultural Prices Commission is not given any such responsibility and, I think their hoax is proved by the fact that they announced Rs. 12 or 13 a quintal for the sugarcane. Now with a little bit of agitation in six or seven states, they had to go up to Rs. 23 or 24. Has that resulted in finishing off the whole sugar business? What is it? They were being fleeced earlier and they had burnt their standing crops in their fields. At that time, the price had gone down to Rs. 6 or 7.1 regret to say that Mr. Charan Singh was then here in power. It should not have happened. But, then, the Agricultural Prices Commission in their great wisdom fixed the price at Rs. 12 or 13 which is totally an uneconomic price. Throughout that period, when they were being fleeced, the sugar was selling out in the market at Rs. 8 or 10 a kilo. What kind of system is this, A sugar mill manager in U.P. told me that his cost of production in the factory for



a kilo of sugar was Rs. 2.50. Why should the people buy from the market the sugar at Rs. 8 or 10 a kilo? Who is responsible for this?

The Agricultural Prices Commission's composition should first of all be changed in my opinion and it should be made more representative of the different regions of the country. It is now heavily loaded in favour of one region of the country. Secondly there are different crops, different produce grown in different parts of the country, commercial crops, particularly. Secondly, the Commission should have powers like the Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices so as to keep a check on the cost of production and on the cost of inputs and on the other difficulties that the farmers are facing. On the basis of a constant increase and, on the basis of some scientific pattern, the price should be worked out at which the farmers should get.

There is no mention of that here. By the way, I forgot to ask—a question has been raised in public about this money that you will get out of the bearer bonds and this is out of evasion of income-tax—whether you are going to give anything to the States or not? I think they are entitled to it; they are entitled to a share of these proceeds just as you give the share of the income-tax proceeds. Mr. Venkataraman, you have not mentioned anything about this at all. I think they are going to be deprived of this and that will cause a lot of trouble. You are ringing the bell quite justifiably and so all I wish to say finally is that there is nothing in the budget to combat the inflation at all. About employment opportunities and all that we heard last year. But, down below, nothing happens; nothing moves. But, as far as the inflation goes, of course, the very nature of the economy is such that there is dependence on those forces which are interested in this. They have got a stake in inflation. Dependence on them is heavily increased by you. Last Year, I had pointed it out that it was wrong to think that inflationary economy hurts every section

of the people. But, it does not. This hurts the people who are fixed income groups; it also hurts the poor people. It does not hurt in any country of the world where inflation takes place, the section of big money, big business interests, who make a maximum profit in the inflationary period and even at a lower production. By restricting the production even, their profits go up; their money value goes up. Why should you encourage these elements, these forces? That will only-stoke the fires of inflation further.

I will conclude by reading out one paragraph from the speech I made last year. That was on Mr. Venkataraman's first budget. It is just at the end. I am not to extol myself but I would like to remind him by quoting:

"Taken as a whole, this budget, I am afraid, in another six months' time, will land this country in a much worse crisis. Inflation will go completely out of hand, I fear. Some people will suffer, some people will prosper as a result of it. That will only accentuate the tensions and confrontations in this country, which nobody can prevent. These are not things which are engineered by somebody by some conspiratorial methods. This is something working within the economic system itself and people find that they are being denied of minimum due, while certain other people are making hay while the sun shines. You cannot prevent social tensions and confrontations from developing within the society. The poor people, the ordinary working class have certainly a right to fight for their rights and their demands".

And before the year was out because of this inflation you see on the one hand people were getting restive and on the other hand from December last onwards Government decided that it is no use keeping that Bhoothalingam Committee of Janata Government just as a ghost in the cupboard. It is better to bring it out, not to use the same name of Bhoothalingam Committee but take the

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essence of it and try to impose that on the working class which you are trying to do and which we are seeing from January onwards. This is not just an accident that is taking place—the Bangalore strike or the LIC thing or the Ordinance which you have brought and the similar steps which you are now planning to adopt. This is what I said. You will try to solve this crisis at the expense of these people by reducing their salaries, their bonus, their allowance and all that and then social tensions cannot be prevented and there will be conflict and that conflict will do no good to us and certainly will do no good to the public sector. But that perhaps does not worry you because you are not obviously concerned so much with the public sector. You are concerned ten times more about how to get the private sector a helping hand, help them and rely on them.

Therefore, Sir, I conclude again by saying what I said in the beginning that this is a gambler's budget. He is a good man but he should not have gone in for this type of gamble with the nation's finances. It bodes no good. The main elements on which he is relying are speculative elements. While that will help him to do some populist gimmicks, he has not been able to put across something for which Members of his party clapped so loudly on that day. Basically, the direction in which the economy is being taken is something which worries us very much. Of course, he will say that you are suffering from some doctrinaire ideas and all that but maybe we are still convinced of those ideas. Therefore, we will continue to oppose the main direction of this Budget. That is all I wish to say.

**SHRI KAMALUDDIN AHMED** (Warrangal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Budget and at the same time congratulate the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister for presenting this best ever Budget. I come from a State which has sent a large number of people abroad for employment and

trade. So, I would like to make some suggestions with regard to the Finance Ministry itself. The share of remittances of Andhra Pradesh will not be less than 500 million dollars. Although a large number of people who have gone abroad send regular remittances yet they get a shocking treatment on their arrival at our airports. I wish the hon. Finance Minister could go incognito to the airport and see the position for himself. Our own people when they come back to this country are treated like cheats and thieves. It is a very sorry state of affairs. I would request the hon. Minister to see to it that they get better treatment. Very clear-cut baggage rules should be framed without any room for discrimination because wherever you put discretion there is much scope for corruption.

We must have only two categories of baggage rules. Either we must permit them some articles or not permit them at all. There should not be any slabs of duties, so that the officers are left to use their discretion in a very arbitrary manner and resort to corruption.

The other thing to which I wish to draw your attention is the procedural restrictions which the Reserve Bank of India puts on the investments by non-residents. If a non-resident Indian wants to invest in this country, even if he gives an undertaking that he will not repatriate the investments or the profits accrued thereon, there also, the Reserve Bank has to permit him. The procedure is very cumbersome. Instead of encouraging a non-resident to make investment in this country, rather, our rules are such that these people are discouraged. I know an instant case where an industry has borrowed some money from a non-resident Indian who is one of the owners of that company. The RBI issued notice saying: "Why have you borrowed money?" The undertaking has already been that no money will be repatriated back. Then, why have all these restrictions? We must rather have rules and procedures which should encourage their remittances and inflow of foreign exchange into the country. Sir,

we have felt the pinch of higher price hike last year. We know how much this country had suffered; we know how we know how much we had to pay more for the petroleum bills.

So, in these circumstances, we must think of finding out ways and means of having larger remittances into our country by non-resident Indians.

Coming to trade with the Middle East, I submit that our share of trade is unfortunately less than that of Formosa and Korea. If we see the amount of trade that India is having with the Middle East countries, it is not even 5 per cent. The Indian traders who have done trade with Middle East have spoiled the name of this country. Now the position is that no Middle East country is placing order on f.o.b. basis. The result is this. Our trade with these countries has gone down considerably. For the fact of proximity, for the fact of our relations with them for centuries, our share of trade with them should have been not less than 50 per cent. But unfortunately this is not so. So, what I would suggest is this. We must have certain rules and regulations with regard to foreign trade. And the Government should take the responsibility of quality control. The same articles as are given as samples should be sent abroad. In that case only our trade will improve and we will be able to earn considerably from these countries.

I welcome the proposal which the hon. Finance Minister has made for re-organising the LIC. He said that they are going to have 5 units of the LIC. I suggest that in addition to these five units, they should have one more unit for non-resident Indians' insurance.

Now, we are collecting the Emigration fees of Rs 1400 from the emigrants. But in many cases they are simply let off. Some people pay the money and some people do not pay it. My suggestion is that all those who go abroad must first insure themselves

and after this insurance only they can leave the country. A few million people who are abroad now should insure themselves and I think if they are insured a considerable amount of money will come to this country. I suggest that one more Unit of L.I.C. must be there to deal with the non-resident people.

Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to the problem of rural water supply. Now, even after 33 years of our independence, there are thousands of villages where there is no protected water supply. I suggest that we should have a Corporation for Rural Water Supply like the one that we have that is, the Rural Electrification Corporation. Let this Corporation be put in charge of the cluster of villages and provide water supply to the villagers.

Now, with regard to the cotton that is lying in our State, I may point out that there is a lot of malpractice going on in the purchase of cotton. I request the hon. Finance Minister through you, Sir, that he should come to the rescue of these poor farmers and see that the cotton that has piled up there is purchased and the people are relieved from the anxiety.

SHRI T. R. SHAMANNA (Bangalore South): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am thankful to the Speaker for having given me some time particularly to say a few words in respect of the strike at Bangalore, by the workers of the public sector industries. It is a matter of great regret that even though 75 days have passed, there is no sign of the strike being ended and it is unfortunate that the country has lost more than Rs. 2,000 crores worth of production and the labourers also have lost their wages and they are entangled themselves with some debts and all that. I would very much like that this Government should have taken steps to see that this strike is somehow brought to the final end. In this connection, I find that instead of having a negotiated settlement with the workers, attempts have been made to see how best the strike could be bro-

[T. R. Shamanna]

ken and how best the labourers are made to obey the management. I am particularly sorry that a ruling party Member of Parliament who happens to be the President of the Trade Union took a leading part in seeing that the strike fizzled out. He tried his best to create disharmony amongst the workers themselves so that the strike could be crushed once for all.

17.00 hrs.

The labourers, the workers were united and nothing could be done, but one thing that has caused anxiety is the efforts that were made to break the labour class. Persons belonging to the ruling party have pasted posters in the workers colony and it is unfortunate that the labourers and workers have been threatened, particularly those from Tamil Nadu and Kerala, that they would be driven out of the city if they did not behave better. It is very unfortunate that in a big metropolitan city like Bangalore such threats are given. It may give room for some rowdy elements to take advantage of this and create disturbances. I am told that the same persons who raided and attacked the Deccan Herald newspaper did this mischief also. I was in Bangalore for five days during the last week and I am pretty certain the work is that of the goonda elements which are related to some section of the ruling party. We should not allow such things because it is a great danger to the country and such things should be curbed in the beginning, itself.

Unfortunately, the blame is shifted to the Congress(U). I have received a message from Bangalore today and I have got full evidence to prove, where the posters were printed, who are responsible for all that. Anyhow, I would strongly urge upon the Government to take stringent measures to see that efforts to encourage people to fight in the name of language and in the name of province or caste are nipped in the bud.

I am a Tamilian and for generations our family has been in Karnataka. I do not know how to read or write Tamil, but my wife who comes from Tamil Nadu does not know how to write or read Kannada. Half of the members of my family are in Madras. Is it possible that simply because my wife is a Tamilian, she should be packed back to Madras? Such things should not be allowed even to be said and the Government should take immediate steps to see that whosoever is responsible for this is dealt with severely right now.

In this connection, I would like to make an earnest appeal to the Government and to the working class to see that this strike is ended as early as possible, otherwise it will not be good for anybody. I am happy that the Chief Minister of the State has invited the Opposition Members and has requested them to appeal to the workers to go back to work and he would take the lead to see that the matter is settled to mutual advantage. I also make an earnest appeal to the Prime Minister that no time should be lost in respect of bringing an amicable settlement in this respect very soon. If the workers go back to work, I appeal to the Government to see that there is no victimisation and the notices issued for suspension and dismissal should be withdrawn and as far as possible, some financial benefits should be given other than what has already been declared. And finally, if still there is any dispute, it should be referred to arbitration and according to the decision of the arbitrator, things should be settled. It is necessary that there should be cordial relations between the labour and the management.

If the Management were to be foolish, if they were to allow strike for months together, it is not good to the Management, to the country and to the labour also.

Sir, in these hard days we should take all steps to see that production is increased. And finally, I wish to state here that any amount of Dearness Allowance, salaries will not solve the problem. More than 80 per cent of the people are not in the organised field and those who have organisation to fight for their rights, they are not more than 20 per cent. And if they are given benefit, what about those with fixed income, who live in villages and persons who are pensioners? If those organised get some increment and the unorganised are not given anything and in the days when there is inflation which is increasing year by year, it will be a great hardship. If prices are to be brought down to the welfare of the people rendering concession to one section and depriving the others is not the right answer.

**SHRI R. R. BHOLE** (Bombay South Central): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise here to support the Budget as well as to congratulate the Hon'ble Finance Minister as well as the Prime Minister for having framed a Budget which will bring relief not only to the poor not only to the weaker sections, not only to the middle classes, but also to other classes who deserve the relief and assistance.

Sir, this is a Budget, I think with a major shift and orientation on the side of savings as well as growth. This is not a Budget, Sir, which would bring load of taxes on any citizen. In fact there are hardly any taxes. That is to the extent of about 271 crores of rupees and that is on account of the five per cent increase in Customs Duty on import goods and 15 per cent Import Duty on the newsprint. Sir, therefore, this is also a Budget which does not load an ordinary citizen with taxes.

This is also, Sir, a Budget with considerable scope and potentiality for employment as well as for export. It brings also into picture an adequate balance between the urban needs as well as the rural needs.

Sir, last year when the Budget was brought, many in the Opposition as well as in the country and some of us were expecting a large dose of taxes. But when the Finance Minister brought the Budget, they were all relieved. This year also, Sir, a month before or even before that people of this country and the Opposition were all whispering 'you will see what is going to happen when the Budget is presented in this House. They expected a large dose of taxes, but that is not there this year also. Therefore, there is hardly anything for the Opposition or even for the opponents of our party to say that we have not done anything for the poor or for anybody or that we increased the inflationary tendency. So far as benefits for the private industry and the middle class are concerned, there is relief in income-tax; there is exemption upto Rs. 15,000/-. There is also a rationalization of the income-tax structure, from Rs. 12,000/- to Rs. 15,000/-. This gives relief to a large section viz about 15 lakhs of our society, which was suffering from the burden of the income-tax.

Then there is the 5 per cent reduction in surcharge in the corporate income-tax. So far as the industry—and so far as the small-scale industries—are concerned, they are also given much relief. Fourteen new group of industries are getting investment-related income-tax concessions. There is tax holiday for units in the Free Trade Zones, which he has extended to 5 years. This budget, therefore, is not on the basis of personal taxation, but on consumption production as well as export orientation.

My friend here Mr. Indrajit Gupta was saying that this budget gave relief not to the poor but to the rich people. People had no incentive to deposit in banks, but they have incentive to deposit in banks; that they have incentive, under this budget, only to deposit in the companies. I might bring to his notice that there is now a ceiling on the

[SHRI R. R. Bhole.]

interest which the companies will give in future. It is 15 per cent. The banks are also asked to increase their rates of interest for periods less than 5 years. It is, therefore, not correct to say that companies will get more deposits, and banks will get less deposits.

Small-scale industries will also get a boost, because there is concessional excise duty for 72 articles. Their duty-free exemption limits are now to the extent of Rs. 7.5 lakhs. The concessional levy would be 75 per cent of the normal levy; and it would extend from Rs. 7.50 to Rs. 15 lakhs. There is also, as I mentioned earlier, adequate balance between the urban needs and rural needs. The rural employment programme was initiated last year. The drinking water scheme was also initiated last year. This year it is Rs. 180 crores, plus Rs. 180 crores to be contributed by the states. For the drinking water scheme, it was Rs. 100 crores. This year it is Rs. 150 crores. The special component plan for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was Rs. 70 crores last year; and this year it will be Rs. 85 crores. It will, therefore, be seen that even the weaker sections of our nation are looked after by this budget. There is much talk, and it is true that we are trying to identify the black-money and bring it out, that we are at present in the days of inflation. The inflation is also imported; the inflation is also artificial, because the business community is not cooperating with the Government policies as much as it is expected to do. But with all these hardships and handicaps, last year, it was 21 per cent and this year correspondingly it is only 13.5 per cent. What I am trying to emphasise is that we are moving in the right direction.

When we started with the economy last year, it was completely ruin-

ed. We never expected that economy was so bad. But when the Government was installed I found that it was the worst. Now, some instances have been given like thousands of tonnes of gold was frittered away; thousands of tonnes of potatoes were also burnt, thousands of tonnes of sugarcane was also burnt. There was absolutely no thinking about the economy at all. So, this must be the state of economy. In the background of this economy, all these reliefs were given not only to the poor people, middle class but also to others. I think our Finance Minister has done a very good job on this pragmatic Budget. He has also tried to mop up black-money. We all know that there is a parallel economy caused by this blackmoney. It is true that this may not be an ideal limit, as far as bearer bonds are concerned, but this is certainly one of the remedies. Article 292 of our Constitution says, "The executive power of the Union extends to borrowing upon the security of the Consolidated Fund of India within the limits fixed by Parliament by law." Therefore, the Government has a right. The executive has the power under the Constitution to borrow; and that is why, the Finance Minister is doing this. This is not the first time when we are mopping up the blackmoney. There was voluntary disclosure in 1953-54. Then again there was voluntary disclosure in 1974-75. Then there were gold bonds issued in 1965 which were repaid at the international prices in 1980. Therefore, there is nothing very unusual in the issue of the bearer bonds. This was also done in France and Italy. It is not that the Government is not taxing this money which would be put in bearer bonds. Therefore, there is no tax loss, on that. On the other hand, tax gain will be to the extent of 8 per cent.

Until-now, we are told that bearer bonds worth Rs. 54 crores are sold; by the end of—month this we hope it

will be much more. We know that there is a writ petition filed in the Supreme Court in Delhi. No writ petition was filed before either against the voluntary disclosure or against the gold bonds. This is the first time, as far as I know, that a writ petition has been filed in the Supreme Court against the bearer bonds. I am glad that no stay order was given by the Supreme Court. My own experience as a judge in the Bombay High Court is that when there is hardly any substance in these petitions filed in the Court, no stay is given. The very fact that no stay order is given in the writ-petition shows that there is not even a *prima facie* case disclosed in this petition; and that is the reason why normally it is rejected;

I am very sorry to see that this writ petition is decided to be disposed of in the month of April even when the matter is very urgent and very important. I wish it was decided earlier. May I bring to the notice of this House that some of the judgments in the Supreme Court of our country by some of the Judges are not given even after one year or an ore from the completion of the hearing. This is scandalous. And I may tell you that this is not the case of a Harijan Judge delivering so late such judgments from the non-Harijan class Judges are not delivering judgments for more than one year.

I have to say a few words about the implementation of the projects and the policies that are enumerated in the Budget. It is very necessary that all the money which we are spending, all the money that the Government is spending for the weaker sections, for the farmers for the marginal people for the agricultural labourers should go into their pockets and for their benefits. That is very necessary; unless and until at all levels and at the highest level the progress of expenditure for achievement is monitored, the poor man and

the middle-man will not be benefited. At any rate, the pipe line is so long from Delhi via the State district and the villages that there is lot of leakage in the pipe lines, that all that leakage will have to be stopped and I think when we are spending crores of rupees and when we have the will also to assist the poor people when we desire to raise the level—the poverty line—to the extent of even up to 50 per cent. We must co-ordinate and monitor all the work. This type of work is very very essential and very urgent and very important. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to look into the implementation from this point of view.

There is another point which I must say. I am glad that although we had lost large numbers of man-days in the past, we lost few last year now the labour is cooperating with us; we must try to get more cooperation from them. We must try to instil discipline into the labour areas. Our friends here in the Opposition must also co-operate in this, if production has to increase, and if our country has to go up the ladder to be one of the best of nations. I do not say that they should be given less remunerative prices. I do not also say that they should be given less wages or salaries. I myself worked as the Pay Commission in Maharashtra for the Government employees. I know what the problem is about the wages and salaries but at the same time, there should not be any disparity between what the labourer in the villages gets and what an industrial worker gets. Now there is a wide disparity and one is aghast when one notices that one gets only Rs. 2 or two and a half rupees in the village because the Minimum Wages Act is not implemented; and the other man gets as much as a Joint Secretary who works till 8 o'clock and burns midnight oil. This should not be allowed. Therefore, I also hope that the industrial and organised labour class will co-operate with the Government

[Shri R. R. Bhole]

and the Opposition will also make an effort to see that they do not create trouble as they are creating in Bangalore now.

We must also examine the position about overtime.

The over-time as far as I know is for work not done during the working hours. It is to the extent of Rs. 56 crores in 1978-79 and Rs. 89 crores in 1980-81. We must try to see that this over-time money is to be utilised properly. If over-time has to be given, we must employ more employees and get the work done so that to some extent at least the unemployment problem will be solved. But as far as I know, additional employment will not be necessary because, as my friend there said, adequate work is not done during the regular eight hours of work by the bureaucrats, as we expect them to do. They must, therefore, work as expected.

I cannot sit down without mentioning something about Gujarat. What is happening there is very unfortunate. This cannot go on. This has been started by some vested interest and very interested people. In the judgement of the Supreme Court which was given recently in favour of the promotion for the scheduled castes, Justice Krishna Iyer has mentioned that advocate, Shri Shanti Bhushan, the Law Minister in the Janata Government, who is a member of the BJP, has threatened the court that if the judgment is not given in his favour, then the battle of the petitioner and the others will go to the street. In other words, Shri Shanti Bhushan, who is a member of the BJP had an idea that there is some conspiracy going on by the RSS and BJP to see that this constitutional guarantee is not given to the weaker sections. That is the reason why this agitation and violence has been started in Gujarat. Now I am

told—at any rate, in the Press it is reported—that there are documents which have been confiscated to show that there is some connection of the RSS with this. Here therefore is evidence. Shri Shanti Bhushan himself has admitted before the Supreme Court that the battle will go to the streets. Therefore, they are all involved. This is not a matter of not giving concessions to the poor, but this is a matter of bringing our Government and our party into embarrassment but they will not succeed. People are sane. Sanity will come. It has to come. At the same time, I appeal to all in this country that so far as their caste is concerned that poor and the weak would not be unnecessarily harassed and killed. Their houses should not be burnt. It is cowardly. Every-body should unite and see that these people who are also citizens of this country are able to exist and live like citizens with all the rights that the Constitution guarantees to them.

With these words, I again support the budget and congratulate the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister.

DR. KRUPASINDHU BHOI (Sambalpur): Sir, at the outset, I must congratulate the Finance Minister for presenting a balanced budget to the country, not with political motives, but as an economist. At the same time, I must congratulate the Prime Minister who thought thrice before appointing him as the Finance Minister, because he is the most dynamic person and economist in the country. He has presented the budget in the true Jagannath Sruti or Jagannath culture:

सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनाः

सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः

सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु

या किञ्चित् दुःखमाक् भवेत्।

That means, all people should live in peace. There should not be any ani-



mosity or attachment. We should be equal. In other words, there should be socialism and democracy.

Some friends in the opposition are propagating a psychological fear that due to this deficit budget, inflation and price rise are a must in the coming year. Actually as revealed in the appropriation account, quite a few Ministries had not spent a minimum of Rs. 1300 crores in their Plan accounts. That means, if the plan allocation is pegged down to the last year's figure, Rs. 1300 crores will be reduced from the deficit account and thus leaving Rs. 200 crores as deficit. This will not create a psychology in the minds of the people that due to this deficit, price hike and inflation will commence. Side by side, we must see the past also. The Minister has particularly mentioned in his Budget speech that we have passed through a crisis of management in 1980-81 and now we are going towards the economic growth. In 1976 the country was self-sufficient in agricultural production. And the foreign exchange reserve was Rs. 2800 crores. This was made possible only due to the infrastructural facilities created by Mrs. Gandhi's Government both for agriculture and for export promotion.

17.32 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGARHI in the Chair].

Many leaders of the opposition are now telling that they had left with the Government 14.5 million tonnes of foodgrains and Rs. 5000 crores in foreign exchange reserve. But this had happened not because of their performance. They had brought about an economic mess in the country as revealed in the RBI's report. There it is mentioned that well planned economy had been deteriorated and dismantled. That is why, the country has faced the crisis management.

During their three-year period, the total production of power was less than 3000 mw. Coal production was stagnant. Functioning of the Railway was distorted. Shifting of responsibility from one department to another was the order of the day. So, the crisis management had

been tackled by Mr. Venkataraman's Budget. A high power committee had been set up to look into the infrastructural bottlenecks. As a result, the coal production which was 106 million tonnes has gone upto 115 million tonnes. The utilisation of power capacity has been stepped up from 74 per cent to 81 per cent. The Railway has also operated much more efficiently. At the same time, the inflation rate has been brought down to 13.5 per cent, which has been described by Mr. Venkataraman in his Budget speech as the second lowest in the world. So, we must analyse this thing also.

Coming to the public sector undertakings, my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, was saying that Government is going to have a shift in policy from the public sector to the private sector. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Second Plan correctly analysed and stressed the importance of the public sector undertakings for the growth of the country. In the Sixth Plan massive investment is going to take place in the public sector to the tune of Rs. 97500 crores, which is not a small amount. So, the charge that Government is relying on the private sector is baseless. I hope the hon. Minister will give more facts and figures to refute this charge.

Now I come to petrol and petroleum products. Our present petroleum bill is more than Rs. 5,000 crores. Our total production of petroleum by 1985 is expected to be of the tune of 20 to 24 million tonnes, which will not be sufficient to meet our needs. So, we will have to import more. In this context, the policy of the Government to invite foreign companies for exploration-cum-production drilling is welcome. Because, our resources are limited. It is true that we have provided in the budget Rs. 1,100 crores for this purpose, but that is not sufficient. So, inviting foreign companies who have expertise for exploration is welcome. But I will caution the Petroleum Minister on one point. All the companies in the field are not genuine. For instance, there is one US company, Carle's Burg Limited which did explora-

[Shri Krupasindhu Bhoi]

tory drilling near Paradip, off the Bay of Bengal. It has come out in so many papers that this firm had sabotaged the exploration work. So, we must be careful on this score.

I would also suggest that there should be one holiday for the utilisation of petrol and diesel in the country. Sri Lanka and so many other countries have introduced rationing for petrol. If we can have a holiday, at least for private and Government official vehicles, we can save a lot of petrol.

The members of the opposition have very critically analysed the budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. But they have not given any constructive suggestion as to how the country can be run better. They are all concentrating their attention on the size of the cake. But they have not given any thought to the population of our country, which is growing at a very rapid rate. The present population is more than 660 million. If the population increases at the rate of 2.5 per cent, by 2,000 A.D. one person cannot get even 5.5 feet of area. This is a national problem. There should be a National Commission to look into this matter, composed of representatives of all sections and religions, and that body should be attached to the Family Planning Department. We have allotted Rs. 155 crores for this. Since it is a delicate problem, national consensus should be there.

I have to make so many points. I hail from Orissa. So, I must get two minutes from you.

Hon. Finance Minister, Sir, I hail from Orissa and Orissa is the poorest State in the country. More than 84 per cent of the population of Orissa lives below the poverty line. The natural resources of Orissa amount to 30 per cent of the total natural resources of the country. The forest resources there are abundant. More than 600 kilometres of coastal line is there. At the time when Mr. Biju Patnaik was

the Chief Minister of the State; he had ruled the State for more than 60 per cent of the time. So, Orissa was dominated by feudal and international fraud politically. Now we are out of their clutches. So, Mr. Finance Minister, you must consider that Orissa should be given maximum priority for the economic development.

Lastly, I must speak a few words for my constituency.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA: (Dausa): May I know what is the international fraud?

(Interruptions)

DR. KRUPASINDHU BHOI: Everybody knows it. We should not align to anybody.

I will now speak only about the Western Orissa from which I hail. As Orissa had been treated previously, now Western Orissa people are also neglected. You will be surprised to know that in Orissa 33 per cent of the population lives in Western Orissa. The employment opportunities they have availed of are only 6.5 per cent. No Central sector investment is there up till now. I must urge upon the Minister that the emotional detachment which is there between the coastal and Western Orissa should be removed by linking up the coastal and Western Orissa with a railway line about which we requested the Minister for Railways, Mr. Kedar Panday, several times and he has promised to give it also. But unfortunately it has not found a place in this year's Budget. This emotional detachment should be linked again by connecting Sambalpur with Talcher.

Secondly, an alumina-aluminum complex which was envisaged previously at Titlagarh has been shifted somewhere due to some reason. Bauxite is the raw material for aluminium. The bauxite reserve in Orissa which had been found in 1974, is the second biggest in the world. In view of the gap between production and utilisation, the complex should be located in Tit-

igarh during the Sixth Five-Year Plan. I urge upon the Minister to have a second look at this and provide for an alumina-aluminium complex at Tifligarh.

There is a big coal reserve in Barjaraj Nagar which is Asia's biggest, which extends 72 kilometres in length and 32 kilometres in breadth. More than three billion tonnes of coal is deposited there, which is amenable for a super thermal power station. That should also be considered.

I could have made many points and given many suggestions, but the time is short. The implementation gap for the national economy should be looked into and for public sector undertakings if you are spending so much of money in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, some expert committee should be set up in the Prime Minister's Secretariat to go into details about the functioning of this with some technical personnel.

Lastly, I hail from a community of doctors and scientists. So, I must tell a word for science and technology. It has been given some impetus in the Sixth Five-Year Plan, but it is not up to the satisfaction. For his reason the disparity gap should be reduced by giving more importance to science and technology than to the bureaucrats.

श्री एन. राम गोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद): उर्दू में बोलिए ।

श्री गुरताम रसूल कावक (अनन्तनाग): मैं काश्मीरी में बोलूंगा, लेकिन उसके लिए ट्रांसलेटर नहीं है।

जरूरत ईजाद की मां है। मैं इतना ही कहूंगा कि जरूरत होने पर जादमी को कभी भिन्नारो बना पड़ता है, कभी किसी से उधार लेना पड़ता है और कभी चोरी भी करनी पड़ती है। जो पार्लिसी और बजट एक्टीमेट्स हमारे सामने हैं, I have already hailed them in a different context. Already I have said, it is rural-oriented; already I have said, it is expert-oriented; already I have

said, it is in itself a re-oriented Budget, doing away with the traditional form of Budget that we had so far experienced in this House. Its success depends on its effective implementation. Gap between budget estimates and actuals carries significance. If we lose light of it, significance and credibility of budget would be lost.

Now, the difficulty is, to what extent we can achieve those targets, depends on to what extent we can revolutionise our economic policies, to what extent our constitutional framework would allow us to go further and to what extent we are confronted with limitations here and there so that from financial point of view, from constitutional point of view and from State-Centre relation point of view and from the point of view of disparities that have been caused so far between various areas of the nation and the problems that we are facing today.

We cannot have a ready-made formula, an answer to all the problems that we are facing within a single Budget. There would be a series of such budgets that may lead us to achieve certain objectives and these objectives are very clear in the present Budget. We are leading towards that direction. I would say that this fiscal policy approach of taxation has to be a continuous process for a number of years to achieve those objectives.

Another important point is that the policy has to be strictly implemented because much of it depends on not how estimates have been placed before us but how our economic policy is going to gain momentum and strength in the whole country. There would be stability of prices, there would again be inflation; there would be rise in prices again and there would be lack of growth. But in this Budget, if we have channelised it towards a certain direction, that we have to bring down inflation by much more growth of infra-structure in the

[Shri Gulam Rasool Kochhak]

country or we have to have much more railway links in the country, to have means of communications—that is another part of infra-structure—we will produce much more coal, we will produce much more energy, if these targets are to be achieved, then we have to see that all the economic parts that are encircling round the Budget are taken care of. The Budget itself is nothing but a direction, is a weapon to provide setting. It is the other forces that have to work together, to unify together, so that we find complete objectives to be achieved. Budget cannot itself increase growth. The implementation of Economic policies would have a dynamic role to play. It is harmonising the too which is necessitated.

That is one thing I would say. The Budget is as it is. Of course, we have to swallow this bitter pill. We talk of deficit of Rs. 1800 crores. It is there. Could it be avoided? That is the question.

It is not a question of as to how much amount of deficit is there in the Budget. The important question is: What are the reasons for the deficit in the Budget? I am very much seized of this question. Deficit is primarily due to uncontrolled wasteful public expenditure, shortfalls in the use of funds allotted for new schemes or projects.

I say that what country needs at present is sound budget. Lot of burden has been put on the public expenditure side. This expenditure has increased to a gigantic proportion. In the year 1951, we had to spend only Rs. 860 crores on public expenditure. In the year 1981, it has gone up to Rs. 4,267 crores. We can imagine the magnitude of the problem now. Therefore we have to curtail criminal wasteful expenditure. Waste and prodigality is to be avoided. The wasteful expenditure is eating into the vitals of the whole economy. Expenditure is expanding like proverbial human State. We have to

wage a war against such expenditure, which does not give us any return. Economy has to be observed so that there is reduction in this expenditure. Deficit of 18,000 crores looks moderate but sources suggested to meet this deficit must be assured. Then alone we can maintain price stability and improve condition of Economic growth. I have certain suggestions to make on how it could be done. We have either to create some Reforms Committee which would go into the matter and suggest reforms by which we can save this huge expenditure or we must set up a Committee of Experts to suggest ways and means of reducing this public expenditure. If only we had succeeded in devising methods of curtailing public expenditure, this deficit would not have been there.

Rs. 1400 crores is a moderate deficit, but to meet them by sources suggested must be assured. Economic policies designed to encourage growth, overall development, initiations of enterprises, efficiencies in all fields of economic activity will have a more dynamic role to play. A soft Budget has created a good climate for growth at enterprises. Fortunately this year due to good climatic conditions, monsoons, rainfalls, there is likely to be a record production of 135 million tonnes of good grains. Government machinery must take advantage out of it, by mopping up with the procurement of grains surplus through procurement machinery. But here also I would suggest steps should be taken on LIC lines to give new life to this organisation.

There are chances that in our efforts to find resources to fill up the deficit, we have done on case of private enterprising institutions, we must organise, boost up public undertakings also. Its efficiency is to be improved, finding out bottlenecks, checking them, encourage new entrepreneurs with new ideas and spirits. We may land ourselves into more financial burdens. We have to guard against this danger. Increase in performance of generation of power, in

rail movement, in production of steel, coal, during 2nd financial year has been the biggest single factor that has increased the optimism. State owned enterprises are still saddled with considerable idle capacities and managerial infirmities, which need prompt attention.

I, therefore, say that the Budget cannot increase growth. It will only provide a setting. We have to make a proper analysis of the prevailing economic conditions in the country and take realistic view in the preparation of the Budget. The country is not yet out of woods, but has managed to cope reasonably well with the soaring, exorbitant prices in the cost of imported crude. Value of rupee is firm in foreign currency. How to be a realist to face certain problems that are facing us? Maybe, we may have agreed to some formula, we may have found a way-out to bring this deficit down. But unfortunately things being what they are, we as lawyers do not accept defeats; as lawyers, we always say, "I have won", but nobody wins, everybody loses, the country as a whole loses. That is my point of view.

So far as this Budget is concerned, we have taken it for granted that it is only this august House that can have reactions about it and that is the final reaction. But we have to look to the Budget from the common man's point of view, from the public point of view, from every point of view, rural side or urban side or industrial side or private enterprise or public enterprise. Everybody has welcomed this Budget. Naturally, this is a good Budget. People's reactions have to be considered. So, I would congratulate the hon. Minister on his getting the feelings of gratitude from the general public. Let us be optimistic bright future awaits us, if we work with dedication, hard work, discipline and unity.

SHRI P. V. G. RAJU (Bobbili). Sir, I do not know for how long I can speak; there are only two or four minutes. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: You can start now and speak upto 6 O'Clock. You can continue tomorrow.

SHRI P. V. G. RAJU: I am sorry, Sir, I have to make only a partial speech this evening.

We are talking about the General Budget. Therefore, I may be excused if I raise some issues which are not directly pertaining to taxation because I am not an expert on taxation; I cannot say anything except that I congratulate Mr. Venkataraman on presenting this Budget which has been acclaimed as a very popular Budget. As a lay man—I am not a financial expert—I can only say that industry, administration and planning should be combined and therefore, as far as administration, planning and industry are concerned, I may be excused if I say a few words; administration, planning and industry, I feel, should be given a greater priority.

As far as administration is concerned, I represent today a constituency known as Bobbili. I am mentioning this fact because, till 1977, I represented Visakhapatnam which is an industrial centre. Industry and agriculture are two sides of the same coin; the coin is India and on industry. As far as industry is and on the other side we have agriculture. Therefore, I may be excused if I say a few words both on agriculture and on industry. As far as industry is concerned, my constituency is in the rural areas and the only industry that is there in Bobbili is sugar factory. The sugar factories have to get water. Without water, there cannot be sugar production. Therefore, to the extent that water can only be provided through irrigation, I feel that I may be excused if I say a few words on irrigation. Mr. Venkataraman belongs to Madras. I am mentioning this because in 1939, the then Madras Government planned for a scheme known as Ramapadasagar on the Godavari; Mr. Sonty Ramamurthy was the then ICS Adviser to the Government of Madras. Ramapadasagar was one of the biggest projects on the Godavari. As a matter of fact, the idea

[Shri P.V.G. Raju]

was that if the Ramapadasagar was completed, the whole of Tamil Nadu could be irrigated....

18.00 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can continue tomorrow.

SHRI P. V. G. RAJU: Thank you very much.

### HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

#### CASH DEPOSIT FOR BOOKING OF TATA TRUCK AND BUS CHASIS

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we take up the Half-an-hour discussion. Shri Dileep Singh Bhuria.

श्री दिलीप सिंह भूरिया (भाबुआ) : माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने एक प्रश्न टाटा कम्पनी के बारे में माननीय मंत्री जी से पूछा था, जिसका उत्तर 18 तारीख का दिया गया। टाटा कम्पनी जो बस और ट्रक चेंसेज बनाती है, वह नियम के विरुद्ध, कानून के विरुद्ध काम करती है। यदि आप टाटा के आकड़े देखेंगे, तो आप पायेंगे कि 1974 में टाटा चेंसेज की कीमत 61 हजार रु. थी, लेकिन आज उसका कीमत 1 लाख 68 हजार रु. है—तीन गुना कीमत उसने बढ़ा दी है और इसके साथ ही साथ प्रत्येक व्यक्ति जो चेंसेज लेना चाहता है, उससे छः हजार रुपया जमा करवाती है। मुझे मालूम है 1978 से लाखों आदमी उस लाइन में लगे हैं, लेकिन उन लोगों को चेंसेज नहीं मिलती है, परन्तु वह 50-60 हजार रु. ब्लैक में बिकती है। आज हमारे देश के अन्दर रेलवे के बाद यदि माल ढांने या आदिमियों को ले जाने का नम्बर जाता है, तो यह बसेस और ट्रक्स का ही है। खास करके यदि आप आज गांवों में देखेंगे, तो आप पायेंगे कि जितने आदमी बस के अन्दर बैठे हुए हैं, उतने ही उपबस बैठे हुए हैं। बसेज न मिलने के कई बार ग्रामीण लोग मीलों पैदल चलते हैं और कई जगह तो ऐसी बटारा बसें

चलती हैं कि उनको डर होता है कि वे ठीक से पहुँच भी पायेंगे या नहीं पहुँच पायेंगे। ऐसी बसें खास करके पहाड़ी एरिया में ज्यादा होती हैं जहाँ गरीब लोग रहते हैं, कमजोर लोग रहते हैं, आदिवासी लोग रहते हैं, हरिजन लोग रहते हैं।

हमारे देश के अन्दर बहुत सारे गरीब लोग, पढ़े-लिखे नौजवान हैं, जिनके पास लाइसेंस है, बस चलाने का और ट्रक चलाने का, परन्तु यह जो व्यवस्था है, उस व्यवस्था के अन्दर वह गरीब आदमी कभी भी बस या ट्रक का मालिक नहीं बन सकता है, बस को नहीं खरीद सकता है। इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था इस कम्पनी ने कर रखी है। वहाँ पर 6 हजार रु. जमा करने के लिए गरीब आदमी वहाँ से लायेंगा और वह जमा भी कराता है, तो उसका ब्याज नहीं दिया जाता है। मैं अभी एक माननीय सदस्य का भाषण सुन रहा था कि 15 परसेंट इन्टरेस्ट रखा है, वह किस को मिलता है? वहाँ पर सब फर्जी एकाउन्ट तैयार होता है। कोई भी गरीब आदमी आज के जमाने में न बस चला सकता है, न ट्रक चला सकता है। इसलिए मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमको इस देश के अन्दर कितनी बसें और चेंसेस की हर साल आवश्यकता होती है? दूसरे यह कि टाटा ने जो नियम के विरुद्ध रकम जमा करवाई है, उसका ब्याज वह नहीं देता है, उसके खिलाफ आप कानून से कानून के अन्दर उसको दंड देना चाहते हैं और अभी तक आपने क्या दंड दिया है?

दूसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ—यदि इस देश में चेंसेज बनाने में सिर्फ टाटा की ही मोनोपॉली है तो आप दूसरी किसी कम्पनी को इन्ट्रोड्यूस क्यों नहीं करते हैं? मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप दूसरी कम्पनियों को भी उतनी ही तादाद में चेंसेज बनाने का लाइसेंस दें, जिस से जनता को लाभ मिले।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज टाटा के बजाने में कम से कम 200 करोड़ रुपया जमा है, जिस का पूरा बनिफिट टाटा लेता है। अगर यह पैसा बैंकों में जमा हो तो इस 200 करोड़ रुपये का उपयोग भारत