

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Fifteen Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

GENERAL BUDGET, 1978-79
GENERAL DISCUSSION—Contd

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER Now further discussion on the Budget (General) for 1978-79 Shri Dhiren-dranath Basu may continue his speech

SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU (Katwa) The increase in excise and taxation of goods like electricity and coal go against the very objectives of the Government to restrain prices and stimulate the economy This will defeat the very purpose of the Budget

As I have already said these Budget proposals will cause inordinate delay in the revival of industries They will lead to inflation and affect the export trade

I believe that almost all the hon Members of this House are aware that as a result of the increase in excise duty from 2 to 5 per cent and the levy of a basic excise duty of 5 per cent the prices of many consumer articles have been considerably increased I would like to mention on y a few kerosene oil petrol diesel coal electricity, tea coffee tooth paste cigarette bidi cotton fabrics and rubber goods There are about 140 items—the list is here I can give all the names—the prices of which have been increased as a result of the increase in excise duty

Our Finance Minister in his Budget speech gave a categorical assurance that small scale and rural industries as well as agricultural equipment oriented industries in the rural sector must be given the top most priority, but where are the plans where is the infrastructure where are the objectives? How is the money allotted for this purpose to be spent? I do not believe any rolling plan can serve the

purpose Unless there are positive objectives unless there is the infrastructure for the implementation of the objectives, how can small-scale or rural industries be set up?

The Finance Minister in his speech has asserted that agriculture equipment oriented industries ought to be set up I am glad to say that I visited the Agricultural Research Institute the other day Our engineers have produced good small machines and equipments for the agricultural sector but what is the policy of marketing? There is no policy As a result the objectives of the Government will fail

I believe that the setting up of small scale industries in the villages of the country should be planned before they are taken up 70 per cent of the people live in villages You want to develop small scale industries in the villages Unless the villages are developed unless water facilities are given unless positive programmes are laid down how can small and cottage industries be set up there?

The other day when I had visited the Agricultural Research Institute I heard that the Director General wanted to resign He is a capable man However I do not want to dwell on that What I want to say is that the equipment and the small machinery that is being manufactured here should be sent to villages and technical knowledge should be given to the farmers

The faulty policy in respect of sugarcane goods and marketing of agricultural produce will create more unemployment and serious problems There is no proposal to nationalise all industries There is no proposal for industrialisation in the country Without such a proposal, how can they proceed with the Rolling Plan? The Plan will go on rolling here and there and the objectives will not be fulfilled My friend, the Minister of

State for Finance, Shri Agarwal, is here. I would like to know from him: how can he fulfil the objectives unless he makes the infrastructure?

There should have been provision for forming a separate Ministry for Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Most of our hon. friends have spoken about the sufferings of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes people and about backward areas where there is no development. So, I suggest that a Ministry should be set up for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes which can look after their welfare. You will be surprised to find that for the last three years the reports of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are the same. There is no change. I have gone through them. What do they do? Should we depend on the officers? I have confidence in our hon. Finance Minister and he will personally look into that.

As you are aware, the development of industries has gone down by 5 per cent. The generation of electricity has gone down by 2.5 per cent. How can we develop industries? Most of the industries throughout India are half-closed. 50 per cent of the capacity is not being utilised in the Eastern Region. In West Bengal, most of the industries cannot utilise their capacity for want of power. In Government undertakings, they are not getting power. In reply to a question, the Energy Minister had said that due to shortage of power, more than 50 per cent of the capacity of the Heavy Engineering Corporation which is the biggest and largest Government undertaking in India, could not be utilised. Even now, more than 12 plants are lying closed. What are the reasons? There may be many reasons. But the important factor is shortage of power. Our Finance Minister should have come

forward with a provision for more fund, at least Rs. 1000 crores for the generation of electricity. Unless the industries are developed, sick industries are revived, unemployment problem will not be solved. There are lakhs and lakhs of unemployed youths in India. If you see the employment exchange register, you will come to know that one crore and 12 lakh people have been registered as unemployed people; they are not getting jobs. If we cannot provide them jobs, at least some unemployment allowance should be given to them. I may inform you that the West Bengal Government has declared unemployment allowance for one lakh and 50 thousand people. Why should the Central Government not declare this allowance for 30 lakh people. Let us start it in stages. Let us first give to 25 lakh people this unemployment allowance. We should do it.

With regard to restrictions on union budget for advertising and publicity, I would like that our Finance Minister should reconsider the restrictions imposed on the union budget for advertising and publicity for sales promotion. It would have a bad effect on the national economy and will severely hit the newspaper industry if they are implemented in the present form. The provision for the expenditure on advertising and publicity for promotion will also affect the industrial growth and the economy of the country; it will create further unemployment. So, I would request the Finance Minister to reconsider these restrictions. The newspapers will not be able to carry on their business; they are doing public service; they will not be able to do the public service as they are doing now. Almost all the people of this country go through papers daily to know what is happening inside the country and what is happening outside.

With regard to development of shipyards, I find from the budget that

[Shri Dhirendranath Basu]

there is a very nominal amount that has been provided for shipyards. There are so many projects which have not been completed since long; they have not been implemented so far. As far as Haldia Ship Building Yard is concerned, that was the proposal that has been pending since long. I believe that it has been thrown in the cold storage. Government should have come forward with money for building the shipyards. There was one project called Farakka Super Thermal Power Plant. This project has been hanging on for the last ten years. The previous government had not done anything about it and the present Government is also following the same path. Why in the budget proposals no provision for reviving this project has been made?

With regard to Centre-States relations, Mr Deputy Speaker Sir, you know that the only source of income for the States is the sales tax. The Government is coming forward to abolish sales tax. All the States in the country will oppose it; they will not favour abolition of sales tax because that is the main source of their income. There should be more financial powers with the States. There is no indication in the budget for this. With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI NARENDRA P NATHWANI (Junagadh) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir there is little, that is really original, which a Member, rising to speak at the far-end of the debate, can say on the Budget. I shall, therefore, content myself with making a few general remarks and with trying to meet the criticisms that are levelled against it.

The budget proposals are not revolutionary, but they are an important landmark in implementing the Janata Party's economic policy. In keeping with that policy, the Budget provides for substantially increased allocations

for various sectors of agricultural and rural economy.

There are also two important policy decisions in the Budget—I find that very few speakers have spoken on them, that is why I am referring to them. They are import of gold and removal of octroi duty.

Now, let me deal with the criticism that was levelled by the former Finance Minister and the former Industries Minister, who, no doubt, spoke with their usual ability. Since there is relative price stability and since there is increased economic production. Mr Subramaniam did not dispute that the economy was well managed, but he did not want to give credit to the Janata Government, he went a step further and said that it was because they had left for us the legacy in the form of foreign and rupee reserves and for foodgrains that the economy was poised for substantial dynamic growth. Well, let me examine this contention of his. Was there this relative price stability during last year of their regime? There was a rise of twelve per cent during the last year of their regime. The same factors were in existence then, there were all these three factors, namely reserves of foodgrains, foreign reserves and rupee reserves. In addition there was also one more important factor—which everybody on other side tries to slur over or overlook—, which they had at their disposal and which they did use, namely, the most coercive machinery of the MISA, for preventing hoarding and profiteering and preventing rise in prices, they could catch hold of and detain any trader, any industrialist, any businessman—they were all afraid of that. In spite of that, in spite of every coercive circumstances which were in existence then, why was there a rise of twelve per cent in the wholesale price index? They want to overlook it because they do not want to give credit to the Janata Government, for relative price stability during this year.

Let me now turn to what Mr. Pai said. He did not want to give any credit for our performance. In effect he said that the performance of the Janata Government was rather poor or negative. When some Members from this side tried to intervene, and put questions to him, he exuded reasonableness and said. "The Congress Government did commit errors, did commit blunders, but why do you persist in committing the same errors and blunders?" Well, this was not the purpose of our putting those questions; we put those questions; not with a view to justifying the alleged poor performance of the Janata Government but to impress upon him the legacy that they had left.

It has been pointed out by the Finance Minister in his budget speech that the previous Government had followed wrong financial policies and had established wrong practices, which came in the way of, or handicapped, the present Government in its first year in removing those misdeeds. Let me give concrete illustrations.

First, I take up 'overdrafts'. Out of the big gap of Rs. 950 crores, it has been pointed out that Rs. 412 crores were paid by way of additional help to the State Governments. Why did they, during their regime, establish, such practice. Why did they not try to tell the States definitely and firmly that no further assistance could be given. That has been done now by the Finance Minister in his speech he has said that this is the last that he has given this sum of Rs. 412 crores. Therefore, this amount of Rs. 412 crores had to be spent because of the wrong practice that they establish. Let me take another item; i.e., shortfall in utilisation. That is also the system....

SHRI DHIRENDRANATH BASU:
 How will the States manage?

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI:
 Why did you not tell them? It is obvious....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Dhirendranath Basu, you should not interrupt another speaker from a different Bench. You must be in your seat if you want to interrupt.

SHRI NARENDRA P. NATHWANI:
 About the shortfall in utilising the Plan outlays by the various agencies, there has been a shortfall of Rs. 230 crores this year and that came in the way of full development not taking place. But who is responsible? Who is to be blamed for that? The wrongful and absolutely mischievous practices that you established.

Lastly, I want to say about the shortage of power. A good marksman takes into consideration several factors including change into the velocity of wind. Why did you not try to build up power generating capacity in time?

Then I come to the criticism of the big gap in the next year's budget, a gap of Rs. 1050 crores. But there is a buoyancy in the economy and there is every justifiable hope no doubt of increased production and most of it being absorbed. If you see the Budget speech—para 109, you will see that the Finance Minister would resort to sale of gold which has been lying with the Government and which is worth about Rs. 500 crores. Secondly, he says this year they are going to utilise the foreign exchange reserves and for that a provision has been made in the Budget Apart from other things and apart from utilising the foreign exchange reserves for importing gold and preparing gold jewellery, the Finance Minister has stated that he would allow the Reserve Bank to grant loans to banks and financial institutions for importing capital goods which are not produced in the country. Therefore, unlike the present year there is every possibility, nay expectation that the foreign exchange reserves will be utilised for reducing the budget gap.

While speaking on the subject of loans to banks from the foreign ex-

[Shri Narendra P. Nathwani]

change reserves, let me mention one important factor. Our foreign reserves are accumulating and they are likely to go up. But all of you know that the Finance Minister has introduced Reserve Bank Amendment Act which permits the investment portfolio to be enlarged. If you have applied your mind, if you have even looked at it you will see that the investment is to be on sound commercial lines. Therefore, it would yield international rate of interest even if not more whereas I understand that to-day our return from these investments of foreign reserves is rather very low. Now that we enlarge our portfolio which will be on sound commercial lines, we will get at least Rs 100-150 crores more by way of additional interest from this source alone.

Then it was said about filling up the gap. Here one largest single factor I see is the next monsoon because it will affect not only agricultural and industrial production but also the hydel power generation which, if I am not mistaken to-day accounts for about 30 per cent of the country's total power generation.

I pass on to the next point. They have referred to the higher allocations to various sectors, some of them are very good, particularly the allocation of Rs. 500 crores for dairy development. They said it is all very well but the effect would be nullified as several States and other agencies have not fully utilised their allocations and there is waste. If they have not utilised their allocations, then they will be getting less now. That loophole is sought to be plugged as already explained.

Secondly, with regard to waste in administrative expenditure, I do agree that there is so much of over-staffing and under service by those who are in actual employment. It is a great source of waste but if you have carefully read the Finance Minister's speech, you will see attempts are made to successfully cut down the

waste in public administration. And, therefore, I see the force in their contention because one must realise, one must admit that our administrative machinery is inefficient. There is red tapism and even corruption on a large scale. It does require great attention in my opinion. Speaking for myself, it is the sine-quo non of progress in this country.

I pass on to another subject—viz., Technology. Shri Subramanian referred to Amul Dairy and tried to draw the conclusion that only modern technology should be adopted. The question requires to be thoroughly discussed. The question is and everybody would admit that of applying appropriate technology. But the overriding consideration is how to give employment to our several millions of people who are unemployed. Therefore we may have to look at indigenous technology also. Of course, even from a long distance point of view you have to try to dovetail your programme in this respect.

I come lastly to excise duty. In paragraph 84 of budget the Finance Minister has imposed a straight levy of 5 per cent of excise. I do know that there are certain exceptions. Those exceptions are mentioned by him. While trying to raise duty on residuary item he has pointed out that sensitive articles should be excluded, newspapers and other periodicals would also be excluded. He also said that those units whose production during the previous year did not exceed Rs 30 lakhs would also be exempted. All these exemptions would apply to the general imposition of 5 per cent more excise duty. There is provision for exemption also for small scale industries. The first production of Rs 5 lakhs would be exempted from excise levy altogether. I mean total levy. Still after making an allowance for all these circumstances I do feel that straight rise of 5 per cent particularly in respect of those items which are used by the low income group of people certainly

deserve some exemption. I mention casually items like tea and kerosene. I do not know myself whether there are different varieties of Kerosene. I believe, it is only of one kind. But so far as tea is concerned, of course, we know that tea is of different kinds. Why can't we grant relief in respect of those types which are generally used by the low income groups of consumers.

With these words I have done and extend my support to the Budget.

SHRI BALWANT SINGH RAMOO-WALIA (Faridkot): With all my energy and power, I appreciate and support the Budget.

In my opinion the budget is very beautiful, lovely and attractive. Like a beautiful girl, the budget is beautiful. But those who are greedy—to get dowry with the beautiful girl—they do not consider it on merits as they want more and more of money, but it is a very good budget for the poor.

In my opinion, and I congratulate the Finance Minister, the Finance Minister has made a frontal attack on unemployment. He has tried his best to make the country more self-employment-oriented. He has tried to encourage the small-scale industries and the cottage industries by giving employment to more and more people. I am also grateful to the Finance Minister in that he has abolished tax on interest. This will encourage investments. I also appreciate the Finance Minister's efforts because he has attacked the yellow metal, that is, gold. This yellow metal has always been the cause of much blackmailing and thus misery to the people. This yellow metal has been attacked now. This yellow metal was actually the reason of black money and black business. Now that yellow metal could be utilised properly. This yellow metal will encourage the jewel-

lery export. This is a matter of appreciation in this Budget. During the congress regime my friends sitting in the opposition now have destroyed the infrastructure they have destroyed the economy and economic order of the country. The Finance Minister is in difficulties because he has tried to build on the ruins of the congress regime. It is for the first time that the budgetary outlays of the States/ Union Territories are together larger than that of the Central Budget.

There is an uproar over the Centre-State relations and fiscal relations. The Finance Minister has introduced such a policy in which States have been given more money for their plan. He has given special attention to Centre-State relations and fiscal relations.

Sir, Agriculture, Irrigation and Rural Development, all these three things, are primarily State subjects. Yet efforts have been made to encourage them. Rs. 490 crores more have been allotted to the Agricultural Sector. From the overall point of view, every type of industry and agriculture and especially small-scale industries, which are necessary for the boosting of the economy have been well-attended to in the Budget.

Now, I have to say something in connection with the views expressed by the Finance Minister and by the Janata Government. Regarding unemployment, a major step has been that the Government will go from the top to the bottom level, to the block-development level. It will have a selective approach so far as employment is concerned. I think that Government's policy can only bring fruits if the whole of the government machinery is handled in such a manner that they implement the policy which has been envisaged by the Finance Minister.

Regarding agriculture, I have to say with regret that it remains only on

[Shri Balwant Singh Ramoowalia]

paper. It has been said that we want more and more money for agricultural development. In the way of allocation of money in the agricultural sectors, other subjects also have been included under agriculture. It would have been better if more and more funds have been allocated for the betterment or growth of agriculture

I would now request the Minister to give thought to the levy on electricity. It will only increase the cost of production. In my opinion, it is the State Electricity Boards which will suffer due to levy on electricity. Prior to nationalisation of the coal industry, the price of coal ranged between Rs. 20 to 30 or so and now it is ranging from 60 to 107. This is an injustice done here I would request the Minister to withdraw this levy on electricity. Moreover when there is already a question of centre-state relations, by this measure the levy on electricity will further give them encouragement and a weapon to the people to put in their demand for the centre state relations throughout the country. Look at the procedure followed by the banks. It has become more and more complicated. The nationalisation of banks was done because the Government felt that the money could be invested in a better way for the betterment of the economic problems faced by our country, including unemployment problems. There is a delay caused in the bank due to the procedure followed in the bank and officials seem to be a hurdle in that. Government must do something to categories the people and see that they are given assistance by the banks for starting some small-scale industries. They should be given interest-free loans for this purpose. There are young unemployed people who want to start their own industries under the self-employment scheme. They should be given interest-free loans for this purpose.

Multi-nationals should be discouraged. They are capturing the

Indian Tobacco and now they are entering the field of biri manufacturing in the country. I am against this multinational's capturing this field as it will affect our investment. Government must do something to see that the levy on electricity, coal etc. is withdrawn.

The Finance Minister will pay his kind attention to see that those engaged in agriculture are declared as technical people. Sir, we owe lot of gratitude to the kisans because they have done their best for the betterment of the country. If the Finance Minister wants to prove himself to be the best friend of the kisans, then he should immediately abolish all the excise duty and levy duty on the machinery used for agricultural purposes. Be kind to the kisan. The kisan is suffering today. Rates of cotton have come down in my tehsil of Muktsar and Faridkot. Sir, the rate of sugar is the same but the rate of sugarcane has become very cheap. So, I would like to appeal to the Government that agriculture be declared a technical occupation and as an industry.

Now, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to touch upon a very important point and that is with regard to tax evasion. How can our country progress when there is tax evasion to such an great extent. There is a report with me and it, Sir, happened during the Congress regime. Sir, I am not in the habit of making unfounded attack and that too on the Floor of the House which I consider very sacred. I want to tell my Congress friend that during 1965-1976 this bad tendency got encouraged. There was lot of tax evasion. The outstanding balance of income tax and sales tax is to the tune of Rs. 1100 crores. Then there are 374 persons in this country who own more than Rs. 25 lakhs each. I will request the Finance Minister to check this bad tendency.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the border areas need special attention of

the Finance Minister. I would like the border areas to be further classified. India has a very long border line area but the border of Punjab is a very very sensitive border as every time attack takes place from Pakistan it takes place from Lahore to Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, etc. I would like to request the Finance Minister through you, Sir, that he should immediately declare some bigger concessions in this border area so that people may instal industry in that area due to ever-remaining danger there.

15.00 hrs.

Then, Sir, a very meagre amount has been kept for Chandigarh. It is only Rs. 28 lakhs perhaps. It must be increased. Hon. Finance Minister in his budget speech has said that he is going to allocate some amount for some projects. At the moment, I am not in a position to name those projects. But hon. Members know those projects. Sir, when certain amount has been allocated for further generation of electricity, I would submit that the hon. Finance Minister should sanction the whole amount for meeting the cost of the Thien Dam. When the Congress Government was in power, it did not release the letter of credit for this project. Even after 18 years because of non-clearance, this project could not be taken up in hand and completed as per schedule. And because of non-completion of this project as per schedule, our country has suffered a loss of Rs. 1700 crores. Had it been cleared in 1960 and completed in 1970, only an amount of Rs. 73.0 crores would have been spent on this project. But now we have to spend about Rs. 300.0 crores. Sir, with these words, I support the Budget.

4074 LS—10

श्री कवचलाल हेमराज बॉन (बाबाघाट) :
 उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बजट पर चर्चा में भाग लेने का प्राप ने मौका दिया, उस के लिए मैं आपका धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। अभी पिछले वर्ष नई सरकार बनी तब बजट पेश हुआ था। उस में एक ऐसी बात सामने आई कि स्टेनलेम स्टील के बर्तनों पर हमारे बिन मंत्री महोदय ने बड़ी दया की और 300 प्रतिशत उस की ड्यूटी कम कर दी। उस समय स्टील के बर्तन 80 रुपये किलो बिक रहे थे, वह 52 रुपये किलो हो गई। लेकिन 20 दिन के बाद हम ने देखा कि वह ड्यूटी फिर से 200 रुपये टन बढ़ा दी गई जिनमें स्टेनलेम स्टील के बर्तनों का भाव फिर वही 80 रुपये किलो हो गए। जब ड्यूटी घटायी थी तो आम जनता, साधारण लोग और मध्यम वर्ग के लोग जितने धन अभी ने उस का स्वागत किया था कि दाम कम हो गए हैं और हमारे घरों में भी स्टेनलेस स्टील के बर्तन अब आ जायेंगे। लेकिन वह फिर बढ़ा दी गई। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या कारण था हुआ कर के कृपा को वापस लेने का।

ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों में बेरोजगारी है। मैं याद दिला दूँ कि ऐसा एक अद्भुत चुनाव मन्. 71 में भी हुआ था और उस में इंदिरा गांधी को प्रचण्ड बहुमत मिला था। उन्होंने एक नारा भी लगाया था कि हम गरीबी हटायेगे। उन्होंने एक प्रोग्राम बनाया था—क्रेण प्रोग्राम जिस में पूरे भारत के अन्दर हर एक ब्लाक के स्तर पर ढाई लाख रुपये दिया था ग्रामीण प्रंचल में सड़कें बनाने के लिए और ग्रामों में टूटें फूटे तालाबों को ठीक कराने के लिए। इस चुनाव में हमारी जनता पार्टी में और हम ने भी जनता से बड़े बड़े वादे किए हैं। इस बजट में वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने यह जरूर रखा है कि प्रत्येक ब्लाक स्तर पर कुछ पैसा खर्च किया जायगा। मेरा निवेदन है कि श्रीप्रातिशीघ्र हर ब्लाक स्तर पर और पंचायतों के लेवल पर इस में काम

[श्री कचरू लाल हेमराज जैन]

शुरू किया जाय। महात्मा गांधी का नाम तो आज पूरे सदन के लोग ले रहे हैं। कांग्रेस के लोग भी ले रहे हैं और इधर के लोग भी ले रहे हैं। गांधी जी के सिद्धांतों की खिलाफत का तो कोई मवाल ही नहीं पंदा हुआ। तो गांधी जी का मपना था कि गावों के रास्ते पहले बनेंगे, उन की दशा पहले सुधारेगे, वहाँ पीने का पानी पहले दिया जायेगा, गावों के टूटे फूटे तालाबों का दुरुस्त कर के सिंचाई का काम किया जायगा और छोटी निचोई योजनाएँ जो तत्काल प्रसार छोटे किसानों को पानी पहुँचा सकती हैं उन को प्राथमिकता दी जायगी। उस के लिए बजट में देखा तो है कि प्रावधान है लेकिन मैं यह देखना चाहता हूँ कि वह सब पूरा होने जा रहा है।

छोटे किसानों का जो ऋण दिया गया था उस ऋण की वसूली हो रही है हर स्टेट में। हम ने यह देखा है कि जिन किसानों के पास ऋण की पावती और चिट्ठी है, रसीदें हैं उनका आज की वर्तमान स्टेट सरकार नहीं मानती और ब्याज पर ब्याज लगा कर उन से पैसा वसूल किया जा रहा है। आज गावों में इस तरह की हालत किसानों की हो गई है। आज हम बड़ी खुशी मना रहे हैं कि कृषि का उत्पादन इतना बढ़ गया है लेकिन अगर प्रांतीय सरकारों ने विशेष गौर करके उस पर ध्यान नहीं दिया तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि तीन चार, पांच एकड़ के किसान उस वय खेती, करने योग्य नहीं रह जायेंगे। न तो उन्होंने कपड़ा खरीदा है, न उनकी गटो खाने की हालत है और उनके बच्चे और बच्चे के बच्चे हैं तथा जमीनें नीलाम हो रही हैं। ऋण वसूली की उनके पास रसीदें हैं कि उन्होंने पैसा पटा दिया है लेकिन उनमें कहा जाता है कि हम रसीदें नहीं मानते, हमारे पास तो डिमाण्ड नोट है, तुम पैसा

दे दो। इस तरीके से बात चल रही है।

जैसा कि आज मैं प्रश्नोत्तर के समय भी बोला था, हमारे देश में बड़ी भारी सम्पदा की खान है जिन को हम मिनरल्स कहते हैं। जब हमारे देश को आजादी मिली तब हमारे देश से विदेश जाने वाले दो मुख्य आइटम थे—एक चाय और दूसरे मैंगनीज 1954 तक हमें करोड़ों रुपये की विदेशी मुद्रा इन दो पदार्थों में मिली। लेकिन आज आप देखें कि किस तरीके में मैंगनीज की उपेक्षा की जा रही है। डोलोमाइट, लाइम-स्टोन, आयरन-ओर और कोयला खदानों के कामगारों को क्या पैसा मिल रहा है और मैंगनीज के कामगारों को क्या पैसा मिल रहा है? जब कि उसी तरीके की खदानें चलती हैं लेकिन केवल 5 रुपये 80 पैसे रोज में 800 फिट नीचे जा कर कामगार काम कर रहे हैं। मेरे जिले में जो एशिया की तीसरी नम्बर की ग्रण्डक्राउण्ड मैंगनीज की खदान है वहाँ पर बड़ी अव्यवस्था फैली हुई है। बीडी उद्योग जो पजीपति लोग हैं उन्हीं के हाथ में यह रोजगार है जब कि यह कुटीर उद्योग है जिनमें 80 लाख लोग हरिजन आदिवासी काम कर रहे हैं। आज उनका हर तरीके से शोषण किया जा रहा है लेकिन उनकी ओर कोई नहीं देखता है। धर्म मंत्री जी को मैं ने कई चिट्ठियाँ लिखी हैं, कई क्वेश्चन्स भी दिए हैं लेकिन कभी कुछ उत्तर आता है और कभी कुछ जॉर्ज मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है कि किस तरह में उनको प्रोत्साहन मिलेगा।

वन उपज के बारे में हमने बड़े जोर और के साथ चर्चा लगाया है कि राष्ट्रीयकरण हो गया है, राष्ट्रीयकरण हुआ देगे लेकिन आज वन उपज को बुरी तरह से बर्बाद किया जा रहा है। मैं अपनी स्टेट के बारे में कहता हूँ कि वन विभाग में मरफारी कर्मचारियों का चार साल पहले जो बर्बाद था वह आज तीन गुना हो गया है। इस

तरह से बहा पर बन सम्पदा को नष्ट किया जा रहा है जिसकी कोई मिसाल नहीं है। उसकी तरह कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मैंने कृषि मंत्रालय में एक क्वेश्चन दिया। हमारे देश में भ्राजादी के पहले टाटा का पहला लोहे का कारखाना था, अब 6 लोहे के कारखाने हो गए हैं। मैं ट्रैक्टर, बिजली की मोटर, बिजली की वाटर पम्प की बात नहीं करता लेकिन बैलगाड़ी में लगाने वाला एक पट्टा होता है और हल में लगाने वाला एक लोहा होता है परन्तु 6-6 लोहे के कारखाने लगाने के बाद भी आज किमान को 4-5 रुपये किलो में बह मिलता है। यह आकड़े दिये जा रहे हैं कि हमारा रूपात बिक नहीं रहा है, उसको घाटे में बिदेसों को भेज रहे हैं तो क्या गरीब किसानों को कम से कम उनकी बैलगाड़ी में लगाने के लिए और हल में लगाने के लिए कंसेशन रेट पर लोहा नहीं दिया जा सकता? मैंने कहा कि सरकार किमानों को कंसेशन रेट पर लोहा दिलाने की व्यवस्था करे लेकिन उसका कोई सतोषजनक उत्तर नहीं आया। इस तरह में आज किसानों की अवहेलना की जा रही है।

छाटे तालाब और रास्ते—यह तो बहुत छोटी सी बात है। मैंने देखा है कि दो लाख रुपये की योजना से जो तालाब बनता है वह एक साल में तैयार होता है और दूसरे साल चार-पाच सौ एकड़ जमीन को पानी देता है। हमारे यहाँ गावों के जो रास्ते हैं, 1971 के कृषि-प्रोग्राम में कुछ बन गये थे, लेकिन किसी में गिट्टी डालनी है, कहीं पर दो हज़ार रुपये लागत की पुलिया की ज़रूरत है, कहीं उस को मुख्य मार्ग से जोटना है —

इन सब कामों की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। आज नई सरकार का

गांवों में स्वागत है, महंगाई भी ज़रूर कुछ कम हुई है, लेकिन रोज़गार बिल्कुल नहीं है। हर रोज़ जगह-जगह हड़ताल की चर्चा होती है, कहा जाता है कि यह मांग पूरी कीजिए, वह मांग पूरी कीजिए, पैसा बढ़ाइये, लेकिन गावों में आज क्या हालत है—ग्राम-मजदूर को एक रुपया रोज़ में भी मजदूरी नहीं मिल रही है—ऐसी हालत में चाहे चीज़ें सस्ती हो या महंगी हों—वह क्या चायेगा।

आप के बजट से छोटे कामों के लिए प्रावधान किया गया है। मैं वित्त मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूँगा कि 1 अप्रैल से आप का नया साल चालू होने वाला है, आप फोर्स के साथ गावों में यह पैसा पहुंचाइये। आप स्टेट गवर्नमेंट से कहिए कि प्रत्येक पंचायत में यह काम चालू हो जाना चाहिए, हर गाव में सबक को जोड़ने का काम चालू हो जाना चाहिए, ताकि लोगों को रोज़गार मिले—इस तरह की व्यवस्था शीघ्र से शीघ्र होनी चाहिए।

मैगनीज-और-इण्डिया की बात को मैं इस समय नहीं उठाऊँगा क्योंकि हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने आश्वासन दे दिया है। जहाँ तक लघु उद्योग और शिक्षित बेरोज़गारों की बात है—लघु उद्योग जल्द-से-जल्द चालू हों, कुटीर उद्योग जल्द-से-जल्द चालू हों—इस तरफ़ सरकार का विशेष ध्यान जाना चाहिए। हमारे यहाँ अपार वन-सम्पदा है—बैलगाड़ियाँ किसानों को लाखों की संख्या में लगती हैं, उस के लिए “चक्के” बनवाइये। गवर्नमेंट की इण्डस्ट्रीज में बनाये जायें, जिन में कारीगरों को काम मिले और वे चक्के बना कर किसानों को कम दाम पर सप्लाई किये जायें, पूरे भारत में इन को सप्लाई किया जा सकता है बैलगाड़ियाँ बनाई जा सकती हैं और

[श्री कचबलाल हेमराज जैन]

देश भर में सप्लाई की जा सकती है—इस तरह विशेष ध्यान दिया जाय .

बांस का हमारे यहां बहुत बड़ा भण्डार है, जो वहां से बिड़ला की पेपर-मिलों को सप्लाई किया जा रहा है। मेरा जिला बालाघाट चार मिलों को उन के उत्पादन का पूरा कोटा सप्लाई कर रहा है, लेकिन उस क्षेत्र में कोई कागज की मिल नहीं है। मैं इस अवसर पर विशेष रूप से अपने बालाघाट जिले का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ—भगवान ने इस जिले को सब कुछ दिया हुआ है—यह जिला अभी भी 60 प्रतिशत सिंचित है। मैंने आकड़े मांगे हैं—जहां तक मेरी जानकारी है, यह जिला मध्य प्रदेश में सब से ज्यादा चावल दे रहा है। वहां पर अनाज है, मिनरल्स है, मगनीज है, डोलोमाइट है, चूने का पत्थर है और अभी हाल में ताम्बे का भण्डार पटनायक साहब स्वयं देख कर आये हैं। यह सब भगवान की नैसर्गिक देन है, लेकिन उन को ले जाने के साधन नहीं है। मैंने बड़ी रेलवे लाइन के लिए रेल मंत्री जी से कहा, तो उन्होंने जवाब दे दिया कि इस पर विचार करना पड़ेगा। जहां भगवान ने सब कुछ दे रखा है, यदि हम उस का उपयोग न कर सकें, तो उस का फायदा न उठा सकें, तो फिर कैसे काम चलेगा। इसकी ओर भी सरकार को ध्यान देना चाहिए।

इस्पात और जाम मंत्री (श्री बीजू पटनायक) : यह जिला आप मुझ को पट्टे पर दे दो, मैं बना दूंगा।

श्री कल्याण जैन (इन्दौर) : जैन साहब, इन को गोद दे दो।

श्री बसंत साठे (भकोला) : चलो दे दिया।

श्री कचबलाल हेमराज जैन : हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के लिए सदन में इधर

और उधर दोनों तरफ से बड़े जोर-जोर से चर्चा होती है। अखबारों और रेडियो में भी उन के बारे में कहा जाता है। मेरा यह कहना है कि इस पर गम्भीरता से विचार कीजिए, उन को जो भी सुविधा देनी है, उस को गोल-माल चक्कर से निकाल कर, साफ-साफ लिख दीजिए कि उन के साथ इस तरीके से संरक्षण होगा, इस तरह की व्यवस्था की जायगी, इस तरह से उन के रिजर्वेशन को पूरा किया जायेगा। आज आप की नीति भ्रममय है, अभी तक स्पष्ट नहीं हो पाई है, मैं चाहूंगा कि इसको स्पष्ट किया जाये।

यहां पर मंत्रीगण हर काम के लिए दस साल का समय मांगते हैं, जिस काम को लीजिये, यही कहा जाता है कि दस साल में पूरा होगा। जनता ने हम को यहां पर पांच साल के लिए भेजा है, और अगर हम दस साल की बात सदन में करेंगे, तो उसमें काम चलने वाला नहीं है। अपने कार्यकाल में हम जितना काम कर सकते हैं, उसकी बात हम को करनी चाहिए—हम को स्पष्ट घोषणा करनी चाहिए कि हम इस कार्यकाल में इतना काम कर देंगे, इस से जनता को पता न्य मनेगा कि हम क्या करने जा रहे हैं और उन कामों को जल्दी चालू करना चाहिए, जिन से जनता को लाभ मिल सके।

एक बात मैं और कह देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हमारे सूचना और प्रसारण मंत्री ने एक फिल्म दिखाई थी, जिस का नाम है "किस्सा कुर्मी का"। यह बड़ी गंभीर बात है। उस फिल्म को देखने से मुझे यह लगा कि जनता एकदम गुंभी है। जनता चप्पल जूता लेकर चलती है और गुंभी नहीं है और जनता राज्य में इस तरह की फिल्म दिखाना जनता का अपमान करता है। मेरा कहना यह है कि ऐसी फिल्म को इस देश में नहीं चलने देना चाहिए

धौर में इस का विरोध करता हूँ। जनता मूवी नहीं है धौर जनता ध्राज भी कालर पकड़ने को तैयार है। ध्राज जब कि जनता सरकार है, उन्होंने अपना फायदा उठाने के लिए ऐसी गद्दी फिल्म ऐसे रद्दी तरीके से पेश की है धौर इस तरह से भारत की 60 करोड़ जनता का अपमान किया है।

ध्रापन मन्त्रे बोलने का समय दिया है उस के लिए ध्राप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। लोगों को बड़ी ध्राशाएँ हैं धौर हम भी ध्राशा करने हैं कि हर तरह से उन की ध्राशाएँ पूरी होंगी। हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी वृान माने धौर सरकार बरग न माने, तो मे यह कह द कि हमारे देश में जो नर्द क्रान्ति आई है ध्राज जिस जनता ने ध्राप को इस ध्रामन पर विठाय है, उम क लिए ध्राप जल्दी म जल्दी कामों को शुरू करे धौर धौर ब्लॉक लबिल पर ध्राप को इस सारे काम को करना चाहिए। मैं ध्राप को एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। महाराष्ट्र की गवर्नमेंट न पचायती राज के लिए काम किया धौर हमारे जिले म लगा हुआ जो भडारा का जिला है, नदी के किनारे किनारे उम न पम्प लगवा दिये धौर हर किसान मुखी हो गया। वहा पर पचायती राज सक्ससफूल हो गया। आज जकरत इस बात की है कि पूरे भारतवर्ष में सब काम पचायती राज के जरिये ग्राम लेबिल पर धौर ब्लॉक लेबिल पर होना चाहिए धौर इस बात को सब में ज्यादा प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए धौर बाकी चीजे बाद में होनी चाहिए।

श्री बीजू पटनायक जो ध्राखरी बात ध्रापने कही, वह सब कही है।

श्री मुरबुजय प्रसाद वर्मा (सीवान) उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं इस बजट के बारे में सब से पहली बात तो यह कहूँ कि मही दिशा में

यह बजट बना है लेकिन उसे चलाएँगा कौन ? यहाँ के हाकिम चलावेंगे। यहा से स्कीमे बनेंथी योजनाएँ बनेंगी किन्तु उन को चलाने वाले ध्राप के अफसर हैं धौर वे अफसर कैसे हैं ? यहाँ इतना ही कहना काफी है कि वे पुरानी सरकार से ध्राये हैं, इनर्जेस्टेड हैं, वे ध्राप के लिए एक लगेसी हैं। ध्राप ने उन को मही बनाया है धौर जैसा ध्राप चाहें वे लोग बैसे ध्राधारी न हएँ हैं धौर न होने की ध्राशा है। मैं एक चेतावनी देता हूँ कि पार्लिसन ला बार-बार लागू न होता रहे, इसको ध्रापको देखना होगा धौर यह इसलिए मैं कह रहा हूँ क्योंकि मैं अपने यहा ऐसा देखता हूँ धौर यहाँ सुनता भी हूँ। जैसे एक छोटी सी बात ले लीजिए। बिहार में कमी 4 कमिश्नर हुआ करते थे लेकिन अब 52 या 54 हैं। इतने कमिश्नर के पद हों गये हैं। पहले वहा पर 19 जिले थे धौर अब 36 जिले हो गये हैं धौर ध्राप के केन्द्रीय सचिवालय में जहा पहले तीन, चार सचिव धौर उप सचिव में काम चलता था, वहा ध्राज 32 32 धौर 34 34 सुनने से ध्राने हैं। इस तरह से ध्राप देखें कि पार्लिसन ला काम में ध्रा गया। जहा 5 की जगह 10 ध्राधर्मियों को रखा, तो वहा दसों ने एसी-यवस्था धर ली कि उन दसों क लिए दो काम नहीं हो गया बल्कि बढा धर इतना ध्राधन नाम दिखा लिया कि दूसरे गच धौर बढ जाए। दरमसल काम नहीं दढा बल्कि कागजों धोडे बढ गये। जब तक इस चीज का नहीं मसाला आया, तब तक ध्राप की स्कीमे कागजों में ही रह जाएँगी धौर उन से पुरा लाभ नहीं होगा।

गवर्नों की तरफ ध्राप ने दिलचस्पी दिखाई, यह बड़ी अच्छी बात है धौर ध्राप मही दिशा की तरफ चल रहे हैं लेकिन मैं अपनी धौर से यह चेतावनी दे देना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक अफसरों पर ध्राप का ध्राधिकार पूरा नहीं होगा, तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। अफसर ध्राप के कैंसे हैं इनको ध्राप देखें।

[मृत्युंजय प्रसाद वर्मा]

सब की बात मैं नहीं कहता हूँ। कुछ की बात कहता हूँ। वे कुछ ही दिन हुए पहले के मिनिस्टर का मुँह देखा करते थे, न्याय, कानून या धार्मिक्य को कोई नहीं देखता था। बहुत सम्भव है कि आपके मिनिस्टरों के बारे में भी वे सोचें कि ऐसा करने से उनका नया मिनिस्टर ब्रुग होगा, भले ही मिनिस्टर उसके खिलाफ़ बाहता हो, किन्तु वह कुछ कर नहीं पाएगा। यहीं आ कर मुश्किल होगी।

वे पहले वाले मिनिस्टर कैसे थे, हमारे मित्र नाराज तो होंगे लेकिन मुझे माफ़ करें एक दो बातें कहने के लिए। मैं बहुत पहले की बात में नहीं जाऊंगा क्योंकि उस में समय निकल जाएगा और मेरे पाम सीमित समय है। मैं 25 जून, 1975 की बात करूँगा। उसके पहले की बात मैं छोड़ देता हूँ। उस दिन रात में बारह बजे के पहले यानी 25 तारोख को ही आपातकाल की घोषणा हुई थी और कैबिनेट को इस बात की दूसरे दिन सुबह खबर हुई। इस के माने हैं कि घोषणा के पहले कैबिनेट से कोई राय नहीं ली गई। यह बात सामने आ गई है। यह छिपी हुई बात नहीं है। इंदिरा जी का जो पत्र राष्ट्रपति के नाम गया था वह भी अखबारों में आ चुका है। यह शाह कमिशन के लिए आया है। शाह कमिशन के नाम से लोग नाराज होते हैं। किन्तु ये बातें तो सामने आ ही रही हैं। भेद खुलते हैं, इस वास्ते उनका नाराज होना वाजिब भी है। रात को ही हो सकता है कि मिनिस्टरों के डर से मीटिंग न बुलाई गई हो और अगर रात को ही यह राय राष्ट्रपति को देने से पहले मिनिस्टरों की, कैबिनेट की राय ले ली गई होती तो बहुत सम्भव है कि वह प्रस्ताव पास न होता और आपातकाल की घोषणा न हो पाती। कारण भी स्पष्ट है। जब यह बात चल रही थी कि प्रधान मंत्री को अपना पद छोड़ना चाहिए उस समय कुर्सी ढाकी होने के बाद ही तो कोई दूसरा

कुर्सी पर आ सकता था और कुर्सी के लिए तीन दावेदार सामने आ चुके थे कम से कम। वे खल कर बोलते तो नहीं थे लेकिन भीतर ही भीतर उनका यह धड़कन चल रहा था, व्यूहरचना हो रही थी कि आपस में चाहे जितना लड़ें, मिर फुटबाल करें लेकिन इतना निश्चित था कि इंदिरा जी को कुर्सी को बरकरार रखने की बात आती तो उसके विरोध में शायद तीनों मिल जायें। अगर कुर्सी जाती इंदिरा जी की भती तो कोई आ सकता था, उसके वगैर कैसे कोई आ सकता था, कम से कमको मौका मिल सकता था। इसी कारण तो रात को मीटिंग नहीं की गई और छः मात घण्टे के बाद सुबह छः बजे मीटिंग बुलाई गई। उस मीटिंग में क्या हुआ? प्रस्ताव किया गया कि हमने इस आपातकाल की घोषणा को मंजूर किया है। क्या मंजूर किया? नहीं संविधान में कोई ऐसा प्रावधान है कि जब राष्ट्रपति ने कोई काग़ कर दिया, कोई घोषणा निकाल दी तो उसकी मंजूरी मंत्रोपरिषद् ने, उसका अनुमोदन करें, उसको एप्रुवल दें? यह चीज़ तो मदन में होती है कैबिनेट में नहीं होती है। इसके लिए कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है। नाथ ही उलटें उसके भस्तीना, उसके निस्तुमोदन के लिए भी कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है। गणतंत्रिय स्टिफेंस यहां बैठे हुए हैं! अगर वह बोल नहीं चुके हैं तो मुझ इसके बारे में अपने आपण में बतार दें और अगर बोल चुके हैं तो बाहर बता दें। किन्तु मैं जहां तक जानता हूँ संविधान में इस तरह की गुंजाइश नहीं है। इससे दो तीन सवाल पैदा होते हैं जो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ। पहला यह है कि मंत्री लोग देखी जी से पूछते कि क्या यह जरूरी नहीं था कि पहले इस विषय को कैबिनेट में रखा जाना चाहिए था? क्या यह जरूरी नहीं था? क्या संविधान में यह नहीं लिखा गया है:

There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as its

head, to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions."

अब यह लिखा हुआ है तो हम मंत्री लोग अपने कर्तव्य से द्युत क्यों हो रहे हैं ? हमारी मन्त्रणा, राय विना राष्ट्रपति ने कौन धोषना कर दी ? हमारी इस प्रकार व्यवहृलना क्यों की गई ? अपने हम से पूछा क्यों नहीं ? हर से आप वाम कर लेती । यह पूछने का माहस किसी में नहीं रह गया था किसी में नहीं पूछा किसी ने यह भी नहीं पूछा कि माहस किसी गठन ने कही से भी यह रिपोर्ट नहीं दी कि ला एण्ड आडर की स्थिति खराब है, देश में अशांति फैलने की आशंका है इसलिए कोई उपाय करना चाहिए और केवल आपातकाल की घोषणा ही स्थिति भंगाल करती है । तब इसका रास्ता बन सकता था । तब कहा जा सकता था कि दूसरा कोई चारा नहीं है और आपात स्थिति लागू कर दी जानी चाहिए । लेकिन ऐसा भी किसी ने नहीं कहा --

श्री बसन्त साठे (अफोला) : शाह ने भी नहीं पूछा कि मिनिरट्टर में कि आपने ऐसा क्यों नहीं कर ?

श्री मृत्युंजय प्रसाद वर्मा : यह आप शाह साहब से पूछें । मैं आप से, सारे सदन से और इस सदन के माध्यम से सारे देश को कह रहा हूँ । देश पूछे । शाह साहब ने पूछा है या नहीं इससे मुझे मतलब नहीं है ।

मैं कह रहा था कि उन्होंने नहीं पूछा और जब कि कहीं से कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं थी तब यह शायी कैसे । आपने प्रेसीडेंट को लिखा है :

"Such informations have been received."

तो आप के पास जो इनफार्मेशन है वह तो बताये । वह भी नहीं बताया, न किसी ने पूछा । बल्कि कैबिनेट सेक्रेटरी ने यहाँ तक कहा है :

"There was no discussion. Only certain clarifications were asked, and nothing more."

ऐसी हालत में मैं क्या कहूँ इन मिनिरट्टर्स को सिवाय इसके कि यह पेपर टाइमिंग से । रात में असली बाध थे लेकिन मुबह होते होते पेपर टाइमिंग हो गये । उनको हिम्मत नहीं थी कि पूछें । और पूछने तो क्या नतीजा होता आप भद्राज नया सकते हैं । खतरा यही था कि उन्हें कठना जाता कि बहुत अच्छा जो कहा जा रहा, अब तो जो हो गया सो हो गया, कल रात को हजारों आदमी चले गये, धान खत्म होने के बाद बाहर सवारी हाजिर है ले जाने वाले आदमी हाजिर हैं और वह आप को ले जायेंगे और उन्हीं लोगों के पास कुछ दिन रहिये जो आपसे पहले भेजे गये हैं, वर्ष दो वर्ष उनके साथ रहिये, फिर देखा जायगा । तब तक आपकी बुद्धि शुद्ध हो जायगी । जो रात को असली बाध थे वह मुबह होने होने पेपर टाइमिंग हो गये थे । माहस नहीं था पूछने का न नैतिक साहस था और न फिजिकल साहस था इसलिये कि बूढ़ा हा गया हूँ, मैं बीमार हूँ, पता नहीं जिन्दा लौटूंगा कि नहीं क्या ठिकाना है । और जिन्दा भी लौटने में टनने दिन जेल की यातना कहा तक बर्दाश्त करूंगा । मगर मौरार जी क्या उनसे उम्र में छोटे थे ? श्री जयप्रकाश का स्वास्थ्य कैसा था ? वह अघमरे हो कर लौटे और उनके लिये पटना में सारी व्यवस्था रातों रात चुबचाप कर ली गई थी । जिस घड़ी खबर आयी उस घड़ी उनकी लाश पटना आयी, आधी रात में आयी और मुबह होने से पहले उसका दाह संस्कार कर दिया जायेगा, चोरी छिपे बहुत कम लोगों को ले कर के । और इस की सारी व्यवस्था

[श्री मृत्युञ्जय प्रसाद वर्मा]

हो गई थी, यहाँ तक कि दाह संस्कार का कुछ आवश्यक सामान भी खरीद लिया गया था। यह तो देश का सौभाग्य है, उनका और हम सब का सौभाग्य है कि वह बच गये और आज तक जिन्दा है, जो कि आधे मुर्दा स्थिति में जो सप्ताह में तीन दिन डाइलेसिस पर रहते हैं। तो अगर यह इनमें माइन होता तो मैं कहता कि यह ऐसे मिनिस्टर है जिन पर भरोसा किया जा सकता है। किन्तु क्षमा कीजिये, मैं अपनी ओर से नहीं कहता, आप ही की ओर से कहा गया। जब कि दो महीने पहले मैं जेल से पटना जा रहा था तो आपके छो बल के दो राज्य सभा के मेम्बर बैठे हुए थे सभ में और उन दोनों में जो चर्चा चली, तो मैं नहीं जानता था। पहले मैं कि कौन इन्दिरा पार्टी के है और कौन रेड्डी पार्टी के है, उनकी बातों में समझ गया। तो एक ने जो कहना शुरू किया, क्षमा कीजिये मैं उस साहम नहीं है उस भाषा का और उन शब्दों का प्रयोग अपने माननीय मित्रों के लिये करूँ, केवल भावार्थ रहता है कि माहब आप किम में मिलने को कहने है है? उनसे जो भेद बकरी में गय होने थे जिन्होंने आज इन्दिरा को दानवी कहना शुरू किया है। तो क्या वह कल देवी थी, और आज दानवी हो गई। अगर आज दानवी है ना कल भी वही थी। तो उस समय क्यों नहीं बाले। कहा गई थी हिम्मत? जब देवी थी तो आज दानवी कैसे हो गई? हिन्दू, मुस्लिम, सिख, ईसाई सबने अपने को एक जान का बना लिया। उम जाति के लिये बहुत मुन्दर शब्द था पहले जमाने में, बहुत मुन्दर उदाहरण है दिल्ली के चन्द्रबरदाई का जिन्होंने पृथ्वीराज के गीत गाये और प्रतिष्ठा बचाने के लिये सिर भी काट लिया। किन्तु बाद के लोग बन गये बन्दी, मागध, जिनको चारण, भाट कहते हैं। और उम भट्टी का नमूना है कि आपकी कांग्रेस के महापति गरज-गरज के कहने लगे थे कि

"India is Indira, Indira is India."

दूसरे उससे आगे बढ़े। उनसे पूछा अब क्यों नहीं कहते हैं। और मैं कहूँगा कि सारे देश की जाति नष्ट हो गई। सब के सब हो गये एक जाति के, एक धर्म के, और उस धर्म का नाम है भाट धर्म। और उसका नतीजा है कि आज भी इन्दिरा के यहाँ चारण बनने का लाल मिलाता है। और अगर ज्यादा पूछना हो तो मैं कहूँगा बिहार में जिसको राज्य सभा का टिकट मिला है देख लीजियेगा। इससे ज्यादा नहीं कहूँगा।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आखिर बजट का क्या करूँगा? कागज, पत्र सब कुछ होंगे, रुपया-पैसा होगा, मगर यह किस के हाथों खर्च होगा? आखिर इन्हीं के हाथों खर्च होगा, तो क्या मैं चेतावनी न दूँ दूँ?

एक बात मैं कह चुका है कि आपकी अपने अफसरों को संभाल कर चयना है, उन पर पूरी कड़ाई करनी है और साथ ही साथ ऐसी व्यवस्था करनी है कि उनमें अधिक से अधिक काम निकल सके। यह देखना होगा कि किम अफसर को कितना काम करना है वह कर सकता है या नहीं? नहीं तो सारी स्कीम फेल हो जायेंगी।

दूसरी बात आप प्रान्तों की करते हैं, अभी एक बिल आया है। बिहार सबसे गरीब प्रदेश है, मध्य प्रदेश के विवाय खनिज धन वहाँ में अधिक कहीं नहीं है, फिर भी वह सबसे गरीब है। वहाँ एक स्टील का वस्तर है, हमारे बीजू पटनायक साहब उसे वहाँ में हटा रहे हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। वह वहाँ पर ही रहना चाहिये।

मैं एक विशेष बात की ओर वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ, वह जरा ध्यान से सुन लें। एमर्जेन्सी के जमाने के पहले एक बाई-पार्टटाइट एप्रोमेंट हुआ था एल०आई०सी० के कार्यकारियों, विशेषकर ईबलपमेंट आफिसर्स और एल०आई०सी० के बीच में। उस समय की गवर्नमेंट ने उसको

मान्यता दी थी। फिर एमर्जेंसी में उसे सरकार ने तोड़ दिया। उसको अब आप भी नहीं मान रहे हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। भूलिए मत, वह एमर्जेंसी के समय में काटा गया है। मैं इतनी ही प्रार्थना करूंगा कि मैं उनके बारे में थोड़ा बहुत जानता हूँ, इसीलिए कह रहा हूँ कि आप कम-से-कम इन लोगों से बात कीजिये। एक महीने तक अवर डेवलपमेंट आफिसर स्ट्राइक पर रह जाते हैं तो उससे कितना नुकसान होता है? डेवलपमेंट आफिसर पर 13 करोड़ रुपये साल का खर्च होता है, इसकी डिटेल्स मुझे मालूम नहीं हैं। इस तरह से एक महीने में 1 करोड़ रुपये का नुकसान हो जाता है। इसके साथ ही साथ एक महीने की स्ट्राइक में उन्होंने जो काम नहीं किया, बल्कि बैठकर मजम बर्बाद किया, वह कहाँ गया?

इसलिये मैं इतना ही कहूँगा कि उन्हें बुलाकर आप बात करें और जो उचित मामलों, जो रास्ता निकलने, निकालने की कोशिश करें।

इतनी ही बात कहकर मैं समाप्त करता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The discussion on the Budget should finish by 5 O'clock today. The Minister will reply at 5 O'clock.

SHRI M. V. CHANDRASEKHARA MURTHY (Kanakapura): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in the last year's Budget, initially there was a deficit financing to the extent of Rs. 85 crores but by the end of the year, it had come to about Rs. 975 crores, which is ten times more than the anticipated figure. In this year's Budget, there is a huge deficit of Rs. 1050 crores. This clearly indicates that the Finance Minister has miserably failed in anticipating the Budget gap. The Janata Party has

given promises that the growth rate would be increased to 7 per cent, unemployment problem would be solved, land reforms would be effectively implemented and the price line would be controlled effectively. But the Government has totally failed in fulfilling those promises. This Budget also does not contain any constructive solution regarding the problem of unemployment and nothing has been said about land reforms also. At this stage, at least, I request the Central Government to give more financial aid to the concerned States so that these progressive laws can be implemented. The budget is the most disappointing one and it would place the country's economy in crisis; and also the increase in excise duty on coal, power, petrol and other petroleum products directly hit the common man. Hence, I request the Government once again to reconsider this proposal and drop this proposal in the interest and welfare of the common man.

In 1975-76, there was an increase of 10 per cent in industrial growth. But this year, it has come down to 1.6 per cent. This is attributed to the shortage of power and labour unrest. But to my surprise, the other factors are also there. There is lack of coordination between the labour and the management and also the short supply of raw materials. In order to increase the industrial growth, the primary necessity is to supply raw materials at a cheaper rate and also in time and also labour participation in the management is quite essential.

At the same time, the budget has indicated some good measures to be taken to improve the conditions of the rural poor. For this, I congratulate the Finance Minister. Also more irrigation facilities are to be provided so that agriculture need not depend only on rain. In our country, our farmers are not getting proper price for their produce. At least Government should create a reasonable market for their produce, whether it is rice, wheat or sugarcane.

[Shri M. V. Chandrasekhara Murthy]

The increase in levy on electricity will also considerably hit the consumer. Also I would like to say something about the Centre-State relationship. Regarding imposition of levy on electricity and abolition of sales tax, the Central Government is directly encroaching upon the financial jurisdiction of the States and the result will be that the economy of the States will be crippled. Hence I suggest to the Central Government to have a dialogue with the States before taking any decision in such matters.

During the last six years, in the whole of the country, Karnataka State Government is the only government which has effectively implemented land reforms along with other socio-economic policies such as debt relief, removal of bonded labour and also giving stipend to the unemployed and exemption of land revenue for five acres. In order to continue implementation of all these progressive policies and to take up developmental works in the State of Karnataka, the Central Government has to give more facilities and financial aid to the Karnataka State. With these words, I conclude my speech.

श्री फिरंगी प्रसाद (बांसगांव) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आप ने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया। समय बहुत ही कम है और मैं भी अस्वस्थ हूँ, आपके संकेत पर ज्यादा तेजी से चलूँगा तो सब कुछ कह पाऊँगा, अन्यथा मैं चाहूँगा कि मुझे अस्वस्थ होने के कारण थोड़ा समय और देन की कृपा करेंगे।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय: आज दस मिनट से ज्यादा हम किसी को नहीं दे पाएँगे।

श्री फिरंगी प्रसाद : वित्त मंत्री जी ने अपने बजट माषण को प्रारंभ करते हुए ही कहा था कि हमें कुछ ऐसी चीजें पूर्ववर्ती

सरकार से विरासत में मिली हैं जिन के कारण आगे चलने की स्थिति में अनेक कठिनाइयाँ उत्पन्न हो रही हैं। जैसा कि उन्होंने और देश ने भी स्वीकार किया है, 76-77 में बढ़ती हुई कीमतों-में 12 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि हुई थी। साथ ही साथ राष्ट्रीय आय में 2 प्रतिशत से कम ही वृद्धि हुई थी लेकिन मुद्रा उपलब्धि 20 प्रतिशत की हो गई थी। यह जो बजट पेश हुआ है इस का समर्थन करते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश के लोगों के मन में एक आशा जरूर बंधी है कि यह बजट गांवों की ओर बढ़ता हुआ दिखाई दे रहा है। इससे कुछ वर्ग को तो असंतोष हो सकता है। ग्रामों के विकास की जो दिशा इसमें दिखाई गई है, उस से किंचित शहरों के लोगों को तकलीफ महसूस हो सकती है। जनता पार्टी ने अपने घोषणा पत्र में कहा था कि हम गांवों के विकास की ओर तेजी से बढ़ेंगे और गांधी जी के स्वप्न को साकार करेंगे। गांधी जी ने कहा था कि देश तभी आगे बढ़ सकता है जब गांवों का विकास होगा, गांवों में पेय जल की सुविधा होगी, कृषि की उन्नति होगी और गांव वालों के स्वास्थ्य का सही-सही विकास होगा। आज भी बहुत से गांवों में अदालती पंचायत के स्तर पर भी कोई प्राथमिक स्वास्थ्य केन्द्र नहीं हो सका है। कहीं-कहीं ब्लाकों पर ही सीमित हो कर रह गया है। इस देश की मुख्य आधारशिला कृषि है और वह मुख्य रूप से गांवों में है। जब तक कृषि के विकास के लिए अधिक धन नहीं दिया जायगा तब तक कुछ ही नहीं सकता। पूर्ववर्ती सरकार, जहाँ तक मैं समझ सका हूँ, 20-21 प्रतिशत ही उस के लिए दिया करती थी। जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने इस से आगे बढ़ कर गांवों के विकास की ओर ध्यान दिया है। हमें इस बात की खुशी है कि वह गांव स्तर तक विकास को ले जाना चाहती है। वह विकास ऐसा होगा कि अभी तो गांवों के लोगों को उस का आभास नहीं हो रहा है, सरकार बने अभी विशेष वर्ष भी नहीं हुए हैं लेकिन इतने कम

दिनों में जो हमारी पार्टी की घोषित नीति है उस के अनुसार हम आगे बढ़ रहे हैं। यह अभी बहुत अन्धेरे में एक छोटी सी किरण मात्र दिखाई देती है। मैं मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि वे गांवों के विकास के लिए, खेती के विकास के लिए अधिक से अधिक धन दें, तभी इस देश का भला हो सकता है।

गरीबी और बेरोजगारी मिटाने की बात जनता पार्टी ने की है। दस साल में बेरोजगारी मिटाने की बात कही गई है। मैं भी इस राय का हूँ लेकिन इस सदन के बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने कहा है कि जनता तो किसी दल को पांच साल के लिए चुनती है और पांच वर्षों में वह जो कुछ भी करती है उस का मूल्यांकन होता है। उस मूल्यांकन के संबंध में मैं यह चाहूंगा कि प्रति वर्ष कितनी बेकारी मिटी, क्या हुआ, इस प्रगति का मूल्यांकन करने के लिए कोई एक कमेटी बना दी जाये ताकि वह प्रति वर्ष विवरण प्रस्तुत करती रहे कि कितने लोगों को रोजगार मिला। अगर ऐसा नहीं हुआ तो ये सारी चीजें सिमट कर रह जायेगी और पांच साल का समय निकल जायेगा। उसके बाद जनता को मूल्यांकन करना पड़ेगा किसने क्या किया। लेकिन अभी हमें अधीर नहीं होना है।

15.43 hrs.

[SHRI DHIRENDRANAT@ BASU in the Chair]

चालू वित्तीय वर्ष में यह कहा गया है कि राष्ट्रीय आय पांच प्रतिशत बढ़ जायेगी। यह आय जितनी ही बढ़ेगी उतनी ही देश के नये कार्यों में लगेगी। मैंने देखा है कि आज तक जितना रुपया जनता के घरों से टैक्स या अन्य रूपों में आया उसका सही-सही प्रयोग नहीं दिखाई देता। चाहे वह रुपया सड़कों पर लगा हो, चाहे बिजली के प्लान्ट्स के लिए लगा हो चाहे वह किन्हीं अन्य संस्थानों में खर्च किया गया हो, लेकिन वे सारे काम

सही सी नहीं दिखाई देते। मेरे विचार से यह पैसा कुछ लोगों तक जा कर सीमित हो जाता है और राष्ट्र की प्रगति रुक जाती है।

आज इस देश में कपड़े की काफी कमी हुई है। 1975-76 में कपास 59.5 लाख गांठ पैदा हुई थी और 1976-77 में में केवल 57.8 लाख गांठ पैदा हुई है। आज कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज के माध्यम से गांवों में जो कपड़े जा रहे हैं, वह अच्छे किस्म के कपड़े भी नहीं हैं—वह मोटे किस्म के कपड़े भी वहां तक नहीं पहुंच पाते हैं। यह कपड़ा आपको अधिक से अधिक गांवों की ओर भेजना चाहिए। शहरों में भी जो गरीब लोग रहते हैं उनको भी वह कपड़ा देना होगा। आज कपड़े की बड़ी भारी कमी हो गई है। लोगों के शरीर पर चिथड़े कपड़े दिखाई देते हैं। मैं इस देश के उस प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश से आता हूँ जहां से आज तक प्रधानमंत्री हुआ करते थे। पहले उत्तर प्रदेश केवल इस बात से संतोष कर लेता था कि हमें केवल प्रधानमंत्री मिला। केन्द्र से उत्तर प्रदेश को जो रुपया जात था वह बड़ी कम मात्रा में होता था। इस देश का एक बहुत बड़ा प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश आज बहुत ज्यादा पिछड़ा हुआ है। मैं आपके माध्यम से साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज भी उत्तर प्रदेश के पूर्वांचल में गोबर से अनाज निकाल कर खाने वाले हरिजन दिखाई देते हैं। मैंने पिछले वर्षों में निश्चित रूप से इस बात को देखा है। तीस वर्ष की आजादी के बाद, इतना समय गुजर जाने के बाद भी लोगों को खाने की व्यवस्था नहीं की गई। हम कहते हैं कि अन्न के मामले में हम आत्मनिर्भर हैं लेकिन

[श्री फिरंगी प्रसाद]

आज भी देश में ऐसे गरीब लोग हैं जिनके पास खेती नहीं है और न रोज़ी का कोई दूसरा साधन है। आज भी उनके बच्चे गोबर से निकले हुए अनाज पर पाले जाते हैं। मैं आपके माध्यम से कहना चाहता हूँ कि विस्तृत स्तर पर इस देश का सर्वेक्षण होना चाहिए। जबतक इस देश में आर्थिक क्रान्ति नहीं लाई जायेगी तबतक इस देश के भूखे मंगे लोग किसी ठिकाने नहीं लग सकते हैं। सरकार जो भी योजनाएँ बनाती है वह केवल कागजों पर ही रह जाती हैं।

आज इस देश में हरिजन आदिवासियों की जो समस्या है वह बड़ी विकट है। आज उनको दी जाने वाली नौकरियों में उनका पर्सेन्टेज पूरा नहीं होता है। आज प्रथम श्रेणी में उनका पर्सेन्टेज तीन के कुछ ऊपर है, द्वितीय श्रेणी में पर्सेन्टेज दो से कुछ अधिक है तृतीय श्रेणी में चार से कुछ अधिक और चतुर्थ श्रेणी में भी उनका पर्सेन्टेज 13 के लगभग है। इसमें भी वह श्रृणित कार्य जिनको अन्य लोग नहीं कर सकते उनको जोड़ करके किसी प्रकार से पर्सेन्टेज 13 के लगभग है। कांग्रेस सरकार को इतना ममय मिला लेकिन उसने कोई मूल्यांकन नहीं कराया। मैं पुनः इस बात को दोहराना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक पिछले कार्यों का मूल्यांकन करके कि सही ढंग से कितना पालन हुआ, इसका अंदाजा नहीं लगाया जायेगा तब तक जितना भी पैसा खर्च होता है उसका सही उपयोग दिखाई नहीं देगा।

इस देश की बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या बहुत घातक है। हमारी सरकार ने बीच में 15 दिसंबर से 31 दिसंबर 1977 तक एक अभियान परिवार कल्याण के अन्तर्गत चलाया था लेकिन वह वैसा नहीं था जैसा कि कांग्रेस के जमाने में चल रहा था। इस सरकार की नीयत है कि शिक्षाप्रद फिल्मों से गांव, देहात, ब्लाक स्तर तक जनता को बताया

जाये, उनको शिक्षित किया जाये, समझाया जाये कि आज देश में बढ़ती हुई आबादी के खाने के लिए, कपड़े के लिए और मकान के लिए व्यवस्था करनी होगी। इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि हर क्षेत्र में उत्पादन बढ़ाया जाये। खेती में और कल-कारखानों में उत्पादन बढ़े। इसके बिना हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता है। आज हमारे देश में एक मिनट में 25 बच्चे पैदा हो रहे हैं। इस बढ़ती हुई आबादी को खिलाने के लिए हम को अधिक से अधिक साधन जुटाने होंगे।

एक बात की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान और दिलाना चाहता हूँ। यह बंजर और ऊसर भूमि में हरिजन आदिवासियों को बसाने के संबंध में है। मैं एक ऐसे वर्ग से आता हूँ जो इस वर्ग, शेड्यूलड कास्ट में ही है। गांव के जो धोबी हैं वे ऊसर से रह निकालते हैं और उससे कपड़े धोते हैं। फसल के साथ साथ वे अपना पारिश्रमिक पाते हैं और अपना धंधा भी ऊसर से चलाते हैं। यदि आप उनको ऊसर पूरा का पूरा नहीं देते हैं तो उनके पास रोज़ी का कोई और साधन नहीं है। ऊसर से उस "रह" को निकाल कर वह धुलाई करता है। अगर आप नई दिशा की ओर इस वर्ग को ले जाना चाहते हैं, तब तो ठीक है, अन्यथा एक बड़ी समस्या इस वर्ग के साथ पैदा होने वाली है।

कुछ बहुत सराहनीय काम इस बजट के द्वारा आप करने जा रहे हैं—जैसे मद्य निषेध होने वाला है, यह बहुत अच्छा काम है। लेकिन एक बात मैं आप के माध्यम से सरकार की जानकारी में लाना चाहता हूँ। हमारे उत्तर प्रदेश में—विशेषकर पूर्वी जिले गोरखपुर में कुछ हरिजन और बेलदारों की संख्या ऐसी है, जिन के पास खेती नहीं है, उन को मजबूर हो कर ताड़ी का पेशा करना पड़ता है। वे उस पेशे से अलग होना चाहते हैं, लेकिन उन को किसी दूसरे पेशे में लगाना होगा। यदि ऐसा नहीं हो सका, तो आप

जानते हैं,—पेट की क्षुधा आदमी से हर कुकर्म करवाती है, डकैती, चोरी और इस तरह के दूसरे कामों को करने के लिये मनुष्य को बाध्य होना पड़ता है। इसलिये इस तरह हम को विशेष ध्यान रखना होगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ और आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI A. K. ROY (Dhanbad): Last year's budget was disappointing. This year's budget, I find, irritating and obnoxious. There is nothing like a bold steps forward'. I was just listening to the debate and lectures of my colleagues. They were saying—it is a bold step forward. I consider it an old steps backward. The Finance Minister and the new Janata leaders are very intelligent. They have given a new name to the old thing.

What is the rolling plan? Rolling plan is nothing but a plan holiday. It is another name of plan holiday. They say that they are giving a rolling plan. It is nothing but *ad hocism*. If there can be rolling plan, why cannot there be rolling Ministry? There should be rolling Ministry. Every year there should be new ministers so that there will not be any dissension in the Janata Government.

When there is rolling plan, why cannot there be rolling ministry, rolling policy and rolling budget—everything rolling here? The only thing left for rolling is the head to roll. These heads have started rolling.

You consider the situation in Bihar. Today morning I heard that in Sindhri. in my own constituency, a large number of people and students have been injured. The entire Government machinery has been paralysed.

What is the picture on the industrial front? A fortnight ago the President of India went to Bokaro to inaugurate the third blast furnace. On

the 26th February, he inaugurated the third blast furnace, on 27th two blast furnaces were closed down. To-day the entire Bokaro, the biggest steel plant is in a bad state. I was waiting for an opportunity because I was seeing that Shri Patnaik was sitting there and laughing and all that on these things. But he must know that he is presiding over a volcano and nothing else. Total Bokaro is closed.

I got information that Sindhri Modernisation Plant—Rs. 100 crore plant has also closed down. The entire colliery is in crisis. The whole industry is half closed in lay off.

You will be surprised to know that the reason for this is nothing like labour unrest. It is embedded in the whole economic system in defence of which he has come with the Budget.

The country is suffering with tension and cancer. Our Finance Minister is giving cibazol as medicine and a bandage and plaster and is saying that the patient is all right. Everything is all right.

They say if you pump money in the village, then there will be rural development. But unless and until the basic social structure is changed, and favourable situation is created and proper ground is made, any amount of input will fail to make any headway for upliftment or restructuring of the village community. I want to make only one point because you will not give me more time. I would like to emphasise this. What type of philosophy has the Janata party government got? What objectives have they got? One thing you must know, Mr. Chairman. The Janata Party Government is a misnomer like the Holy Roman Empire which was neither Holy nor Roman nor Empire. So, here also, Sir, this Janata Party Government is neither Janata, nor a party nor a Government. Have you got any principle of democracy? No. They are all political quacks. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you must have read in

[Shri A K Roy]

Plato's Republic about this. On every good thing was there. He said that there can be justice in the society only when the kings will be philosophers and philosophers should be the king. That is what he said. Similarly, in India I can tell you that nobody can emancipate this great country unless the country's politicians do not become scientists and scientists do not become politicians. There is need for restructuring the country in the sphere of social system, its economic systems and its agricultural system, in a scientific way. This Jana's Government are full of quacks. I would like to emphasise this point. The congress party has ruled the country for 30 years. They created the public sector. What for? Do they believe in socialism? No. They were a hundred miles away from socialism. But they created the public sector because they knew that this would provide the infrastructure for capitalism. They only wanted to develop capitalism. They wanted to develop private industry and this is why they created the public sector as a feeder for the private sector. They thought that the public sector would provide surplus of capital to the private sector. I want to emphasise this point. They should be scientists but not quacks. They want to solve the problem of medicines by urine therapy. They want to do yogas and all these things not the scientific way. I must say, this is an obscurantist way of doing things.

If you really want to develop rural sector you have to re-structure the entire society. The nation will prosper only if the villages prosper. India lives in village. Rural development does not mean landlords development. Sir, he has not said a word about land reforms in the Budget, not a word about workers and their role. You have to learn from the congress if you want the development and restructuring of the villages even in the capitalist way.

If you really want to pump more money in the villages, then you must create the base so that they can receive the money, they can utilise the money, and they can transform agriculture.

Sir, Agriculture does not mean cultivation only. Agriculture means soil conservation. It means water conservation. It means forestry. It means animal husbandry and cottage industries and so on. You should develop a public sector in Agriculture. You should develop peasant proprietorship. You should develop their own public sector. In the beginning the efficiency of the public sector was less than the private sector but today the efficiency of the public sector is more than the private sector. Today also we have seen this. This year the industrial progress is four to five per cent and it is because of the efficiency of the public sector.

16 00 hrs.

To inspire the private sector Government abolished the Capital Gains Tax. Look at the term of closely held companies. They could not even break the strike of the capitalists. The investment was stopped. You know the money is immobile. The government with money and gun can break the strike of the workers but it could not break the strike of capital. In India, capital is on strike. That is the reason why I suggest that we should develop a public sector in agriculture too side by side. India with its geographical conditions, climatic conditions and with its natural gift could develop agriculture as a public sector and it can be run efficiently. It can certainly bring about agricultural revolution in this country.

Some days back you might remember that there was a dispute in Bangladesh over the Farakka issue. China advised them not to escalate that. Bangladesh does not lack in water. What it does lack is the conservation of water. It does not need

a big investment too. What it requires is redistribution and conservation of water that is available there. I would appeal to Government that if at all they want rural upliftment there should be restructuring of villages in India. For that they should make a provision for the development of public sector in agriculture. Landreform, peasant proprietorship and complete abolition and elimination of the remnants of the feudalism is a must.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Before I call upon Shri Hira Bhai I want to tell you that he should first of all be brief. Secondly, the Finance Minister will reply at 5 p.m. today. I want to accommodate as many hon Members in the list possible.

Now, you may go on.

श्री हीरा भाई (वामवाड़ा) : मनापति महोदय, माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट पेश किया है उसमें कई अच्छाइयाँ हैं और कई कमियाँ भी हैं। हमारे देश में आज तक तीस साल से नाराँ दिए जाते रहे हैं जोकि घोषे नारे थे। कभी हरित क्रान्ति का नारा दिया गया, कभी गैर बगवरी की खाई को पाटने का नारा दिया गया और कभी गरीबी हटाओ का नारा दिया गया। उन नारों के महाने हमारे ये भाई देश को चलाते रहे। अगर हमने अच्छे काम नहीं किए तो आने वाले सालों में हमें बड़ी मुसीबत का सामना करना पड़ेगा। सिर्फ इंदिरा गांधी को हटाना ही हमारी मंशा पूर्ण नहीं थी। हमारी मंशा यह थी कि देश में से तानाशाही को हटा कर लोकतंत्र कायम हो और उसके साथ साथ गरीबों और अमीरों की जो दो जातियाँ बनी हुई हैं, उनकी जो कतारें बन गई हैं उसको हम मिटाएँ। कोई अच्छा रास्ता निकाल कर हम आगे इस दिशा में बढ़ें तो वह बहुत श्रेयस्कर होगा। इस काम को करने के लिए सब से पहले हमें उत्पादन पर जोर देना होगा। चाहे औद्योगिक

उत्पादन हो, चाहे कृषि उत्पादन हो, और चाहे छोटे बड़े कारखानों का उत्पादन हो, चाहे खदानों का उत्पादन हो, इन उत्पादनों के लिये माधनों का न निर्माण करना होगा, तभी जा कर के हम लम्बे मार्ग पर चल सकते हैं। वरना सिर्फ काग्रेस वालों के कहने से ही हम डर कर कमज़ार बने हमें काम नहीं चलेगा। आपने एक औद्योगिक नीति की घोषणा कर दी, अपने घोषणापत्र में भी बता दिया, लेकिन जब हम देहानों और शहरो में जाते हैं तो हमको नीचा देखना पड़ता है। जब यह हो रहा है कि आपने 10 माल का वायदा किया है कि गरीबी और बेरोज़गारी खत्म करेंगे, लेकिन आरम्भ करने के लिये कोई मार्ग तो अपनाया पड़ेगा तभी जा कर बेरोज़गारी और गरीबी को हटा सकते हैं, और देश में हरित क्रान्ति ला सकते हैं। हम जब जेल में थे इन्दिरा गांधी की ओर से रोज़ अखबारों में आता था, न जाने क्या क्या बातें टी वी अखबारों और रेडियों में सुनते थे, इन्दिरा जी की जयजयकार ही सुनने को मिलती थी, बाकी कुछ नहीं सुनने को मिलता था जेल में। इसी प्रकार कभी ऐसा न हो कि हमारा नगर केवल नारा ही बन कर रह जाय और काम कुछ न हो। काग्रेस वाले तो 30 माल तक रहे शासन में, लेकिन हमारी तो छोटी उम्र है। कहीं हम फेल न हो जायें ऐसा मुझे भय है।

मेरे क्षेत्र राजस्थान में न तो उद्योग है और न खेती का साधन है। यानी वहाँ पर पीने के पानी का भी साधन नहीं है, सिर्फ एक दो जिलों को छोड़ कर। मन्गलूर, वामवाड़ा, उदयपुर, चित्तौड़, भीलवाड़ा में लोगों के पास 2, 3 बीघा पथरीली जमीन है अगर अधिक पानी गिरना है तो फसल खराब हो जाती है और पानी न मिले ना फसल सूख जाती है। साल यही हालत अतिवृष्टि के कारण बहा पर हुई है। खेद

[श्री हीरा भाई]

के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारी मौजूदा सरकार ने सिर्फ फलड के नाम पर सड़कों को ठीक करने के लिये जरूर पैसा दिया है, लेकिन जहां खेती की दोनों फसलें खत्म हो गई उसके बारे में अभी तक सरकार ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया है। वहां के लोग आदिवासी हैं, पिछड़े वर्ग के हैं। वहां के लोगों पर भुखमरी छा रही है। आप कहेंगे कि यह ममला राज्य सरकार का है। लेकिन आपको पता है कि वहां के लिये जितनी भी योजनायें बनी हैं उनका तमाम पैसा कांग्रेसी नेता खाकर उकार गये और वह क्षेत्र जैसे का वैसा हो है, और वहां के लोग पानी के लिये त्राहि त्राहि कर रहे हैं। बाड़मेर, बांसवाड़ा और टुंगपुर में यह हालत है कि आप आदिवासी लोगों को पहचान नहीं सकते हैं। बोलने के आने वाले लोगों को देख कर लोग रेल के डिब्बे का दरवाजा बन्द कर लेते हैं क्योंकि वह बेचारे रोजी के लिये मथुरा, कोटा, मुरत, बड़ौदा और वाम्बई में भटक रहे हैं। मगर यह आदिवासी हैं इसलिए, अगर कभी सबूत जाति के लोग इस तरह में भटकते तो सरकार न जाने उनके लिये क्या करनी ?

मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो योजना आप बना रहे हैं कि कृषि उत्पादन के बारे में अधिक धन खर्च किया जायेगा, आपने आदिवासी और पिछड़े एरिया तथा हरिजननों के लिये इसमें प्रावधान किया है, इसी तरह मैं सिंचाई बढ़ाने के लिये और छोटे उद्योगों को आगने के लिये प्रावधान किया है, लेकिन मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आपने कहाँ-कहाँ ऐसा नक्शा बनाया है, या कौनसी ऐसी तस्वीर बनाई है जिसके आधार पर आप इन इलाकों में काम प्रारम्भ कर देंगे ? मुझे यह विश्वास नहीं है। मैं यह मानकर चलता हूँ कि इन्दिरा जी वाला नारा हमारे यहां भी साबित न हो जाय इस तरह का भय मुझे है। इसीलिये जनता पार्टी के माननीय सदस्यों और माननीय

मंत्री जी से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सिर्फ इन्दिरा जी को ही हटाना था, यह मानकर अपनी जिम्मेदारी पूरी नहीं समझनी चाहिये बल्कि हमें देश को बनाना है यह जिम्मेदारी हमारी है। इसके लिये हमें पूरा नक्शा बदलना पड़ेगा। हम अखबारों और रेडियो में यह बातें सुन जरूर रहे हैं लेकिन जिलास्तर पर कलेक्टरों के पास कोई योजना नहीं है। हमारे राजस्थान में करीब 100 करोड़ रुपये का घाटा कांग्रेस सरकार छोड़ गई है। अगर आज की सरकार ने राज्य सरकार को उसका हिस्सा देने में कुछ कमी की तो हमारी राजस्थान सरकार डूब जायेगी।

मैं मंत्री महोदय से अपनी कहना कि वह किसी भी तरीके से छोटे उद्योगों के लिये कोई ऐसा नक्शा या शकल बनायें जिससे देहानों में यह जल्दी ही लग सकें।

हमारा पहाड़ी एरिया है, वहां पर कई तरह की खदानें हैं। उनका उपयोग करने के लिये हमारे यहां चूने और सीमेंट के कारखाने लग सकते हैं। लेकिन आज तक उनका सर्वे नहीं कराया गया। इस बारे में सरकार को तत्काल ध्यान देना चाहिये।

सरकार की यह जिम्मेदारी है कि हर किसान के खेत में बारहों महीने पानी पहुंचाये और किसान की जिम्मेदारी है कि वह धान पैदा करे। सरकार को इस बारे में चिन्ता करनी चाहिये कि अभी तक हम क्यों पिछड़े हुए हैं ? आदिवासी एरिया में हमेशा भुखमरी रही है। हमारे यहां बड़े-बड़े नाले हैं, उन पर बांध बनवाने के लिये ऐसा सर्वे कराया जाता है कि उसके बनने से 20, 30 हजार आदमी डूब जायें, इससे लोग बिल्लाते हैं। और उसका बहाना लगाकर बांध का बनाना स्थगित कर दिया जाता है। अगर इसी तरह से आदिवासी और हरिजननों के एरिये में खिलवाड़ किया जायेगा तो कांग्रेस ने 30 साल शासन में निकाले हैं, हमारी

जनता सरकार भी निकास रही है लेकिन इन लोगों के हित के लिये कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया। सवर्ण जाति के लोगों के लिए पहले ध्यान दिया जाता रहा है।

सभापति महोदय, स्थिति यहां तक है कि अगर मैं आपसे बात कर रहा हूँ और कोई सभ्यता वाला व्यक्ति आपके सामने खड़ा हो जायेगा तो हमारी कितनी ही भ्रष्टी बात क्यों न हो, लेकिन आप उससे बात करना शुरू कर देंगे, हमारी तरफ ध्यान नहीं देंगे। उसी तरह सें बजट का बंटवारा हो रहा है। मेरा निवेदन है कि पिछड़े हुए एरिये को प्रायर्टी देने में भारत सरकार को अपनी दिलचस्पी लेनी चाहिये।

यहां पर हरिजनों और आदिवासियों के बारे में रोज चर्चा होती है। मैं आदिवासी हूँ। मैं अपने आदिवासी और हरिजन भाइयों से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे रोज इन के सामने भीख मांग कर जिन्दा रहना चाहते हैं। क्या हम सें शक्ति नहीं है कि सवर्ण जातियां हमें कुचले और हम रोते रहें? घबराने की जरूरत नहीं है। इस का मुकाबला हम जम कर करेंगे।

मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आदिवासियों और हरिजनों के प्रति भेदभाव रखने की नीति जारी रखी गई, तो हमें मजबूर हो कर यह मांग करनी पड़ेगी कि राष्ट्रपति द्वारा एक स्पेशल बाडी बना कर उस एरिया के विकास की व्यवस्था की जाये। बड़ी जातियों और छोटी जातियों के बीच सें घन के बंटवारे का अधिकार बड़ी जातियों को है। छोटी जातियों का अधिकार तो सिर्फ मांग करने का है। इसलिए उन की बात टुकरा दी जाती है। मैं अपील करना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को इस पर विचार करना चाहिए।

आज लोगों और आदिवासियों के बीच जो प्रोपेगंडा किया जा रहा है सभापति महोदय, आप भी उस बात को मानने वाले होंगे, लेकिन मुझे मजबूर हो कर कहना पड़ रहा है, वह राजनैतिक लोग करवा रहे हैं। इस में जनता पार्टी या सरकार का बोध नहीं है। इस तरह की व्यवस्था फैला कर जनता सरकार को फ़ेल करने के लिए यह सारा कांड चल रहा है। सरकार को इस रोज-मर्रा की व्यवस्था के बारे में सोचना होगा और सतर्क हो कर कदम उठाना पड़ेगा।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं मंत्री महोदय द्वारा प्रस्तुत बजट का समर्थन करता हूँ।

*SHRI AMAR ROY PRADHAN (Cooch Behar): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a Budget is not simply a statement of incomes and expenditures. A Budget reflects the entire economic life of a nation. The Finance Minister, Shri Patel has by passed the recommendations of the Jha Committee and has presented a deficit budget amounting to 1396 crores and has imposed a heavy burden of indirect taxes on the common man, in the process. I was not surprised with this budget which protects the interests of the capitalists. I know about the political interests of the Janata Party, I know about the class composition, therefore, as a worker of the forward block I was not disappointed with this budget. But this Budget has disappointed the millions of farmers, workers and other poor people. This budget has failed to bring any ray of hope in the lives of the 70 per cent of our people who live below the poverty line. There is no promise of employment in this budget for those millions of unemployed youth who sell their blood in the blood bank to provide their aged parents with a little food. They have no means of earning their livelihood. It does not promise any employment to these millions of young women who have to sell their bodies to save themselves from

*The original speech was delivered in Bengali.

[Shri Amar Roy Pradhan]

starvation, to those women who being unable to buy a saree to cover themselves have to commit suicide.

There is also no picture of a better life for the rural masses. There is no promise of total land reforms or proper land distribution. There is no assurance of legitimate and just price for agricultural products. No attempt has been made to maintain parity between agricultural and industrial products and there is also no hint of any intention to remove the economic disparities among the people.

Speaking of village uplift, tall talks have been made that huge funds have been provided for improvement in agriculture. But may I ask how much money does this budget promise to the different States for land reforms and land distribution programmes? Not a single penny has been provided. Improvements in the life of the rural people is practically impossible without total and wholesale land reforms. But no money has been provided in this budget for that purpose neither there is any assurance of any help to the States towards this end. In this context I will mention about the reports of two Committee (1) Agriculture Census Report 1971 and (2) Raj Committee Report. The Agriculture Census Committee Report says that 60 per cent of the cultivable lands are controlled by such owners who possess more than 10 acres of land. Moreover they are not mostly themselves cultivators. The Raj Committee Report says that 10 per cent of the rural families control 2/3 of the agriculture produce. If this is the condition then land only is the basic problem. The basic thing about agricultural improvement is land reforms. Land must be in the hands of actual tillers. The plough must give right to ownership of land. Talking of rural upliftment without land reforms is like living in fool's paradise. Of course mention about land reforms has been made in the Economic Survey. It has been stated therein "What is required therefore is vigorous imple-

mentation of the national policy of land reform." But unfortunately this has remained on paper only. Where do we find the implementation in real life? How much has been done in this respect during the last one year. In the Economic Survey at page 9 of Chapter 2, it has been stated "Some 5.4 lakh hectares have been distributed to the landless agricultural workers till the end of November 1977 out of 16.6 lakh hectares declared surplus." What to speak of lowering the land ceiling, what to speak of proper distribution of land, it is a matter of great regret that even 1/3 of the surplus land could not be distributed till now. On the other hand, Janata Leaders are propagating that they will effect rural development. The effects that should have been made for land reform and land distribution on a war footing for removing the backwardness and poverty from our rural life has not been taken up at all.

It is a long standing demand that parity should be established between agricultural products and industrial products. No effort has been made to achieve that, on the other hand, prices of agricultural products have been fixed so that the industrialists may get an opportunity to make huge profits. Prices of jute, sugar cane, cotton, tobacco etc. are fixed in a way which is detrimental to the interests of the farmers. The most unfortunate thing is that the Government have recently fixed maximum price of jute in a shameful manner so that the intervals of the jute mill owners are protected. At page 22 of the Economic Survey, it has been stated, "on the contrary the Jute Commissioner had to fix maximum prices (Rs. 225 per quintal for W. 5 Calcutta Delivery) towards the end of October 1977 and prescribe stock limits with the Mills. Despite the latter reports are that the ceiling limits have been pierced." On top of it the Central Government sent a notification to the jute growing States that both seller and purchaser of raw jute— whoever will violate the maximum price fixation order will be arrested

and prosecuted under Criminal Procedure Act. The Agriculture Minister of West Bengal, Shri Kamal Guha has protested against that order. Provision was made for the arrest and imprisonment of the poor jute cultivators. But may I ask what happened to the jute mills who violated this law, did not properly regulate their stock positions as has been admitted in the report itself? Has even one among them been arrested? The maximum price of raw jute that has been fixed under pressure from the jute mill owners will adversely affect the economy of the entire eastern region. The States of Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, Bihar and Orissa will stand to lose in a big way. But this golden fibre earns for this country about Rs. 300 crores in foreign exchange. About 4 crore families in various States of eastern India depend upon jute cultivation for their livelihood. About 2,50,000 workers are employed in the jute industry. They earn about 150 crores of rupees by way of pay and wages etc. Apart from this thousands of people are engaged in the jute trade as jute examiners, commission agents, labourers for loading and unloading of ships etc. In brief a large part of the basic economic structure of eastern India is dependent upon jute. In spite of all this the jute industry has still been allowed to remain under the control of a few capitalists as private industry. Why has the jute industry not been nationalised as yet? This was not nationalised during the last 30 years, it is also not being nationalised today and there is no likelihood of its nationalisation in future also.

Let us try to find out what is the cost of cultivating jute on one hectare of land or what is the cost of producing one quintal of jute? Tilling the land, sowing seeds, cleaning harvesting washing, drying of jute etc. requires about 300 labourers on one hectare of land. In West Bengal the minimum wage of agricultural labourers is Rs. 6.10. Thus the cost on account of labour alone comes to Rs. 2430.75.

Then Rs. 1500 has to be spent for seeds, plough, bullocks, fertilisers etc. Then again if the cost of one hectare of land was deposited in some bank then about Rs. 300 would have accrued as interest. After including all these the cost of jute cultivation on one hectare of land comes to about Rs. 4230.75.

The Jute Development Committee (Technical Committee) said on 20th April 1976 at a Press Conference that in West Bengal the average production of jute in one hectare of land is 14.40 quintals. In Maldah it is 10.80 quintal, in West Dinajpur it is 10.35 quintals and in Cooch Behar it is 10.08 quintals. Therefore, on the lowest category the cost of production of one quintal of jute comes to Rs. 293.75. But the Government has fixed the maximum price of jute on arrival at Calcutta at Rs. 225 per quintal only. What can be a more cruel joke on the farmers in the name of fixing prices? During the British days Sir Francis Floud said in his Commission's Report that "Price of a manud of raw jute due to its cost of production and laborious rating process should be three times of the price of paddy." This can be considered even now. But it should be remembered that if efforts are made to protect the interests of the jute mill owners while ignoring the interests of farmers and jute cultivators, the jute industry itself will be totally ruined. If such situation arises then the jute cultivators will stop producing jute and will shift to the cultivation of other profitable foodgrains etc. Jute will in that case stop earning precious foreign exchange for our country. The entire economy of our whole country will thus be adversely effected.

The Jute Corporation has turned into a white elephant. Due to rampant corruption and shocking inexperience this organisation is today running into a heavy loss which is mounting day by day. It has totally failed to protect and look after the interests of the jute cultivators Mr. Chairman, Sir, I thank you for giving

[Shri Amar Roy Pradhan]

me an opportunity to speak and with that Sir I conclude.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, speaking on the Budget, I can say it is the most uninspiring Budget. It is the biggest flop of the Finance Minister that he ever produced such a Budget. Many points have been covered by my friends on both sides of the House and I would like to touch upon a few points which are not covered.

The Finance Minister has brought the economy of this country to a very apitated condition and the Finance Minister is now presiding over the liquidation of the finances of this country. This has been amply proved when the Budget has been presented. I would like to give some quotations from newspapers. There was general regret over the proposal to increase power raises, and coal prices as also the levy on polyester fabrics. The proposal to increase postal tariffs on a selective basis not only evoked a mixed reaction, but also enraged the people of this country.

Some others pointed to the recent increase in the price of levy sugar by the Government and said that it had been cleverly kept out of the Budget proposals to avoid harsh public criticism. What else do you want, Sir? The Prime Minister when he assumed the office made a patriotic statement; that "I will wipe out deficit financing". But what is the result of the Finance Minister's Budget? The Finance Minister has not only betrayed the Prime Minister of this country, but he has betrayed himself and betrayed the Party and everybody and this is the present position of the Budget of the Finance Minister whose Prime Minister has been betrayed. He has now come forward with proposals of an uncovered budgetary deficit of the astounding figure of Rs. 1050 crores. This is an eloquent commentary on the declarations of the Janata Party and it is the Janata Party which is creating chaos in this country and this is the future

of this country as reflected amply in this Budget.

Sir, the Budget seeks to fleece the poor and the middle classes in order to give "incentives" to the affluent sections in agriculture, industry and commerce. It reflects only the interests of the upper class, the upper strata of the society and helps the kulaks of the Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh.

The Finance Minister's Budget reflects the Swatantra philosophy of laissez faire. This is how the taxation measures have been framed. Mr. Patel used the instrument of indirect taxes in order to raise as much as Rs. 549.5 crores of additional resources from the common man. The indiscriminate across the board increase in excise duties except in the case of items benefiting the rich farmers reveals the approach of the government glaringly and this is helping the rich farmers and pressing down the poor farmers. This is the philosophy that has been followed by the Finance Minister.

Sir, a promise was made to the people of this country that they will fight the employment problem. But what is the proposal that has come up in the Budget? It is only this that the people of this country should park up early and go home. The abject failure of the Government to use its foreign exchange earning is an indication of the bankruptcy of ideas of the Janata Government. Though they have been criticising the previous Government, they have no programmes, except opening a shop. The Finance Minister has become a salesman for selling the gold reserves. There are no other resources which he can sell. He has not helped to augment any resources even to meet the deficit and thereby he has created an inflationary situation.

श्री कुम्भकर्ण तिवारी (बलीसाबाद) :
समापति महोदय, मेरा प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर
है। माननीय सदस्य अपनी स्वीच पड़ रहे हैं
जबकि पढ़ने की इजाजत नहीं है।

MR. CHAIRMAN: He should only refer to points. He should not read the whole speech.

SHRI BRLJ BHUSHAN TIWARI: But he is reading the whole speech.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA: I am saying all this for the benefit of this Government, because they are all new Ministers. The only effect of the budget of the Janata Government is to increase the deficit from Rs. 84 crores to Rs. 985 crores. This is the situation now. They have not done anything to alleviate the suffering of the poor people, as promised in the manifesto of the Janata Party. They have created a situation where the people do not have the capacity to pay the taxes. The basic levy of 5 per cent of excise on sugar, kerosene, tea etc. will have their immediate impact on the poor tax-payer. This is how the Janata Government is helping the poor people. If a poor tax-payer wants to drink a cup of tea, he has to pay more for the tea leaf, sugar and the kerosene with which he will burn the stove. The Finance Minister claims that the impact of the direct taxes on the common man is 0.7 per cent, but this is not realistic. The unrealistic way in which the budget has been prepared shows the capacity of the Janata Party to run the country.

There was a Starred Question, No. 324, in the Lok Sabha as to how the investment proposals made by the Finance Minister are artificial. There were some rumours of sluggishness in investment and he has conceded it. But in the *Economic Survey* for 1978-79 he has stated that there is little evidence of sluggishness in industrial investment. How can a sluggish Government bring forward a progressive budget for this country?

An urban bias has been created in this budget. The banking system, which controls the banks of this country, for the last one year has created chaos in the country. In the last elections the private banks have financed

a political party, not only in Karnataka but also in Andhra Pradesh. This is how the private banks are operating. The present Government is successfully utilising this machinery and money the previous Government and levelling charges of corruption against it. This is how the private banks are functioning, creating fraudulent transactions. But the Finance Minister is sleeping and he does not take any action against them. I have information that one private bank has donated Rs. 27 lakhs to the Janata Party for election work in Karnataka, and the name of the Bank is Vijaya Bank. I have produced documents to substantiate my charge. Let them deny it.

This is the philosophy of the budget and this is the philosophy of the Janata Government. Have they the moral courage to come down against such cases? Will the Finance Minister sit in judgement over these things?

I assert that the resources of this country are controlled only by a few States. Since some of these States are big in nature, I demand a re-organisation of all the States to ensure that there is re-distribution of resources on an equitable basis. The stranglehold of the big States has been operating for a long time. This present Government is sleeping over it because the Home Minister, Shri Charan Singh, wanted to control the entire situation in the country and see that the feudal lords are benefited, the big farmers are benefited, the poor people are not benefited and the southern States are completely wiped out.

The Budget proposals have not helped the States to exploit their natural resources. The Ganga-Kaveri link is one of the biggest projects at the national and the international levels. They have not provided any finance for this project which will create an atmosphere of understanding and economic equality among the States, which will feed the people and the generations to come of the Southern States.

[Shri K. Lakkappa]

When the link has been made a reality in this country, we can plenty of agricultural production. I thought the new Finance Minister and our Food Minister, Shri Barnala, would give thought to this matter, but no money has been provided

Then, banking frauds since 1977 have gone up by more than 66 per cent. Private banks are not functioning properly, and there is no control of the Finance Ministry over them. This is how the chit funds and the corporations in this country are functioning, and the entire finances have been controlled by a few people, but this Ministry has no control over them. What exactly is the control to meet the challenge? Where is socialism where are the progressive measures? He is helping the moneylenders. Progressive measures have been stopped. This Budget will not help the poor people in this country. Therefore by these Budget proposals the rural people have been completely wiped out, and the irrigation projects in my State

श्री डी० जी० गर्बई (बुलडाना) मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। इन को घाप बैठाइए, तमाम टाइम खत्म हो रहा है। मैं व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा रहा हूँ।

MR CHARIMAN I would request the hon Member to co-operate with the Chair

SHRI K LAKKAPPA There are Rs 1000 crores worth of irrigation projects under execution in Karnataka but adequate finance has not been provided for them. We were asking for a thermal power plant to be installed in Karnataka but they have turned a deaf ear to it. The present Government is not even hearing

श्री डी० जी० गर्बई : व्यवस्था का प्रश्न घाप नहीं सुनते। (ब्यबधान) मेरा नाम लिस्ट में होते हुए घाप ने नहीं बुलाया। जो लोक पोलीटीकली जनता पार्टी की टीका-

टिप्पणी करते हैं, उन को घाप बुला लेते हैं। मैं कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। हम को क्या नहीं घाप बुलाते हैं। (ब्यबधान) ..

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA. Therefore, the Southern States are completely and utterly neglected, because the Southern States were not following the Janata wave. Therefore, I seek protection of all the States, I request that the developmental activities should percolate through the Budget to all the States and I oppose the Budgetary measures

श्री डी० जी० गर्बई : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। इस को भी क्या घाप नहीं सुनेगे? घाप को मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सुनना पड़ेगा।

सभापति महोदय : बोलिये।

श्री डी० जी० गर्बई : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न यह है कि एक ऐसे सदस्य को घाप टाइम देते हैं जिस का नाम लिस्ट में नहीं होता है और जिन का नाम लिस्ट में होता है, उन का नाम घाप काट देते हैं। जो पोलीटीकली जनता पार्टी की टीका टिप्पणी करते हैं उन को टाइम मिल जाता है और हम कुछ सुझाव देना चाहते हैं, तो हमें टाइम नहीं मिलता।

MR CHAIRMAN I am following the list which was left by the Deputy-Speaker

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) Mr Chairman, Sir, the other day, the Janata Party Central Parliamentary Board has described the situation in Bihar in these words:

"If the Governments do not improve their performance and if socio-economic programmes are not quickly implemented, the summer-

ing discontent will explode into violence."

These are the words of the Janata Party and I feel that they apply with much greater emphasis to the Government in Delhi than in the States. The mandate of the people of this country to this Government has been not only to build India a new India free from fear, free from the clutches of a dynastic rule but also a country free from hunger and free from exploitation and from the spranglehold of the monopolistic and vested interests and landlords. What we unfortunately find is a perpetuation of the Congress policies. 30 years of Congress Rule has impoverished this country. 70 per cent of the people are below the poverty line. There is greater and greater disparity of resources between the different strata of the people. Few are enjoying the benefits in this country. There is greater and greater unemployment. Land reforms are a far cry. The result has been that the people in March, 77 in no uncertain manner cut that Party to size and that great organisation called Congress at one time now has become a mere pre-fix to an individual's name in this country. This is the position. But what is the balance sheet of the Janata Party's performance? For one year they have been in power. We had cooperated with them during the Lok Sabha elections because they had pledged for the restoration of the civil liberties and the democratic rights in this country. We had assured them of our full support and sincere support and we have done that. But we had said that in spite of our difference if we find that you are not following....

श्री छबिराम शर्मा (मुर्ना) : मैं आपसे एक प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ। सभी पक्षों के लोग बोलना चाहते हैं और महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव देना चाहते हैं। मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस बहल को एक दिन के लिए बड़ा दिया

जाए। इसका मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ। जो माननीय सदस्य बोलना चाहते हैं इससे उनको मौका मिल सकेगा। आप इसके बारे में सदन की राय ले लें।

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Unfortunately, the functioning of the Janata Party during the last one year not only shows lack of direction but it also shows drift, ambivalence, procrastination and it is marked by mere promises than by performance. We have seen to our dismay that this Government wants to run by adhocism and status quoism. It seems that some of the leaders of Janata Party are still under the euphoria of the victory of March, 1977 elections. This should not ignore the stark reality. Please do not forget that the forces of reaction and repression, fascism, totalitarianism and authoritarianism are still trying to re-group themselves. You have not been able to annihilate them altogether. They are very much in the scene waiting in the side-wings, and they are trying to stage a come-back. Once they come back, nobody will come out of Tihar Jail or Hissar Jail or any other jail alive. Such a mistake will not be made in future. Therefore, it is essential that this Government should try to do business and not only mean business. People are fed up with pious wishes. People are fed up with promises. People are fed up with your manifesto which has not been translated into action. What is the result of one year? Mr. Patel, I know your legacy. You have inherited a ruined economy. But you have to have something to show to the people that you not only mean business but you try to do business. To-day, the economic condition of the people is worse. This is the stark reality. More people are below the poverty line. More unemployment is there. There is no opportunity today of employment for the educated youth of this country and the economic disparity of the people is increasing.

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

When we talk of, we seriously talk of certain basic problems in this country, we do not find any response. We want a change in the administrative pattern. We want that the country should develop, the country should be more strong. Now the different political parties are governing different parts of the country, different States of the country. They are feeling certain difficulties, because the Constitution has imposed very great responsibilities on them but has not provided for the withdrawal to the State Governments. We have given certain proposals as a basis for negotiations, for discussions on the future Centre-State relationship in this country. What we find is intransigence on the part of Centre; we find a sort of arrogant attitude in the Centre that they shall not talk with us. If we hold conference, you will not come and attend it. Is this the right attitude on the part of the Prime Minister? Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy did not belong to this party. Mr. Sanjiva Reddy never belonged to this party either as a Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh or the President of India. What Dr. B. C. Roy said? I believe Mr. Biju Patnaik has also said that today, there may be some constraint on him. Even the Janata Chief Ministers are saying, please sit across the table and discuss various problems how to make each portion of the country stronger, more and more strong so that in the ultimate analysis the Centre is stronger. But, there are only deaf ears. Do not think that you have the monopoly of patriotism, that there is monopoly of love for the country only in the Centre or Central Cabinet, that is not so. Please do not delude yourself by that idea. When we really, seriously want to mean business, when we want to have free and frank discussion, motives are imputed to us if we are trying to divide this country. That is not the situation.

I request the Government very

sincerely that if you want to take States into confidence, if you want to take people into confidence, if you want really that the country should advance towards proper development and progress, then you have to look into these things very seriously.

I have very limited time. So far as the budget is concerned, can it be denied that the prices of essential commodities have been going up; they are bound to go up because of your policies. The Janata Party, in its election manifesto, pledged against deficit financing. But we have got a higher dose, a massive dose of deficit financing. New taxes have been imposed and indirect taxes have been increasing much more than the proportion of the direct taxes. What is the result? The result is obvious. Now what is the relief given to the poor common people of this country? Are they getting essential commodities at a reasonable price, uniform price, throughout the country? Have you set up a public distribution system which will arrange for a guaranteed supply of essential articles to the people of this country at a uniform price throughout the length and breadth of the country? No. Have you provided any immediate benefit to the growing unemployed in this country? What is their crime? They have been born in India, they love this country; they have equipped themselves they have educated themselves; their families have ruined themselves to build up the career of their sons and daughters. What is their future? You think of them as if they are criminals, as if they are pariahs in the society. The society has no responsibility for them in this country. What are you doing for them? Have you provided jobs for them? Have you provided any allowance for them?

I take the credit for my State. My State Government, with their limited financial restraint, limited resources, has at least tried to do it in a very limited way. If we want money, how much money Mr. Patel will pro-

vide for us. We were told by one of our hon. Members Shri Nathwani, for whom I have personal regards, that since the States are squandering away their money, they should be taught a lesson. If we have to find the wherewithal, the hon. Minister will say that money is not available. But you have increased our Defence budget. Now with the better performance of the External Affairs Ministry, we have better friendly relations with our neighbours. Why should not the Defence budget be reduced, expenditure be reduced and that amount should be diverted for nation building projects?

Now you are diluting the public sector. The hon. Finance Minister has himself said that contrary to expectations the investment in this industry is not picking up. Why not? He has bemoaned that. He said: I do not find any reason. But this is the fact. The real reason is that the purchasing power of the people is going down day by day. It is an inevitable truth that without increasing the purchasing power of the people, you can not have better and better investment in the industry; you cannot avoid that position. How can you provide better purchasing power for the people of this country when they are going below the poverty-line day after day? What is the policy that has been taken?

You have spoken of massive investment in the rural sector. Without land reforms, can anybody say here that the benefit of this investment in the rural sector will percolate to the people at the grassroots? Will the landless labour get the land? Will the small cultivator get the land? This will not happen. What has happened during the so-called Green Revolution will happen now. This will benefit only the rural rich, only the vested interests. There is no talk of land reforms!

In view of the very limited time at my disposal, I would request the hon. Minister to see that a massive effort is made on a war-footing to tackle the problem of unemployment, to tackle the problem of land reforms in this country, to tackle the problem of supply of drinking water to the people of this country. You have experience, Sir, and many other hon. Members also have experience: When we go to some areas, they say, We do not want rice, we do not want school, we do not want any pucca road, please provide us with some drinking water. This is the cry of the people of this country. For thirty years those people had mismanaged this country, they had finished this country. Now, you have got a chance. You had the goodwill of the people; the hopes and aspirations of the people were with you. You have helped in the restoration of people's democratic rights and their civil liberties in this country. But today you are thinking again of MISA. I do not wish to go into that. We shall get an opportunity for that. You have not yet repealed the Forty-Second Amendment Act...

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Therefore, my request to this Government is this. These are the essential problems that I have raised, and if you ignore them, you will be ignoring them at your peril. Sufficient warnings have been given. You must listen to those warnings. Otherwise, people will not forget you, people will not forgive you.

SHRI VINODBHAI B. SHETH (Jamnagar): Sir, I welcome the Budget, the second Budget from the Janata Party. It has been prepared after proper consideration, after looking to the socio-economic needs of the country. The budget is for raising resources for investment and for allocating them to the different sectors. Have we justified our manifesto or not—that is the crux of the

[Shri Vinodbhai B Sheth]

problem. Till now, the manifesto was there, but at the time of preparation of the Budget, it was never taken into consideration.

Our Finance Minister has proved himself worthy of the Finance Minister of the country by providing 40.29 per cent of the total outlay of the Plan—by allocating more funds—for agricultural and rural sectors of the country. I congratulate him for properly paying attention to agriculture, irrigation and power. These are the primary necessities to uplift the economy of the nation. Therefore, the nation will remain indebted to this Minister and to this Party for giving proper allocations.

Now, 17 million hectares of land are to be irrigated in the next five years, three million hectares are to be irrigated this year. I would request the hon. Minister to ensure this. When there is surplus of food, the distribution will present a big problem. Today we are facing crisis from almost all the States: crisis from U.P. and crisis from Maharashtra, because there is surplus of sugarcane. Most of the decake factories in Gujarat are closed. Most of the factories are facing crisis. Therefore, proper planning for allocation and distribution of the surplus food which will be generated by this irrigation should be given due consideration.

Coming to power generation for the first time, I think we are planning to generate 3,500 megawatts of power—as compared to 2,000 megawatts last year. This is one of the steps in the right direction that the Ministry has taken because power generation is very important for industries in the country. And I think we will be able to achieve the target so far as power generation is concerned.

Then, he has not enhanced the direct taxes, which is a welcome thing. I was fearing there will be an increase in agricultural tax. I con-

gratulate the Minister for not raising either the agricultural tax or the corporate tax. It is a challenge to the industry, the trade and the nation that our Government has given due concessions in direct taxes. He has not taken away anything in regard to deposits and savings by enhancing rates. The money will remain with the investor and this challenge has to be accepted by the big industry by proving their honesty and integrity.

In regard to small scale industries I would like to say there is a hidden danger. Of course I fully welcome the exemption of Rs 5 lakhs if the turn-over does not exceed Rs 15 lakhs. But in the Dyes industry, for example, one chemist and one peon will be sufficient to manufacture dyes. So this is a direct donation or benefit or unearned income of Rs 1,57,500 to such manufacturers who ultimately sell to bigger units, paying 31½ per cent excise duty which needs rationalisation. So, I would request you to take care of this matter.

Now, the Finance Minister has enhanced the limit on Estate Duty from Rs 50,000 to Rs 1 lakh and it is most welcome. But, in the same way, the limit for registered firms should be enhanced from Rs 10,000 to Rs 25,000.

There are some other aspects I would like to draw attention to. The taxes on electricity and coal, together with the tax increase from two to five per cent on other general items will have an inflationary effect on the market, unless production is stepped up. I would request the Minister to reconsider and review this aspect.

I do not know why the shipping industry, which is facing a crisis, has not been given any further investment allowance. We are far behind in the development of this industry.

The Hotel industry as an industry should be given due concessions.

under Income Tax Act and other levies. When we are charging all levies on that industry, we are short of 7,000 rooms in this sector. He has not given due due impetus to the cottage industry, particularly the plastics small scale industry. In my constituency it is facing a crisis because the Customs levy is there and the other levy—the countervailing duty—which is illegally collected, is not refunded, and most of the factories are closed there.

Ultimately, since the State Government, and the Minister will have to implement this Budget, I would suggest that very good Centre-State relations will help us.

This should not come out as a short-term time bomb. It is said in the papers that the Budget is a short-term time bomb. Of course I hope and appeal that it may not explode and should be fizzled out. Ultimately the poor persons, as my friend has said,—the man in the street, the man in the village—want no more than drinking water and an approach road and the primary necessities like medicine. If the Budget fulfils these very primary necessities of the very poor people, I think our Finance Minister and the Ministry will have given a very bright future to this country.

श्री धार० एल० कुरील (मोहनलाल गंज):
समापति महोदय, बजट पर काफ़ी प्रकाश डाला जा चुका है। चूंकि समय कम है, इस लिए मैं थोड़े शब्दों में अपनी बात कहना चाहूंगा।

यह 15,000 करोड़ रुपये का टोटल बजट है, जिस को विभिन्न मर्दानों में बांटा गया है। अगर हम देखें कि इस बजट में बीकर सैकण्ड, गरीब लोगों, हरिजनों, आदिवासियों, रिक्सा धीर तांगे वालों के लिए क्या किया गया है, जो पावर्टी लाइन

के नीचे रहते हैं, तो हमें पता चलेगा कि उन के लिए इस बजट में कुछ नहीं है—भीष के भी बदतर है। यह बहुत ही बर्न की बात है। उस पूरे बर्न को, जो इस देश में 60 परसेंट से भी ज्यादा है, पूरी तरह से इग्नोर किया गया है। 15,000 करोड़ रुपये के बजट में इस बर्न के लिए केवल 125 करोड़ रुपये बिये गये हैं, यानी 1 परसेंट भी नहीं। उस में सोशल वेल्फेयर है, बैंकवर्ड क्लास है, आदिवासी हैं और कितना उस में से आफिस में जायगा, कितना एस्टेब्लिशमेंट में जायगा, इस को तो छोड़ दीजिए। अगर ईन्वेल डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन होता, यद्यपि यह बर्न बहुत पीछे है, इस के लिए चाहिए या कि विशेष सहूलियतें दी जातीं लेकिन विशेष सहूलियतें न दे कर समानता पर भी नहीं रखा गया। 20 परसेंट पापुलेशन अगर इस बर्न की है तो 20 परसेंट एकोनामी इधर डाइवर्ट होनी चाहिए थी, लेकिन एक परसेंट भी नहीं हुई। तो यह बजट की भ्रष्टाई का सब से भ्रष्टा नमूना है उस बर्न के लिए जो शोषित है, पीड़ित है, जिस के पास कोई सेक्योरिटी देने के लिए नहीं है, जिस के पास खाने को नहीं है, रहने को मकान नहीं है, पहनने को कपड़ा नहीं है जिस की हालत बदतर है। मेरा ऐसा ख्याल है कि अगर ऐसा ही बजट रहा तो उन की हालत और बदतर से बदतर हो जायगी। यह है इस बजट का सुन्दर नमूना जो मैं ने आप को बताया। शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के लिए अगर 20 परसेंट के हिसाब से भी दिया जाता तो 3 हजार करोड़ रुपये इधर डाइवर्ट करने चाहिए थे। लेकिन तीन हजार करोड़ को तो छोड़ दीजिए, तीन सौ करोड़ भी नहीं है। तो यह बजट का सुन्दर रूप है जिस के बारे में भ्रष्टाचारों में हम ने पढ़ा, क्या ही सुन्दर सजा कर इसे रखा गया है? लेकिन बजट के भंदर क्या है वह देखने से इतनी निराशा होती है और इतना अफसोस होता है, लगता है जैसी पहली सरकार थी उसमें और इसमें कोई अंतर नहीं है।

[श्री चार. एस. श्रील]

गरीबों और क्षोभित लोगों के लिए, उन लोगों के लिए जिन को न पहले खाने को मिलता था न अब मिलता है, जो बीकर सेक्शन आफ दि सोसाइटी है उस के लिए कुछ भी नहीं है। यह बजट अपर लेबल के लोगों के लिए है, उन के लिए जिन के पास कुछ है। उन को देने के लिए इस में प्रावधान है। लेकिन रिकॉर्ड वाले के लिए, छोटे छोटे काम करने वालों के लिए जिन के पास रुपये भी नहीं हैं, मकान भी नहीं है, खाने को भी नहीं है और सेक्योरिटी नाम की कोई चीज दे ही नहीं सकते हैं, उन के लिए क्या है ?

17.00 hrs.

इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि इस बजट पर पुनर्विचार किया जाय और उस वर्ग को जो देश का बहुसंख्यक वर्ग है, उस को इग्नोर न किया जाय। मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। सभापति महोदय का अनुरोधित हूँ कि उन्होंने मुझे थोड़ा समय दिया। मैं यह चाहूंगा कि बजट को फिर से कंसिडर किया जाय और इस में बीकर सेक्शन के लिए, गरीबों के लिए, बैंकवर्क क्लेसिड के लिए, रेड्यूड कास्ट और प्राविदासियों के लिए पूरा प्रेजेंटेशन पापुलेशन के हिसाब से कम से कम दिया जाय अगर वह नहीं दे सकते, अगर सिम्पलीफाइड नहीं है तब प्रेजिडिड भी नहीं होना चाहिए, यह मेरा निवेदन है।

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Iduki): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise at the fag end of this debate to place on record my opposition to almost all the proposals contained in the budget. Enough has been said by the knowledgeable sources, irrespective of the party or affiliations throughout the country to make it clear that the budget has been received with a considerable measure of resistance and with a measure of unanimity at that.

Being so, as a member of the Opposition, normally I should rise with a feeling of exultation that the

Janata Party's financial policy is floundering, but honestly, I rise with a feeling of sorrow and distress; sorrow and distress when I think of the future finances of this country and when I think of some future Finance Minister, who may have to take over from Shri Patel, may be of the Janata Party itself or some other Party, and the Herculean effort that he would have to make to put that disjoined economy throwout of rails by the present Finance Minister back on the rails.

This is the third budget Mr. Patel is presenting before the House—the interim budget the June budget and the present budget. In all the budget speeches there have been the usual shibboleths, slogans and pious wishes, almost of the same phrase. He speaks of the strategy, he speaks of the investment, he speaks of the channelisation of the savings, he speaks of the ruralisation of the economy and he cites almost in every speech some quotation from the Janata Party manifesto also. He speaks of the rather ravaged economy that he had to take over from the Congress Government. I do not want to go back on all those things because there is no time. I would rather leave it at that. Nothing can be more eloquent than the facts of the situation and the time is fast coming when these shibboleths will be of no value at all. When years roll on, they will stand in comparison with what was done and what is being done and what the difference is. There are facts which are too eloquent, too eloquent to need an eloquent difference. The facts are eloquent enough. I will leave it at that.

Now, the budget will have to be approached from three angles:

(1) To what extent the expectations that Finance Minister put forth last year when he raised the revenue have been realised?

(2) What is the strategy for handling the problem currently existing?

(3) What is the thrust of the Budget? And whose problems the Budget is endeavouring to solve? These are the three ways in which we will have to approach the Budget.

As far as I could see, to begin with, there is an almost prodigal profligacy in the matter of dealing with assets of the nation and an absolute and callous indifference with regard to the financial health of the nation.

(2) As I could see there is a cursed cruelty and indifference to the needs of the common man. Recklessly his needs have been overlooked and burdens have been put on him.

(3) There is an extra solicitude, a great extra solicitude, to find out the needs of the well-placed man and to solve his problems.

These are the three aspects I could see when I go through this Budget.

About the financial soundness of this country, how is the Minister dealing with it? This is the second year we are passing on to. In the first year, as against Rs. 85 crores, something like that, he said, we are ending with a Rs. 975 crores deficit. For the next year the deficit is Rs. 1050 crores. So the total is Rs. 2025 crores. Taking the cue from the Centre, every State is now presenting a deficit budget and the total demand of different States standing in queue before the Centre mounts up to a one thousand crores of rupees. I could give the figures. Bihar—Rs. 135 crores, Gujarat—Rs. 116 crores, Haryana—Rs. 109 crores, Rajasthan—Rs. 80 crores. That goes on. So, the total comes to about Rs. 1000 crores and the total deficit of the country, both Centre and States put together, comes to Rs. 3000 crores. This is what we are finding to-day. What is the result? The public debt of India will be as of

1978-79 Rs. 29,000 crores. When you took over, it was Rs. 22,000 crores and in the course of two years, the public debt of India is mounting by Rs. 7000 crores. Let us not laugh at it. Let us not look at it lightheartedly. It is a very serious matter and the result of it you will find in the price situation. I do not want to predict anything about it or prophesy about it. This is a very appalling situation which is unfolding before us. And what is the solution? This is the most fundamental thing. Sir, I view it with a horror. God stocks are going to be sold out. This is what they say. What is the purpose? It is to prevent smuggling. To prevent smuggling, searches seizures, arrests and all those things are given. And to prevent smuggling what are you going to do? You are going to import gold. You are going to unload your holdings—the gold holdings which have been built in the course of thirty years.

What are you going to do? Such exports will facilitate importation of gold or by the sale of Government stock at international prices. Well, sale of Government stocks at international prices—what is your strategy, I do not understand? You are selling out your gold at international prices. You are converting into jewellery. You are exporting that at international prices, getting only the margin of workmanship labour and then when you have finished it up, what are you going to do? For the next year what are you going to do? How are you going to handle this? This is what I am simply asking.

You are importing gold for the utilisation of foreign exchange—complete pauperisation, complete bankruptcy. Is it what you are attempting? Is it any guarantee that the price of the gold will not go further up in the country? You can bring it down for the time being. Is there any guarantee that it will not move up by the time you will have to pay back? The gold that you have taken

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

against the gold bonds, is this covered by those articles also, I do not know? Against gold bonds you have got gold holdings. You will have to give back that gold. How are you going to give it back? Are you going to buy and give it back? Is it covered by it I do not understand? I would like to get an explanation about it. Anyway, it is only complete bankruptcy. Even the bankrupt village woman will not sell out the little gold she has until she is completely broken. Here is the Government coming out, offering to sell out everything, offering to import everything.

About the foreign exchange, Government now feels that foreign exchange is the problem. Government wanted to draw on the foreign exchange last year and our economy was such that they could not draw on that. They could not formulate schemes. They could not draw on the foreign exchange. And now for the foreign exchange what are they going to do? They have now increased the foreign travel allowance. Anybody who wants to go—500 immediate and dry fruits and dates, maximum Rs. 5000 was being raised to Rs. 15,000. For luxury items like clothes, net, reg and all that open general licence is being issued and they are thinking of involvement in shares of multi-nationals. They are thinking of giving loans of Euro dollar. These are the things I am finding in paper. Import of luxury articles like foreign cars, stereotape recorders, and to sell it and to collect premium, this is what I saw in paper reports. Whether this is correct or not, I do not know. Anyway, foreign exchange is being squandered away. That is the position that we find to-day. That is why I said, the approach to the economic health of the nation is an absolute irresponsibility. This is not the way to handle the problems of the nation.

One more point and I am concluding. What are the new levies that you have imposed—electricity Rs. 145

crores. Here the question of Centre State relations come in. Under the State list the State can impose tax on the electricity they produce or sell. You can impose Excise Duty. You are now coming with the additional impost and who is going to bear it? Public sector will have to bear that. As for the private sector the captive units, you have exempted them, very graciously, you have exempted them. Any industry which is the productive unit of its own may not pay tax but the public sector must pay tax. Here is the solicitude—for the private big producer there is no tax burden. And then, regarding coal, you are collecting Rs. 58 crores. On whom does the impact fall?

17.16 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

You are doing this in respect of general excise. When you took over you know it was one per cent. In two years' time it picked up to five per cent. There is going to be a special levy on basic duty of five per cent. You get here Rs. 214 crores. The total was Rs. 532 crores. Could you tell me one single item which will not hit the common man, which will not hit the consumer? Recklessly you have done this—like an elephant let loose in a farm of sugarcane. You just go ahead with it, you just maul everybody, smash across,—this is what has happened here. That is what one sees here. As against this, you are very kind to whom? This is only symptomatic, Sir. You are very kind to the refrigerating units, to the air-conditioning assembly units. You are very kind for certain machinery engaged in the production of leather, garment manufacture, and to the baby food. You are absolutely kind. You give relief. I can understand your imposing a tax, but when you come to refrigerators, when you come to air-conditioners, when you come to the articles which are to be used

by the well-to-do, you cannot dared to impose a tax. You make exemption for them, but not for the common man. This is your attitude. On the one hand you impose burden on the common man and on the other hand you show this solicitude to these people.

Last year, it was an all-out concession to everybody in the well-to-do bracket in respect of investment allowance, 35 per cent gains for using scientific knowhow, capital gains liberalisation, dividend without a limit for closely held companies, amalgamated companies, depreciation to be absorbed and so on. All these were there. Now, Sir, in this year, as against this, what has happened? He has remembered the case of two types of people. I want to emphasise this point. One type of people here is regarding capital gains. He has discovered a hardship. He says, somebody is suffering. This is regarding capital gains on property which is acquired and some money is paid and the rest is disputed, and the court order is coming up subsequently. Within a particular specific period you will have to invest in specified areas if you are to get exemption from tax. If a part of it is delayed and investment is made subsequently, what should happen? That has become the great worry of the Finance Minister. The date from which the investment is to take place is not the date you get the money, but, even with respect to that amount the date will begin from the date on which the court gives the final decree, a far-off date. He says, this will have retrospective operation. This is, 1973-74, assessment year 1974-75. May I specifically ask Mr. Patel: Whom are you going to benefit by this? Who is that gentleman who comes in the picture during 1973-74? It is not a case of general imposition. There is somebody. You are projecting the law back retrospectively to save that somebody. This is not a general proposition. In this case you solicitous-

ly remember the case of this gentleman and you try to save him out.

Here is a thing.—Investment. If you invest in the new shares Rs. 10,000 will be exempted. All right, I understand. If promotion of the new industries is what you want, why limit it to the corporate sector? Why not I put my money somewhere, start an industry on my own and why not I get that exemption? You insist that I must invest in an equity share. Then alone I will get that exemption. The impression is this. The common man is not going to invest this Rs. 10,000 anywhere, but it is the man who is in the higher bracket who can put this money of Rs. 10,000 somewhere. He gets the advantage of lower bracket in the matter of income-tax. That is the effect of it.

The rural development through big money involvement was his child last year but he has not told us how far it has succeeded now. Last year, he said that if an industrial establishment goes to a rural area and participates in the rural development that will be given a concession. Now he says that it is not necessary that industrial establishment gets into there. If he gives donation to some association, to that extent, it will be saved out. And that association must be a recognised association. Recognition will be for a three-year period. Well if that recognised association is to be functioning in the rural development, then, why have this three-year period? Therefore, in order that the money may be funnelled out on unauthorised channels, a new channel is found out. These are two or three aspects of it. My burden of argument is this. On the one hand, when you impose a tax, there is absolutely no scruple. There is recklessness but on the other hand, with a microscope you try to find out the slight suffering of the corporate sector and big money and you are solicitous about it. Therefore, your atti-

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

tude is one of not favouring the commonman. That is why I said that the three aspects of this budget are— firstly, there is reckless indifference to the financial health of the nation; secondly there is reckless cussed indifference to the commonman's woes and agonies and aspirations. They are so solicitous of going out the whole hog to find out the small grievance of the big men and to solve these. This is the sum total of this budget. This is spelling doom for the future and the future will say that is in store for us.

I am sorry that Mr. Patel had again to bring forth such a budget. I am not surprised because there is a trojan horse of the Swatantra Party soul working in the Janata Party which took its oath at Raj Ghat in the name of Gandhism and Gandhian socialism.

Let that trojan horse not be permitted to disrupt you and undo the good things that were expected.

With these words, I oppose this budget.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI H. M. PATEL): Mr. Speaker, Sir I am grateful to the Honourable Members who have participated in the general discussion on the Budget I presented to this House a couple of weeks ago. I must confess, however, that I am disappointed by the reaction of some Honourable Members from the Opposition. I had expected that they would rise above partisanship and study the Budget as an exercise in national economic management rather than as a piece of action by the Janata Government to be criticised, at any cost. I regret to say that they have not been able to resist the temptation of playing politics.

I am also disappointed by the fact that Honourable Members, in their anxiety to criticise the budget, have so often contradicted themselves. The general tenor of criticism can be sum-

med up as follows: Some have attacked the Budget saying that the increase in Plan outlay has not been large enough. While in the two previous years the increase in developmental outlay was 31 per cent and 27 per cent respectively, this year it is only 17 per cent. This statement has been amplified to include that not enough has been done for agriculture, employment or industry depending upon the predilection of the particular Hon'ble Member. On the other hand, the Budget is blamed for having a very large deficit which will lead to inflation. At the same time, the resource mobilisation effort I have made is attacked because it casts a burden on the poor and the taxes proposed will also contribute to a price rise. Stated this way, it becomes clear that these Honourable Members want to have their cake and eat it too. They want the Finance Minister to be a kind of a magician who will ensure that every desirable thing will happen so far as development is concerned without, at the same time, casting the burden of development on anybody in society. This kind of wishful thinking is really surprising considering that some of my critics have been former Finance Ministers and Cabinet Ministers.

In a poor country development is the first priority and, therefore, everybody has to accept the fact that as large a volume of resources as is possible should be devoted to development. This is what I have done. The citizen that the percentage increase in developmental outlay this year is not as high as in the two previous years is not a sound one because I am not in the game of proving that I can raise the outlay more than others. The size of the outlay has to be determined both by the needs of the situation as well as the capacity to mobilise resources. Taking both these factors into account I feel an outlay of Rs. 11,649 crores is just about right. I need not tell hon'ble Members that as the base keeps on

increasing to play the numbers game would require an enormously large absolute outlay and would be quite beyond our resources. If I did what my hon'ble friends in the Opposition want, the country will drift into a disastrous inflation. I do not see why I should oblige them.

Many Members have said that this Budget does nothing for increasing employment. This I am afraid is a complete misunderstanding of the Budget. It is true that there is no provision for crash programmes for employment. This is because we know the fate of such crash programmes and the effect they have on employment. I have on the other hand provided increased outlays in certain sectors knowing full well that their employment impact will be substantial. Hon'ble Members should realise that the outlays which are undertaken on agriculture and allied programmes—rural infra-structure, rural electrification, irrigation and rural industries—are all designed to lead to a large increase in employment. There are other programmes such as "operation Flood" and the development of infra-structure of fishermen which will also contribute to the generation of more employment. I also want to refer here to the new strategy of area development—the details of which are being worked out by the Planning Commission and which aims at covering 2,000 blocks in the next five years. My aim is not to provide funds which will be spent in the name of employment generation but to concentrate on specific productive activities which will increase the demand for labour in rural areas. Irrigation, command area development, extension, rural electrification and rural infra-structure will increase the intensity of cultivation and raise the demand for labour. This will mean that small farmers and marginal farmers will be more productively occupied and landless labourers will find more employment. The development of

subsidiary occupations will make them more viable.

Hon'ble Members have asked how much employment this expenditure is going to create. It is difficult to say precisely how much the annual increase will be. But the aim is to generate additional employment of about 25 million. Whatsoever be the estimate I am quite clear in my mind that the solution to our employment problem lies in improving productivity and production in the rural areas. That is why we have raised the allocations for irrigation, rural electrification, command area development, the small farmers' development agency, the marginal farmers and landless labourers subsidiary occupations like dairying and fisheries. Instead of paying lip sympathy to employment generation and spending money which will not reach the poor we are taking specific steps to raise production and productivity in agriculture and allied occupations.

Sir, it has also been argued that this Budget does nothing for reviving the demand for industrial products which currently is sluggish. I cannot understand why the increased investment in the rural sector and the consequent increase in rural incomes will not lead to revival of demand for industrial products. The very fact of building more irrigation facilities, intensifying cultivation, utilising more effectively the irrigation potential created and constructing more rural infra-structure will increase the demand for various kinds of manufactured products. I am firmly of the opinion that revival of demand of this kind would be more important for improving the fortunes of industry than the grant of few tax concessions.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): Has not the Finance Minister mis-placed that decimal. It is 25 million or is it 2.5 million?

SHRI H. M. PATEL: It is 25 million in five years.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA
And how much will be the expenditure during the five years.

SHRI H. M. PATEL It will be done
You will see it Let me finish

I wish people who criticise this budget on this ground are either not aware of the multiplier effect of expenditures or they deliberately had chosen to ignore them

I wish to make another important point The progress of private industry in our country has been dependent so far upon the public sector and upon import substitution The lack in public sector investment due to a variety of factors and the exhaustion and the exhaustion of import substitution possibilities have made the prospect of industry uncertain Public investment has certainly picked up But in the place of import substitution a new stimulus is necessary The new growth impulse can come only from the growth of the rural sector To that extent, the emphasis in this Budget on rural development is beneficial not only to the rural sector but also to the entire economy I have no regrets whatsoever in pursuing this line of development

Shri T. A. Pai said that the Budget lacked a direction I wonder what he means by this The Budget seeks to translate the priorities of the Janata Government and at the same time has a consistent approach to the whole question of planned development One can help the blind but not those who pretend to be blind Let me repeat for his benefit what it is The Budget aims at creating more incomes and employment through rural development It steps up public investment in infrastructure It seeks to provide through rural prosperity a stimulus to the rest of the economy

Many Hon'ble Members have said that allocating funds is not enough, it is to be ensured that they are spent effectively Hon'ble Members have vied with each other in pointing out how the benefits of such expenditure rare-

ly reach those for whom they are intended but go to fatten the bureaucracy or some intermediate agency. The concern of Hon'ble Members like Shri Pai in this matter is touching What is, however, surprising is that they seem to have discovered this truth only after they have been out of office What is even more surprising is that they want us to set right in 12 months matters which they could not over 30 years

However, I do not wish to use their failures as an alibi From the very first I have realised the importance of organisation and have been drawing the attention of those concerned to this problem The increased emphasis on rural development will mean a tremendous amount of organisational effort for the fulfilment of our objectives In this field effort is as important as resources I have already written to the Chief Ministers of State Governments Union Territories and drawn their attention specifically to this matter I propose to take up this question in all earnestness at the meeting of the National Development Council this week end

I will now turn to the curious criticism that the Janata Government has not been able to achieve much within the year it has been in power In the Economic Survey and the Budget many references have been made to these achievements They are a growth in GNP of 5 per cent, a more than making up of the set-back in agriculture experienced last year, price stability and the strength in the balance of payments. But unlike the proverbial swan, they have chosen to concentrate only on the weak spots of the economy and made little of these achievements Shri Subramaniam said that the increase in agricultural production was due not so much to what we did as to good weather, he also stated that agricultural production was no more than what was achieved in 1975-76 What he forgot was that the whether in 1976-76 was exceptional If he had cared to look

At last year's Economic Survey, he would have found: "Meteorological records show that such uniformly well distributed rainfall all over the country has not occurred in the last 35 years." As against that, the weather this year has certainly been good but not exceptional. The fact that in spite of this we are able to achieve the same level of production shows that this is due to a better utilisation of water, seed, fertiliser, pesticides, etc.

The Opposition Members cannot deny the fact that fertiliser usage has increased by 26 per cent and that the area under high yielding variety seeds has gone up by more than two million hectares and that a record irrigation potential of 2.23 million hectares has been created. Similarly though the hon. Members on the Opposition Benches have not been able to deny the stability of the wholesale price index, they have chosen to look at the consumer price index on the ground that this affects the ordinary house wife. If they had looked at the figures carefully they would have found that the retail price index has begun to fall since September 1977. The House knows that there is a time-lag between the movement in the wholesale price index and the consumer price index. The increase in the retail price index in the earlier months was due to the fact that the wholesale prices were raising steeply in the months when the Opposition was in power.

Shri Subramaniam has accused me of taking an easy and lazy way out in resource mobilisation. Let me remind him that it was his laziness which allowed an increase in money supply of 89 per cent in 1976-77 against a stagnant national economy. It was precisely his failure to manage the aggregate demand as well as supply that was responsible for the steep rise in the consumer price index. I am sure that this House will readily accord some credit to this government for bringing order into this situation.

Yet another point was made that the plan outlay consists mostly of continuing schemes and that the Janata Government has failed to fulfil its promise to change the priorities of development. As I pointed out in my budget speech, the bulk of the resources over which we had freedom have been allocated in areas which we considered to be of priority, namely agriculture, irrigation, rural infrastructure and rural industries. This is proof of our desire to alter the orientation of plan expenditure, the orientation will become clearer with every passing year. The desire to alter priorities does not mean that the Janata government is going to waste resources which have already been invested in projects by not completing them. This would be a misuse of the scarce resources of a poor society and we certainly will not be a party to it. I am somewhat surprised that so many members including Shri Subramaniam have chosen to twist us on this instead of praising us.

There was the most astonishing criticism that the Janata government wants to hand over everything to the capitalists and multinationals and that we are aiming at reducing the importance of the public sector....

SHRI SAUGATA ROY (Barrackpore): On a point of order. Can it be called Janata government or Janata-akali coalition government?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no point of order.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: In the same breadth it was said that we are doing nothing to revive the private industry. I do not wish to emphasise that these two statements do not exactly go together.

But regarding the attitude of this government towards the public sector, I can only repeat what has been said so often that there is no question of the government going back on the dominant role of the public sector in

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our society's development. If proof were needed one has only to look at the figures which speak for themselves. The Plan outlay of the Public Sector enterprises including the railways and the post and telegraph increased from Rs. 2681 crores in 1976-77 to Rs. 3344 crores this year and will go up to Rs. 3819 crores next year. The Opposition knows all this and is trying to convince itself by repeating constantly a patent untruth. It has also chosen to ignore the Industrial Policy statement laid on the Table of this House as recently as December 23, 1977. I will refresh their memories by quoting in extenso from that statement:

"The public sector in India has today come of age. Apart from socialising the means of production in strategic areas, public sector provides a countervailing power to the growth of large houses and large enterprises in the private sector. There will be an expanding role for the public sector in several fields. Not only will it be the producer of important and strategic goods of basic nature, but it will also be used effectively as a stabilising force for maintaining essential supplies for the consumer. The public sector will be charged with the responsibility of encouraging the development of a wide range of ancillary industries, and contribute to the growth of decentralised production by making available its expertise in technology and management to small scale and cottage industry sectors. It will also be the endeavour of Government to operate public sector enterprises on profitable and efficient lines in order to ensure that investment in these industries pays an adequate return to society. The Government attaches high priority to the building up of a professional cadre of managers in the public sector, who would be given the necessary autonomy and entrusted with the task of providing dynamic and efficient management to such enterprises."

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Excellent language.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: What you said is a patent untruth and that is what you like. You cannot face the truth. That is your trouble. Mr. Stephen.

A great deal has been said about the so-called confusion in the Industrial Policy of the Janata Party and its deleterious consequences on the investment climate. It seems to me that in a democracy it is better to have a fair and full discussion on matters which are going to affect the lives of the people. The so-called confusion really arises from the fact that a democratic debate is probably something which the Opposition Members have not until recently been used to. By now, I think it ought to have been crystal clear as to what the Janata Government wants. It wants the development of large industry in those areas where sophisticated technology and complex organisation are most needed. In other areas, we would like small industries and rural industries to grow. It is characteristic of the schizophrenic attitude of the Opposition to talk of confusion as being a drag on private investment and simultaneously accuse us of yielding to the big business lobby.

SHRI SAUGATA ROY: We fought to have dictionary at hand.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: Is that all you have come down to? Coming to the tax proposals, the general criticism has been that there is too much reliance on direct taxation and that an across the board increase affects the poor more than the rich. May I respectfully point out to the former Finance Minister that a reliance on indirect taxes is inevitable in a poor country and that notwithstanding his correct protestations he also derived more revenue from indirect taxes than direct taxes. Also, it is not necessary that indirect taxes should be automatically regressive. The Jha Com-

mittee which has been cited so often during the debate has itself pointed out that the indirect tax system in our country has a great deal of progression built into it. An across the board increase therefore does nothing to change this state of affairs. On the contrary, it does not introduce any fresh distortions which selectivity might have introduced.

Shri Sathe has done some useful research and read out extracts from my speeches from the Opposition benches to prove that I am inconsistent. What he forgets is the context and economic background in which they were made. Deficit financing in a year of price stability, a large stock of foodgrains, and foreign exchange stands on an entirely different footing than the deficit indulged in the early seventies when the economy was subject to severe inflationary pressures and foreign exchange constraints.

The Budget has also been criticised on the ground that it does not pay any attention to the question of reducing disparities. If does not lie, in the mouth of Opposition Members to charge me with a neglect of this aspect when they themselves, while proclaiming their intention of reducing disparities, reduce the tax rates on higher income slabs and the tax rates on wealth sharply. On the other hand, last year, I restored the balance to some extent by increasing the surcharge on income tax and raising wealth tax rates; and this year I have taken a further step in the same direction by increasing compulsory deposits.

What is, however, more important from my point of view is that disparities can be reduced through expenditure as much as through taxation. This, I have sought to do by changing the pattern of public expenditure in such a way that those below the poverty line such as small farmers, marginal farmers, landless

labourers, workers in rural industries, get more work and thus more incomes.

Opposition Members have argued that the increase in indirect taxes will lead to an increase in prices; and that the levy on coal and electricity will cast a burden on industry and thus lead to a cost push effect. I must warn Honourable Members that if everybody, without a proper examination of facts, asserts that prices are going to rise, then there is a danger that inflationary psychology will get strengthened and they will rise. This is a very serious thing. Don't laugh: Let me, however try to persuade the House that this is not going to be so. The tax burden is going to be very small in the case of most commodities. Whether this will lead to a rise in prices will depend upon the state of demand, the level of production and the efficiency with which industry organises itself to reduce costs. In our economy, because of the extreme protection that has been offered to industry so far, there is an automatic presumption that the increase in taxation has to be passed on to the consumer. The very fact that the price level today is the same as in September 1974—during which time many excise duty changes have taken place—shows that this need not necessarily happen. However, hon. Members should remember that there will be a substantial saving in working capital costs as a result of the significant reduction in interest rates recently effected. I will, therefore, request hon. Members that if their objective is price stability and not merely the embarrassment of this Government, not to go on repeating that prices will go up.

Honourable Members have stated that the indirect tax increase as well as the levy on power and coal will raise prices through what is known as the cascading effect 'cascading' is a currently fashionable word and

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those who make these statements have not taken the trouble to do their homework properly. I wish to assure hon Members that the cascading effect will be negligible in most industries.

It has been stated by many hon Members that contrary to the recommendation of the Jha Committee, I have imposed a levy on inputs, particularly, coal, electricity and fuel which are universally needed. May I submit that the Jha Committee has not ruled out taxation on inputs.

Shri Subramaniam also wanted to know why the concession with regard to capital gains has been withdrawn so soon after its introduction last year. Hon Members will remember that it was introduced with a view to making resources locked up in un-productive assets available for further investment. The experience of the working of this provision showed that this was not happening so far as investment of capital gains in bank deposits and in equity shares of existing companies was concerned. All that I have done is to close this loophole. I am amazed that Shri Subramaniam, of all persons, wants an inquiry to be held into a step taken at the earliest opportunity to prevent an abuse of a concession. He should certainly know that it is normal practice to review concessions and modify them in the light of experience.

I have also been blamed for having the largest budget deficit so far and have been promised serious inflation.

Hon Members will recall that I had pointed out that out of the Budget deficit of Rs 975 crores estimated for the current year, as much as Rs 414 crores is directly accounted for by the additional assistance which I was compelled to give to the States on account of their deficits. Even at the expense of foregoing the distinction of having set up a record, I would like to point out that in 1972-73 when

also States' deficit of a similar order were taken over, the Budget deficit of the Central Government amounted to Rs 1293 crores. Since, hon. Members also criticised our economic performance, saying that saving, excess investments, they will realise that such a budget deficit will have no inflationary impact. All that will happen is this excess saving will be converted into investments. The deficit is merely an instrument to acquire control over the resources and to divert them into productive channels.

I may point out that even with a deficit of the order of Rs 975 crores this year we have been able to maintain relative price stability because of supply management and credit management. There is no reason why we should not display the same skill in the coming year also and continue to hold the price line.

As I have already pointed out a significant contributory factor to the Central budget deficit was the large overdrafts of the State Governments which had to be cleared by the Centre. These were the consequences of the scorched earth policy pursued by Mr Subramaniam's friends in the State Governments before they left office. The Central Government had no option but to bail out the new State Governments, who found themselves in difficult financial circumstances, due to the financial improvidence of their predecessors.

It has also been made out that I have disregarded the wishes of the Prime Minister in regard to deficit financing as well as gold sales. Nothing could be more contrary to the truth. No Finance Minister would dream of coming forward with a proposal in the budget which does not have the approval of the Prime Minister. For the record, let me state my budget has the full support of the Government.

There is a great deal of misconception about the policy regarding the sale of gold as well as the import of

gold. Statements have been made in utter disregard of truth that this Government is bankrupt, because it wants to sell its gold held in reserves. I made it amply clear in my budget speech that the gold proposed to be sold is not the gold held as monetary reserves but the gold produced by our gold mines and gold acquired through customs seizures. It is not true to say that by this sale we will be permanently losing this gold. It will be with our own citizens and, I am sure, will be available to us in a situation of emergency, as happened in 1962 and 1965. The reason for undertaking this sale is as I stated, to prevent smuggling. When smuggling takes place, we have no control over the expenditure of the proceed from the sale of smuggled gold, whereas when Government undertakes the sale of gold, it is with a view to utilising these funds towards the expenditure proposed in the Development Plan. Such sales have the added advantage that they will contribute to a reduction in the budget deficit.

There is also a great deal of misconception about my proposal to import gold for the export of jewellery. Such a provision already exists, and what I am doing is to remove the restrictions on the present arrangement. It must not be forgotten that both jewellery making and diamond-cutting are flourishing foreign exchange earners as well as provides employment to a large number of people. Hon. Members may know that even today we are earning as much as Rs. 400 crores to 500 crores in foreign exchange through diamond-cutting and there is no reason why our craftsmen in gold jewellery should not get something of a similar nature. There is nothing wrong, it seems to me, in taking advantage of the skills which our people have and utilising those to earn more foreign exchange. I am surprised that hon. Members who display such concern about employment creation areaverse to this proposal, which aims at doing precisely that.

Many hon. Members have referred to the fact that our non-developmental expenditure is increasing continuously and have expressed a desire that this should be curtailed as far as possible. I agree with this but, at the same time, I want to point out respectfully to the hon. Members that the scope for reduction is limited. The bulk of the non-development expenditure is accounted for by defence, interest charges on public debt and food and other subsidies. Although there is scope for rationalising defence expenditure. I wonder if we can approach the question lightly in view of the vital importance of security. Reducing the food subsidy would affect the vulnerable sections of urban as well as rural areas. Nevertheless, I will continue to explore ways of securing the maximum economy in non-developmental expenditure.

The Janata Party's desire to abolish sales tax is said to be based on no other ground than that it wants to please the traders' lobby. It was also said that the Budget was sought to be framed solely to help traders, hoarders, profiteers and blackmarketeers. In their anxiety to heap abuse on the Janata Party, hon. Members of the Opposition forgot the inconvenience and harassment caused by sales tax to trade and industry. If I were to follow the opposition's logic, I could say that the desire to rationalise the excise duty structure and the appointment of the Jha Committee were born out of a desire to please big business which has been complaining loudly about the burden of excises. But I should like to rise above such argument by innuendo and point out that sales taxes are a source of considerable irritation and harassment to trade. At the same time, I realise why the States are unwilling to part with such a source of revenue. Therefore, I proposed that for the moment we should have patience regarding the abolition of the sales tax and concentrate on the abolition of the octroi.

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Shri T. A. Pai is horrified at the staggering public debt of this country and is gravely concerned with the rate at which it grows. I see Mr. Stephen is infected by the same trouble. I am amused that he has discovered this only now. He should have realised that no Government can raise public debt to a figure of Rs. 29,000 crores in one year. Obviously public debt which was a good thing when his party was in power has ceased to be so since we took over. So much for double standards.

Many hon. Members also have made the point that by levying duty on electricity I am encroaching upon the prerogative of State Governments to tax electricity. Under the Constitution, the States are empowered to levy taxes on the consumption or the sale of electricity. The present excise levy is on the generation of electricity and does not, therefore, involve any violation of the constitutional provision. The State Governments should, on the other hand, be grateful to me because I have incurred the odium of doing something which ought to have been done long ago in the interests of better returns on the large investments made in power projects.

In the course of the short time at my disposal, I have not been able to deal with the many constructive and valuable suggestions made by Members on this side of the House as well as by Opposition Members.

15.00 hrs.

MR. SPEAKER: Is it the pleasure of the House to extend the time?

HON MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI H. M. PATEL: I can assure the House that these would receive my most careful consideration.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that in formulating my

Budget proposals, I have tried to use the favourable times in the country's economic situation to strengthen the dynamic, progressive and expansionary impulses in our economy. The objective situation, today is highly conducive to a rapid move forward in quest of the nation's cherished social and economic objectives. In the achievement of these objectives, Government must, of course, provide leadership. However, the task ahead is so formidable that we shall need to evolve a broad national consensus and whatever differences may exist among political parties and groups, we should all resist the temptation to play politics with the economy. In the vital task of national reconstruction and development, we shall need and shall actively seek the willing support and co-operation of all sections of this House and indeed of all patriotic citizens of this country.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR (Gandhinagar): On a point of order. I have heard with great respect and attention the Finance Minister. My point is that it is in the parliamentary practice that the Members, except the Ministers, cannot read out their speeches. Ministers can, because they have to refer to policy statements and all that and more so, when it is related to finance. But what I have to say with great respect is that today from 'A' to 'Z' the Finance Minister has only read out the whole speech and, therefore, it was a kind of second Budget speech. My point of order is that this House has debated this Budget for nearly 15 hours and made certain valuable points and several serious points. He may agree or may not agree, that is a different thing. But I did not see any effort on his part to make at least a part of his speech extempore. If you allow this practice to grow, then the parliamentary debates will have no meaning. It will become a type of set speeches on both sides and the whole idea of parliamentary debate will be lost.

MR. SPEAKER: The point of order has not been raised at the time when the Finance Minister was making his speech.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: How can I raise this point of order in the middle of his speech?

MR. SPEAKER: I will look into the matter.

PROF. P. G. MAVALANKAR: If ministerial replies are going to be in the form of written speeches then they can lay them on the Table of the House. Where is the parliamentary debate then?

MR. SPEAKER: I will look into the matter.

16.08 hrs.

***DEMANDS FOR GRANTS ON ACCOUNT (General), 1978-79**

MR. SPEAKER: Now I shall put the Demands for Grants on Account in respect of the General Budget for 1978-79 to the vote of the House. The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the third column of the order paper, be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India, on account, for or towards defraying the charges during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1979 in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 107."

The motion was adopted.

[List of Demands for Grants on Account (General) for 1978-79 voted by Lok Sabha]

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on Account voted by the House	
		Revenue	Capital
1	2	Rs.	Rs.
MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION			
1	Department of Agriculture	42,71,000	..
2	Agriculture	35,78,47,000	97,62,03,000
3	Fisheries	5,54,31,000	5,69,44,000
4	Animal Husbandry and Dairy Development	17,12,30,000	1,21,04,000
5	Forest	5,72,19,000	63,75,000
6	Department of Food	78,28,54,000	6,32,77,000
7	Department of Rural Development	48,47,86,000	4,12,91,000
8	Department of Agricultural Research and Education	2,12,000	..
9	Payments to Indian Council of Agricultural Research	11,99,95,000	..

*Moved with the recommendation of the President,